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# AN INQUIRY

INTO

79417

THE VIEWS, PRINCIPLES, SERVICES, AND INFLUENCES

OF THE

LEADING MEN

IN THE ORIGINATION OF

OUR UNION,

AND

THE FORMATION AND EARLY ADMINISTRATION

OF OUR

PRESENT GOVERNMENT.

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BY THADDEUS ALLEN.

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TRUTH OUR AIM: FACTS OUR GUIDE.

BOSTON:  
SAXTON AND KELT.  
1847.

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## P R E F A C E .

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Regard for the welfare of the present and future citizens of these United States, and a sense of justice due to the Master-Patriots of Revolutionary time, have prompted this attempt to bring to the knowledge of our people generally, the best available evidences of the prevalent views and ruling principles in the incipient stages of our Union and Government; through these evidences to investigate the true characters and agencies of the **LEADING MEN** in the vast plans and labors of that momentous period, and trace their influences on the people and on the people's great interests, through that and through succeeding periods to the present time.

If enough has been already done in this direction, or if the improvement in knowledge and practice of the present age supersede the importance of those impressive lessons of experience, then the labor bestowed is vain, and the expense and labor of the reader will be also vain.

But if the only authentic sources of such knowledge come now to the sight of but few, and to the understanding of a still less number, then, space, whether or not occasion, yet remains for something more than has been hitherto done, to facilitate its extension. And if heirs, who have passively received a rich inheritance which they imperfectly know how to improve, enjoy, or even preserve, act unwisely in presumptuously rejecting or disregarding the examples, maxims, and counsels of their ancestors, by whose skill and persevering labor it was acquired, and carefully husbanded for them, then may not be wholly useless an attempt to revive the principles of those **PROVIDENT AND FAR-SIGHTED FATHERS**, — **MEN**, by whose comprehensive intellects our Union was planned; by whose matchless wisdom, unparalleled patience, and unequalled labors, our Independence was gained; and by the energies of whose luminous minds, stored with the great lessons of their long and rugged experience, our Government was formed and put into motion.

The following pages will, however, be profitless to such readers as now well understand, and can readily explain, all the changes, and the causes and authors of all the changes and influences, declared or alluded to in the following extracts — extracts given in the language of **THOSE BENEFACTORS** who claim, and who ever will claim, something more than ordinary attention and respect, from the present and from future generations.

*'IN CONGRESS. June 17, 1775. — Resolved unanimously, Whereas, the delegates of all the Colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq., to be General and Commander-in-Chief of such forces as are, or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty; this Congress doth now declare that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, with their lives and fortunes, in the same cause.'*

*'July 6. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as slavery. \* \* \* \* \**

*'Our cause is just. Our union is perfect.'*

Gen. Washington to the President of Congress, July 10.

'I know nothing, in a speculative view, more trivial, yet which, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to *unite the men, and abolish those Provincial distinctions that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction.*'

To Richard Henry Lee, in Congress, August 29.

'I submit, therefore, to your consideration, whether there is, or is not, a propriety in that Resolution of the Congress, which leaves the ultimate appointment of all officers below the rank of Generals, to the governments where the regiments originated, now the army is become Continental. *To me it appears improper; it is giving that power and weight to an individual Colony, which ought of right to belong only to the whole.*'

Thomas Lynch,\* in Congress, to Gen. Washington, November, 1775.

'With grief and shame it must be confessed, that *the whole blame lies not with the army. You will find your hands straitened, instead of strengthened.* What the event will be it is impossible to foresee.'

Gen. Washington to Joseph Reed, Nov. 28.

'*Could I have foreseen* what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment, or any subordinate department, would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps the honor.'

'IN CONGRESS. Nov. 30.—*Resolved, That no bounty be allowed to the army, on reënlistment.*'

Gen. Greene to Gov. Ward, in Congress, Dec. 31.

'You entreat the general officers to recommend to the Congress the giving of *a bounty*. But His Excellency, General Washington, has often assured us, that the Congress would not give *a bounty*. Can you think we should hesitate a moment to recommend a bounty, if we thought ourselves at liberty to do so?

'If we had given *a good bounty*, and raised the troops speedily, it would have struck the Ministry with astonishment. They could not expect to conquer a people so united, firm, and absolutely determined.'

## 1776.

Gen. Washington to Joseph Reed, Jan. 14.

'The reflection on my situation, and that of this army, produces many an unhappy hour, when all around me are wrapped in sleep.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I have often thought how much happier I should have been, *if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder, and entered the ranks; or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam.*'

Gen. Greene to — — —, Sept. 28.

'*The policy of Congress has been the most absurd and ridiculous*

\* Mr. Lynch had been absent from Congress about the whole of October, as a member of their Committee, to the camp at Cambridge, where they passed several days in conference with the General.



## PREFACE.

imaginable, pouring in their militia-men, who come and go every month.'

Gen. Washington to the President of Congress, Oct. 4.

'I see such a *distrust* and *jealousy* of military power, that the Commander-in-Chief has not the opportunity, even by recommendation, to give the least assurances of reward, for the most essential services.'

To John Augustine Washington, Nov. 19.

'In short, it is impossible for me, in the compass of a letter, to give you any idea of our situation. \* \* \*

'I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and solemnly protest, that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do.'

Gen. Washington to the President of Congress, Dec. 20.

'I have labored, ever since I have been in the service, to *discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinctions of country, by denominating the whole by the greater name of AMERICAN*; but I have found it impossible to overcome prejudices; and, *under the new establishment, I conceive it best to stir up an emulation.*'

To Joseph Reed, Esq., or John Cadwallader, Esq., only, at Bristol, Dec. 23.

'Christmas day, at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton; \* \* \* our numbers, sorry am I to say, being less than I had any conception of; but necessity, *dire necessity*, will, *nay, must*, justify an attack.'

Robert Morris, a member of Congress, to Gen. Washington, Dec. 23.

'It is useless, at this period, to examine into the causes of our present unhappy situation, unless that examination would be productive of a cure for the evils which surround us. In fact, they have long been known to such as would open their eyes. \* \* \* To criminate the authors of errors would not avail, but we cannot see ruin staring us in the face, without thinking of them.'

Gen. Washington to Robert Morris, Dec. 26.

'I agree with you that it is in vain to ruminate upon, or even reflect upon, the authors or causes of our present misfortunes; we should rather exert ourselves, and look forward with hopes that some lucky chance may yet turn up in our favor.'

1777.

R. Morris to Gen. Washington, Feb. 27.

'And, were I sure of such being received in the same light, I should lament to you the absence of many great, good and valuable men from Congress.' \* \* \*

Gen. Washington to R. Morris, March 2.

'Indeed, sir, your observations on the want of many capital characters in that Senate, are but too just. However, our cause is good, and I hope Providence will support it.'

To the President of Congress, March 14.

'Could I accomplish the important objects so eagerly wished by Congress, "confining the enemy within their present quarters, preventing their getting supplies from the country, and totally subduing

them before they are reinforced," \* I should be happy indeed. \* \*  
The whole of our numbers in Jersey, fit for duty at this time, is under three thousand. These, nine hundred and eighty-one excepted, are militia, and stand engaged only till the last of this month.'

Gen. Greene to — — —, April 20.

'Our strength now is trifling. It is to be regretted that the cause of freedom rests upon the shoulders of so few. \* \* \*  
Our army will appear like Gideon and his pitchers. God grant us the same success; the cause is equally righteous, and claims His Heavenly protection.'

Gen. Washington to Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, April 13.

'To the short engagements of our troops may be fairly and justly ascribed almost every misfortune which we have experienced. By that cause, and that alone, have the liberties of our country been put in question, and the most obvious advantages lost. This I speak from painful experience.'

Gen. Greene to — — —, June 4.

'Wisdom and prudence sometimes forsake the wisest bodies. I am exceedingly distressed at the state of things in the great National Council.'

Gen. Washington to R. H. Lee, in Congress, Oct. 17.

'To sum up the whole, *I have been a slave to the service*. I have undergone more than most men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts.'

1778.

H. Laurens, President of Congress, to W. Livingston, Gov. of New Jersey, Jan. 27.

'But I forbear, and still trust that the States will again think it necessary to be represented in Congress by men of ability, and in sufficient numbers. A most shameful deficiency in this branch is the greatest evil, and is indeed the source of almost all our evils. \* \*  
If there is not speedily a resurrection of able men, and of that virtue which I thought to be genuine in 1775, we are gone — we shall undo ourselves.'

Gen. Greene to — — —, Feb. 7.

'A horrid faction has been forming, to ruin His Excellency, and others. Ambition, how boundless! Ingratitude, how prevalent! \* \* \* \* \*

'See upon what a monstrous principle the General is persecuted. To injure his reputation, and prejudice the country against me, General ——— has been endeavoring to persuade them that I governed the General in all things.'

Marquis Lafayette to Baron Steuben, Albany, March 12.

'Permit me to express my satisfaction at your having seen General Washington. No enemies to that GREAT MAN can be found, except among the enemies of his country. \* \* \* His honesty, his frankness, his sensibility, his virtue, to the fullest extent in which this word can be understood, are above all praise. \* \* \*

'I am the more happy in giving you this opinion of my friend, with

\* A quotation from a Resolve passed by Congress, a copy having been then just received by the General.

all the sincerity which I feel, because some persons may perhaps attempt to deceive you on this subject.'

Gen. Washington to John Banister, in Congress, April 21.

'The other point is the *jealousy* which Congress, unhappily entertain of the army. \* \* \*

'If we would pursue a right system of policy, in my opinion, there should be none of these distinctions. We shall, Congress and army, be considered as one people, embarked in one cause, in one interest; acting on the same principle, and to the same end. \* \* \* It is unjust, because no order of men in the Thirteen States has paid a more sacred regard to the proceedings of Congress, than the army.

\* \* \* Things should not be viewed in that light, more especially, as Congress have relieved injuries complained of, which had flowed from their own acts.'

To Benjamin Harrison, Speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia, Dec. 18th.

'My conception of the matter impresses it too strongly upon me, that the States separately, are too much engaged in their local concerns, \* \* \* In a word, I think our political system may be compared to the mechanism of a clock, and that we should derive a lesson from it, for it answers no good purpose to keep the smaller wheels in order, if the greater one, which is the support and prime mover of the whole, is neglected.'

'To the same, Dec 30th.

'I confess to you, that I feel more real distress, on account of the present appearances of things, than I have done at any one time since the commencement of the dispute. But, \* \* \* Providence has heretofore taken us up, when all other means and hope seemed to be departing from us. *In this I will confide.*'

1779.

'Marquis Lafayette, in France, to Gen. Washington, June 12th.

'Inclosed I send your Excellency a copy of my letter to Congress. \* \* \*

'For God's sake prevent their loudly disputing together. Nothing hurts so much the interest and reputation of America, as to hear of their intestine quarrels.'

'Gen. Sullivan to Gen. Washington, Dec. —

'Permit me to inform your Excellency, that the faction raised against you in 1777, \* \* \* is not yet destroyed. I speak not from conjecture, but from certain knowledge. Their plan is to take every method of proving the danger arising from a Commander, who enjoys the full and unlimited confidence of his army. \* \* \*

'The next stage is, to persuade Congress that the military power should be placed in three or four different hands. This they say will prevent an aspiring commander from enslaving his country. This is a refinement in politics, and an improvement on public virtue, which Greece and Rome could never boast.'

1780.

' Gen. Washington to Joseph Jones, in Congress, May 31st.

' We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill-timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses and derive no benefit from them. \* \* \* We are always working up hill.

' This, my dear sir, is plain language to a member of Congress; but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, \* \* \* and I am fearful of the consequences.'

Joseph Jones, to Gen. Washington, June —

' Congress have been gradually surrendering or throwing upon the several States the exercise of powers, \* \* \* till at length they have scarcely a power left, but such as concerns foreign nations; for, as to the army, Congress is at present little more than the medium through which the wants of the army are conveyed to the States.'

In Lafayette's Memoir he said: — "Lafayette succeeded in gaining pecuniary succors, which were placed at the disposal of General Washington; for it was upon that General that reposed the whole confidence of the Government, and the hopes of the French nation."

' Gen. Washington to John Matthews, in Congress, Oct. 14th.

' From long experience and the fullest conviction, I have been and now am decidedly in favor of a permanent force; but, knowing the *jealousies* which have been entertained on this head (*Heaven knows how unjustly*) and THAT THE POLITICAL HELM WAS IN ANOTHER DIRECTION, I forebore to express my sentiments for a time; but, at a moment when we are tottering on the brink of a precipice, silence would have been criminal.'

' To James Duane, in Congress, Oct. 14th.

' It also gives me pain to find, that the pernicious State system is still adhered to, by leaving the reduction and incorporation of the regiments to the particular States. This is one of the greatest evils of our affairs. \* \* \* The history of the war is a history of false hopes and temporary expedients. Would to God they were to end here.

1781.

Lafayette to the French Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Jan. 30th.

' The last campaign took place without a shilling having been spent; \* \* \* that miracle, of which I believe no similar example can be found, cannot be renewed.

' It would take too long to examine the faults that have been committed, \* \* \* money is requisite, to derive any advantage from the American resources.'

Gen. Washington to John Parke Custis, of the Virginia Assembly, Feb. 28th.

'In a word, for it is unnecessary to go into all the reasons the subject will admit of, *we have brought a cause, which might have been happily terminated years ago by the adoption of proper measures, to the very verge of ruin by temporary enlistments and a reliance on militia.*'

R. H. Lee to some members of Congress. June 12th.

'Let Gen. Washington be immediately sent to Virginia, with two or three thousand troops. Let Congress as the Head of the Federal Union in this crisis, *direct*, that, until a Legislature can convene, and a Governor be appointed, the General be possessed of *dictatorial powers*,  
\* \* \* and that the General may be *desired* instantly on his arrival in Virginia, to summon the members of both Houses to meet where he shall appoint, *to organize and resettle their Government.*'

'Gen. Washington to Gen. Greene, Commander of the Southern army. York Town, Oct. 6th.

'I can say with sincerity, that I feel in the highest degree, the good effects which you mention, as resulting from the perfect good understanding between you, the Marquis and myself. I hope it will never be interrupted; and I am sure it never can, while we are influenced by the same pure motives, that of love to our country, and interest in the cause in which we are embarked. I have happily had *but few differences* with those with whom I have had the honor of being connected in the services—*with whom and of what nature those have been you know. I bore much for the sake of peace and the public good — my conscience tells me, I acted right in those transactions; and should they ever come to the knowledge of the world, I TRUST I SHALL BE ACQUITTED BY IT.*'

1782.

To the same; March 18th.

'I am not, however without hopes, that matters will be put into a much better train than they have hitherto been. The arrangements made already, by the superintendant of Finance have been attended with infinite public advantages, and he is attending those arrangements as fast as circumstances will possibly admit. I am sorry to see a jealousy arising from a supposition that there has been a partiality of conduct. I am certain there has been no such intention, and instead of a charge of having done too little, it will soon be a matter of wonder how Mr. Morris has done so much with so small means.'

1783.

To Alexander Hamilton, in Congress, March 31.

'DEAR SIR: I have duly received your favors of the 17th and 24th. I rejoice most exceedingly that there is an end of our warfare, and that such a field is opening to our view, as will, with wisdom to direct the cultivation of it, make us a great, a respectable, and a happy people; but it must be improved by other means than State politics, and unreasonable jealousies and prejudices. \* \* \*

My wish to see the Union of these States established upon liberal and permanent principles, and inclination to contribute my mite in pointing out the defects of the present Constitution, are *equally* great.  
\* \* \* \* \*

‘ No man in the United States is or can be more deeply impressed with the necessity of a reformation in our present Confederation than myself. For to the defects thereof, and want of power in Congress, may justly be ascribed the prolongation of the war, and consequently the expenses occasioned by it. *More than half the perplexities* I have experienced in the course of my command, *and almost the whole of the difficulties and distress* of the army, *have had their origin here.*

1784.

‘ To Benjamin Harrison, Governor of Virginia.

‘ Mount Vernon, 18th Jan.—That the prospect before us is, as you justly observe, fair, none can deny; but what use we shall make of it is extremely problematical; not but that I believe all things will come right at last, but \* \* \* we shall wanton and run riot until we have brought our reputation to the brink of ruin, and then—shall have to labor with the current of opinion, when compelled perhaps to do what prudence and common policy pointed out, as plain as any problem in Euclid, in the first instance.

‘ The disinclination of the individual States to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government, their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there is not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation. This is as clear to me as A, B, C; and I think we have opposed Great Britain, and have arrived at the present state of independency, to very little purpose, if we cannot conquer our own prejudices.’

1787.

In Mr. Madison’s Reports of the Proceedings of the Convention who formed our present Constitution; he stated as follows:

*May 29th.*—MR. RANDOLPH, opened the main business.

‘ He commented on the difficulty of the crisis, and the necessity of preventing the fulfilment of the prophecies of the American downfall.

‘ He proceeded to enumerate the defects of the (Confederation.)

‘ That the Federal Government would not check the quarrel between States, nor a rebellion in any.

‘ That it could not defend itself against the encroachments from the States.

‘ That it was not even paramount to the State Constitutions, ratified as it was in many of the States.

‘ He next reviewed the danger of our situation, and appealed to the sense of the best friends of the United States—to the prospect of anarchy from the laxity of Government every where.’

The above extracts exemplify the form of this Work. Accordingly this effort to communicate adequate knowledge of principles, agencies, and influences so important, is made by means immediately derived from the only infallible records of them. From these records, to the extent within the editor’s power, have been selected, and presented in the following pages, such portions as appeared most conducive to the end proposed.

The design comprises three volumes, which, for the greater diffusion of its benefits, will be published in numbers. To each volume will be appended, besides an index, a brief review of its contents and such other matter as may be considered appropriate.



All the above extracts occur in the body of the work. In that, particular references to volumes are intended, except the Journals of Congress, which being in chronological order, the dates are thought sufficient.

The short parts in the language of the editor, are distinguishable by a smaller type without the marks of quotation.

Although great care has been observed, it is not presumed to have secured entire correctness. Labor bestowed to discover and rectify any material errors which have escaped notice, will be gratefully considered in aid of the original purpose.

However this attempt may be estimated, the editor enjoys the consciousness of intending something useful — something to recall due attention and inquiry to examples and counsels, on which, under Providence, depended the preservation of this country, through the threatening dangers of a first, a second, and a third crisis in its history, as a Nation.

Boston, May, 1845.

## REMARKS, ETC. INTRODUCTORY TO THE FIRST NUMBER.

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This number begins with short accounts of some of the movements towards the first Continental Congress, and ends at the time when General Washington left Philadelphia, in pursuance of his appointment, as Commander-in-Chief of the American army, *June*, 1775; embracing the period in which our Union originated, and at the close of which this country took its departure on the great voyage of the Revolution.

The LEADING FATHERS then, were remarkable for their careful endeavors to explain to the understanding of the people, the causes and nature both of their difficulties, and of the measures which they adopted to remove those difficulties. Their language was intelligible. To their writings in this number, the reader is therefore referred, to satisfy such inquiries as the following :

What was the real point of difference, which led to the separation of this country from Great Britain ?

To what degree, or how close at that period, was intended or supposed to be, that Connection which was formed preparatory to such separation from the mother country, and which was called THE UNION ?

Who delegated the members to Congress ? Did the Provinces, as Provinces ; or, did the People delegate them ?

What degree of power was vested in Congress ; what degree cheerfully submitted to, did that body exercise ?

For whom did Congress act ? for the Provinces, as such ; or, for the People ?

The answers may be found in the expressions of Congress, those of public bodies in the Provinces or Colonies, and of distinguished individuals.

 *First read the Extracts in the Preface.*

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## PROCEEDINGS IN VIRGINIA, IN 1774.

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In 1821, Mr. Jefferson said:—‘ In May, 1769, a meeting of the General Assembly was called by the Governor, Lord Botetourt. I had then become a member, and to that meeting became known the joint resolutions and address of the Lords and Commons of 1768–9, on the proceedings in Massachusetts. Counter resolutions, and an address to the king by the House of Burgesses, were agreed to with little opposition, and a spirit manifestly displayed itself of considering the cause of Massachusetts as a common one. The Governor dissolved us.

‘ The next event which excited our sympathies for Massachusetts, was the Boston Port Bill, by which that port was to be shut up on the 1st of June, 1774. This arrived while we were in session in the spring of that year. The lead in the House on these subjects, being no longer left to the old members, Mr. Henry, R. H. Lee, F. L. Lee, three or four other members, whom I do not recollect, and myself, agreeing that we must boldly take an unequivocal stand in the line of Massachusetts, determined to meet and consult on the proper measures, in the Council chamber, for the benefit of the library in that room. We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen, as to passing events; and thought that the appointment of a day of general Fasting and Prayer, would be most likely to call up and alarm their attention. With the help, therefore, of Rushworth, we cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing the phrases, for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the Port Bill was to commence! — *Jeff. Writ. vol. i, p. 3, 5.*

The following is the Resolution, or Order, which may be found in Wirt’s Life of Patrick Henry, page 95.

‘ TUESDAY, the 24th of May, 14 Geo. III. 1774.

‘ This House being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America, from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister Colony of Massachusetts

Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June next, be set apart by the members of this House, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; *to give us one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights.*

‘*Ordered*, therefore, that the members of this House do attend in their places, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the Speaker and the Mace to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the Rev. Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion. In consequence of this order, Governor Dunmore on the following day dissolved the House.

‘We retired to the Apollo,’\* says Mr. Jefferson, ‘agreed to an Association, and instructed the committee of correspondence to propose to the corresponding committees of the other Colonies, *to appoint deputies to meet in Congress at such place, annually, as should be convenient to direct from time to time, the measures required by the general interest: and we declared that an attack on any one Colony should be considered as an attack on the whole.*—We further recommended to the several counties to elect deputies to meet at Williamsburgh the first of August ensuing, to consider the state of the Colony, and particularly to appoint delegates to a General Congress, should that measure be acceded to by the committees of correspondence generally. It was acceded to. Philadelphia was appointed for the place, and the fifth of September for the time of meeting.

‘We returned home, and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet assemblies of the people on the first of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion. The people met generally, with anxiety and alarm in their countenances, and the effect of the day, through the whole Colony, was like a shock of electricity, arousing every man, and placing him erect and solidly on his centre. They chose universally delegates for the Convention.’—*Jeff. Writ. vol. i, p. 6.*

The following are extracts from the Association mentioned above by Mr. Jefferson.

‘An Association, signed by eighty-nine members of the late House of Burgesses.

‘We, his Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late rep-

\* ‘The name of a public room in the Raleigh Tavern.’

representatives of the good people of this country,\* having been deprived, by the sudden interposition of the Executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as, in our opinion, are best fitted to secure our dear rights and liberty from destruction, by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America.

\* \* \* \* \*

*'We are clearly of opinion, that an attack made on one of our sister Colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the Committee of correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding Committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several Colonies of British America, to meet in General Congress at such place annually, as shall be thought most convenient, there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require.'*—Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 96-7.

The 27th day of May, 1774.

The spirit and views of the people of the several counties appear in their instructions to their delegates; and, of their instructions, the reader may judge by the following extracts from those of the county of Hanover.

*'To JOHN SYME and PATRICK HENRY, junior, esquires.*

*'Gentlemen: You have our thanks for your patriotic, faithful, and spirited conduct, in the part you acted in the late Assembly as our Burgesses, and as we are greatly alarmed at the proceedings of the British Parliament respecting the town of Boston and the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and as we understand a meeting of delegates from all the counties in this Colony is appointed to be in Williamsburgh on the first day of next month, to deliberate on our public affairs, we do hereby appoint you, Gentlemen, our delegates; and we do request you, then and there, to meet, consult, and advise, touching such matters as are most likely to effect our deliverance from the evils with which our country is threatened.*

*'The importance of those things which will offer themselves for your deliberation is exceedingly great, and when it is considered that the effect of the measures you may adopt will reach our latest posterity, you will excuse us for giving you our sentiments, and pointing out some particulars, proper for that plan of conduct we wish you to observe.*

\* Country, here, evidently meant Virginia. At that time it was so applied to other Provinces; and, subsequently, Patriotism signified attachment and fidelity to a Province, a State or to the whole Union, as the views of individuals were less or more extended.

‘ We are free men ; we have a right to be so ; and to enjoy all the privileges and immunities of our fellow-subjects in England.

‘ When we see the British Parliament trampling upon that right, and acting with determined resolution to destroy it, *we would wish to see the united wisdom and fortitude of America collected for its defence.*

‘ The sphere of life in which we move hath not afforded us lights sufficient to determine with certainty, concerning those things from which the troubles of Boston originated. Whether the people there were warranted by justice when they destroyed the tea, we know not ; but this we know, that the Parliament, by their proceedings, *have made us and all North America, parties in the present dispute,* and deeply interested in the event of it, insomuch that *if our sister Colony of Massachusetts Bay is enslaved, we cannot long remain free.*

‘ Our minds are filled with anxiety when we view the friendly regards of our parent State turned into enmity ; and those powers of government formerly exerted in our aid and protection, formed into dangerous efforts for our destruction. We read our intended doom in the Boston Port Bill, in that for altering the mode of trial in criminal cases, and finally in the bill for altering the form of government in the Massachusetts Bay. These several Acts are replete with injustice and oppression, and strongly expressive of the future policy of Britain *towards all her Colonies ;* if a full and uncontrolled operation is given to this detestable system in its early stages, it will probably be fixed upon us forever.

‘ Let it therefore be your great object to obtain a speedy repeal of those Acts ; and for this purpose we recommend the adoption of *such measures as may produce the hearty union of all our countrymen and sister Colonies ;* UNITED WE STAND, DIVIDED WE FALL.

‘ *To attain this wished for Union, we declare our readiness to sacrifice any lesser interest arising from soil, climate, situation, or productions peculiar to us.*

‘ We judge it conducive to the interests of America, that a General Congress of deputies from all the Colonies be held, in order to form a plan for guarding the claims of the Colonies and their constitutional rights from future encroachments, and for the speedy relief of our suffering brethren of Boston.

‘ *The African trade for slaves we consider the most dangerous to the virtue and welfare of this country ; we therefore most earnestly wish to see it totally discouraged.*

‘ A steady loyalty to the Kings of England has ever distinguished our country ; the present state of things here, as well as the many instances of it to be found in our history, leave no room to doubt it.

‘ Our most ardent desire is, that we and our latest posterity may continue to live under the genuine, unadulterated Constitution of England, and be subjects, in the true spirit of that Constitution, to



his Majesty and his illustrious House; and may the wretches who affirm that we desire the contrary, feel the punishment due to falsehood and villainy.

‘ We promise you our best support, and we will heartily join in such measures as a majority of our countrymen shall adopt for securing the public liberty.

‘ *Resolved*, That the above address be transmitted to the printers, to be published in the *Gazettes*.

‘ WILLIAM POLLARD, Clerk.’

Extracts from the proceedings of the aforesaid Convention at Williamsburgh on the first of August.

‘ Instructions for the deputies appointed to meet in General Congress, on the part of the Colony of Virginia.

‘ It being our opinion that the *united wisdom of America should be collected in a General Congress of all the Colonies*, we have appointed the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, Esquires, deputies to represent this Colony in the said Congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the first Monday in September next. And that they may be the better informed of our sentiments touching the conduct we wish them to observe on this important occasion, we desire that they will express, in the first place, our faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, King George the Third, our lawful and rightful sovereign; and that we are determined, with our lives and fortunes, to support him in the *legal* exercise of all his just rights and prerogatives. And, however misrepresented, we sincerely approve of a constitutional connexion with Great Britain, and wish most ardently a return of that intercourse of affection and commercial connexion that formerly united both countries; which can only be effected by a removal of those causes of discontent which have of late unhappily divided us.

‘ It cannot admit of a doubt but that British subjects in America are entitled to the same rights and privileges as their fellow-subjects possess in Britain; and, therefore, that the power assumed by the British Parliament to bind America by their statutes in all cases whatsoever, is unconstitutional, and the source of these unhappy differences.

‘ To obtain redress of these grievances, without which *the people of America* can neither be safe, free, nor happy; they are willing to undergo the great inconvenience that will be derived to them, from stopping all imports whatsoever from Great Britain, after the first day of November next, and also to cease exporting any commodity whatsoever to the same place, after the tenth day of August, 1775.’—*Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry*, pp. 102–3.

‘EDWARD RUTLEDGE TO RALPH IZARD, in Europe.

‘CHARLESTON, July 21, 1774.

‘MY DEAR SIR:

\* \* \* \* \*

‘Let us, then, take leave of this matter, and of all money concerns, for a time, and listen to an affair of more consequence. I mean, the liberty of America. The people are at last aroused. We have had the most general meeting that has ever been known—almost every man of consequence has attended. The parishes sent down deputies to meet *the inhabitants* of Charleston, in order to concert some plan for the preservation of our liberties. Three days and three nights were spent in concerting some plan. At last, the one which was proposed, and supported by my brother and myself, was come into; *which was, not to enter into resolutions at present, but send deputies to the northward, to meet in Congress, and give those deputies full and absolute power to agree to or propose, whatever they should think would redress the grievances complained of.* We contended that every plan which was adopted, as most likely to bring about the end proposed, should have unanimity for its basis.

‘Deputies being agreed to be sent, a full power having been resolved upon, the question was, who should be sent? When it was determined that Mr. Henry Middleton, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Gadsden, my brother John, and myself, should be the five.

‘I am, my dear Sir,

‘Your affectionate friend.’

‘MR. FARR TO MR. IZARD.

‘CHARLESTON, South Carolina, Aug. 8, 1774.

‘SIR:

‘Edward Rutledge, Esq. having had the honor to be chosen by the inhabitants of this Colony, one of the Commissioners to meet Commissioners from the other Colonies at Philadelphia, to consult what is proper to be done on the present unhappy situation of *American affairs*, has accordingly gone on that embassy; but before he left this country, he desired me to take charge of your estate, and overlook the same until his return.

‘I have no doubt but that you have been informed of the *steps taken by the people* of this Province, relative to the measures intended to be pursued *by America in general*, in opposition to the late cruel Acts of the British Parliament against Boston. The unjustifiable and arbitrary proceedings of the British Parliament against the Americans have so roused *the people on this Continent*, that I dare say they will never be forgotten.

‘*The inhabitants of this Province are firmly resolved* to go on in the opposition with spirit; and even the most mild and moderate

of the people, have shown themselves on the occasion.' — *Correspondence of R. Izard*, vol. i, p. 2 to 7.

The delegates to the first American Congress assembled at Philadelphia, on Monday, Sept. 5, 1774.

'The Congress proceeded to the choice of a President, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq. was unanimously elected.

'Mr. Charles Thompson was unanimously chosen Secretary.

'The gentlemen from the several Colonies produced their credentials, which were read and approved, as follows:

'PROVINCE OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

'At a meeting of the deputies appointed *by the several towns* in this Province, held at Exeter, in the county of Rockingham, 21st July, 1774, for the election of delegates, on behalf of this Province, to join the General Congress proposed;—present eighty-five members.

'*The Hon. John Wentworth, Esq. in the chair.*

'*Voted*, That Major John Sullivan, and Col. Nathaniel Folsom, Esqs. be appointed and empowered, as delegates on the part of this Province, to attend and assist in the General Congress of delegates from the other Colonies, at such time and place as may be appointed, *to devise, consult, and adopt such measures*, as may have the most likely tendency to extricate the Colonies from their present difficulties; to secure and perpetuate their rights, liberties, and privileges, and to restore that peace, harmony, and mutual confidence, which once happily subsisted between the parent country and her Colonies.

'J. WENTWORTH, Chairman.'

'PROVINCE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

'*In the House of Representatives, June 17, 1774.*

'This House having duly considered, and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences which have long subsisted, and are increasing, between Great Britain and the American Colonies, *do resolve*, That a meeting of committees from the several Colonies on this Continent, is highly expedient and necessary, *to consult* upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced, by the operation of certain acts of Parliament respecting America, and *to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures*, to be by them recommended to *all the Colonies*, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men! Therefore,

'*Resolved*, That the Hon. James Bowdoin, the Hon. Thomas

Cushing, Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esqs. be, and they are hereby appointed a committee on the part of this Province, for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum; to meet such committees or delegates from the other Colonies, as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, or by Convention, or by the committees of correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, in Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the committee, on the first day of September next; and that the Speaker of the House be directed, in a letter to the Speakers of the Houses of Burgesses or Representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these resolves.

‘SAMUEL ADAMS, Clerk.’

‘RHODE ISLAND.

‘By the Hon. Joseph Wanton, Esq. Governor, Captain-General, and Commander-in-chief of and over, the English Colony of Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America.

‘*To the Hon. Stephen Hopkins and the Hon. Samuel Ward, Esqs., greeting.*

‘Whereas, the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, have nominated and appointed you, the said Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward, *to represent the people* of this Colony in General Congress of Representatives of this and the other Colonies, at such time and place as should be agreed upon by the major part of the committees appointed, or to be appointed by the Colonies in General; I do therefore, hereby authorize, empower, and commissionate you, to repair to the city of Philadelphia, it being the place agreed upon by the major part of the Colonies; and there, in behalf of this Colony, to meet and join with the commissioners or delegates from the other Colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several acts of the British Parliament, for levying taxes upon his Majesty’s subjects in America, without their consent, and particularly an act lately passed for blocking up the port of Boston, and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation, agreeable to the instructions given you by the General Assembly.  
(L. S.)

‘Given under my hand and the seal of the Colony, this tenth day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1774, and the 14th of the

reign of his most sacred Majesty, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.'

'By his Honor's command, 'J. WANTON.  
'HENRY WARD, Secretary.'

'COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, SS.

NEW LONDON, July 13, 1774.

'At a meeting of the committee of correspondence for this Colony, the Hon. Ebenezer Silliman, Esq. in the chair.

'The Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnston, Erastus Wolcott, Silas Deane, and Richard Law, Esqs. were nominated pursuant to the act of the Hon. House of Representatives of the said Colony, at their sessions in May last, either three of which are hereby authorized and empowered, in behalf of this Colony, to attend the General Congress of the Colonies, proposed to be held in Philadelphia on the first day of September next, or at such other time and place as shall be agreed on by the Colonies, to consult and advise with the commissioners or committees of the several English Colonies in America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies.'

Signed, Ebenezer Silliman, and seven others, members of said committee.

'HARTFORD, August, 1774.

'At a meeting of the committee of correspondence for this Colony, Erastus Wolcott, Chairman.

'The Hon. William Samuel Johnston, Erastus Wolcott, and Richard Law, Esqs., nominated by this committee at New London on the 13th of July last, as persons proper to attend the General Congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the first of September next, as by said appointment, being unable, by reason of previous engagements, and the state of their health, to attend said Congress, on behalf of this Colony; the Hon. Roger Sherman, and Joseph Trumbull, Esqs. were nominated in the place of the aforesaid gentlemen, as persons proper to attend said Congress, in behalf of this Colony, either of which are empowered with the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer and Silas Deane, Esqs. for that purpose.'

Signed, William Williams, and five others, members of said committee.

'NEW YORK.

'By duly certified polls, taken by proper persons in seven wards, it appears that James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, and John Alsop, Esqs. were elected as delegates for the city and county of New York, to attend the Congress at Philadelphia, the first day of September next; and at a meeting of the committees of several districts in the county of West Chester,

the same gentlemen were appointed to represent that county ; also, by a letter from Jacob Lansing, Jun. chairman, in behalf of the committee for Albany, it appears that that city and county had adopted the same for their delegates. By another letter, it appears, that the committee from the several districts in the county of Dutchess, had likewise adopted the same as delegates to represent that county in Congress, and that committees of other towns approve of them as their delegates.

‘ By a writing duly attested, it appears, the county of Suffolk, in the Colony of New York, have appointed Col. William Floyd, to represent them in Congress.’

‘ NEW JERSEY.

‘ To JAMES KINSEY, WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, JOHN DEHART, STEPHEN CRANE, and RICHARD SMITH, Esqs., each and every of you.

‘ The committees appointed *by the several counties* of the Colony of New Jersey, to nominate deputies to represent the same in General Congress of deputies, from the other Colonies in America, convened in the city of New Brunswick, have nominated and appointed, and do hereby nominate and appoint you, and each of you, deputies to represent the Colony of New Jersey, in the said General Congress. In testimony whereof, the chairman of the said several committees here met, have hereunto set their hands, this twenty-third day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1774.’

Signed, William P. Smith, and thirteen others.

‘ PENNSYLVANIA.

‘ FRIDAY, July 22, 1774, A. M.

‘ The committee of the whole House, taking into their most serious consideration the unfortunate differences which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the American Colonies, and being greatly increased by the operation and effects of divers late acts of the British Parliament :

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That there is an absolute necessity that a Congress of deputies from the several Colonies be held as soon as conveniently may be, to consult together upon the present unhappy state of the Colonies, and to form and adopt a plan for the purposes of obtaining redress of American grievances, ascertaining American rights, upon the most solid and constitutional principles, and for establishing that union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies which is indispensably necessary to the welfare and happiness of both.’

‘ EODEM DIE., P. M.

‘ The House resumed the consideration of the resolve from the



committee of the whole House, and, after some debate thereon, adopting and confirming the same,

*'Resolved unanimoſly, 'That the Hon. Joſeph Galloway, Speaker, Samuel Rhoads, Thomas Miffin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, George Roſs, and Edward Biddle, Eſqs. be, and they are hereby appointed a committee on the part of this Province, for the purpoſes aforeſaid, and that they, or any four of them, do meet ſuch committees or delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their reſpective Houſes of Representatives, or by convention, or by the Provincial or Colony committees, at ſuch time and place as ſhall be generally agreed on by ſuch committee.'*

*'The three Counties, NEW CASTLE, KENT, and SUSSEX, ON DEL-AWARE.*

*'AUGUST 1, 1774, A. M.*

*'The representatives of the freemen of the government of the counties of New Caſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on Delaware, met at New Caſtle, in purſuance of circular letters from the Speaker of the Houſe; and, having choſen a Chairman, and read the reſolves of the three reſpective counties, and ſundry letters from the committees of correſpondence along the continent, they unanimoſly entered into the following reſolution, namely:*

*'We, the representatives aforeſaid, by virtue of the power delegated to us, as aforeſaid, taking into our moſt ſerious conſideration the ſeveral Acts of the Britiſh Parliament, for reſtraining manufactures in His Maſteſty's Colonies and Plantations in North America—for taking away the property of the coloniſts without their participation or conſent—for the introduction of the arbitrary powers of exciſe in the cuſtoms here—for the making all the revenue cauſes triable without jury, and under the deciſion of a ſingle dependent Judge—for the trial in England of perſons accuſed of capital crimes, committed in the Colonies—for the ſhutting up the port of Boſton—for new-modelling the government of the Maſſachuſetts Bay, and the operation of the ſame on the property, liberty, and lives of the coloniſts;—and alſo conſidering that the moſt eligible mode of determining upon the premiſes, and of endeavoring to procure relief and redreſs of our grievances, would have been by us aſſembled in a legislative capacity, but that, as the Houſe had adjourned to the 30th day of September next, and it is not to be expected that His Honor the Governor would call us, by writs of ſummons, on this occaſion, having reſuſed to do the like in his other Province of Pennſylvania, the next moſt proper method of answering the expectations and deſires of our conſtituents, and of contributing our aid to the general cauſe of America, is to appoint commiſſioners, or deputies, in behalf of the people of this Government, to meet and act with thoſe appointed by the other Provinces, in General Congreſs; and we do, therefore, unanimoſly nomi-*

nate and appoint Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read, Esqs., or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this Government, in a General, Continental Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there to consult and advise with the deputies from the other Colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as may be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and *unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people*, and the redress of our *general grievances*.

‘Signed by order of the Convention.

‘CÆSAR RODNEY, Chairman.’

‘MARYLAND.

‘At a meeting of the committees appointed *by the several counties* of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774, and continued, by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the same month, Matthew Tilghman, Esq., in the Chair, John Duckett, Clerk,

‘*Resolved*, That Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Esqs., or any two or more of them, be deputies for this Province, to attend a General Congress of Deputies from the Colonies, at such time and place as may be agreed on, *to effect one general plan of conduct*, operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boston, and *preservation of American liberty*.’

‘VIRGINIA.

‘Monday, the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1774.

‘At a general meeting of delegates from the different *counties* in this Colony, convened in the city of Williamsburgh, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation of the *Continent of North America*, Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., in the Chair, it was unanimously

‘*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting that it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British empire, that a General Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies assemble, as soon as the nature of their situations will admit, to consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the mother country, as to procure redress for the much injured Province of Massachusetts Bay, *to secure British America* from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union, so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.’

‘FRIDAY, August 5, 1774.

‘The meeting proceeded to the choice of delegates, to represent

this Colony in General Congress, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, Esqs., were appointed for that purpose.'

'NORTH CAROLINA.

'At a general meeting of *deputies of the inhabitants* of this Province, Newbern, the 25th day of August, 1774,

'*Resolved*, That we approve of the proposal of a General Congress, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breach made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violation, done under the sanction of public authority.'

'*Resolved*, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqs., and every of them, be deputies to attend such Congress; and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any acts done by them, or consent given in behalf of this Province, *obligatory*, in honor, upon every inhabitant hereof, who is not an alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the liberties of America.'

'Signed,

JOHN HERVEY, Moderator.

'Attested, ANDREW KNOX, Clerk.'

'SOUTH CAROLINA.

'In the Commons House of Assembly, }  
Tuesday, the 2d day of August, 1774. }

'Colonel Powel acquainted the House that, during the recess of the House, namely, on the sixth, seventh and eighth days of July last, at a *general meeting of the inhabitants* of this Colony, *they* having under consideration the Acts of Parliament, lately passed, with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as well as other American grievances, *had nominated and appointed* the Hon. Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge, Esqs., deputies on the part and behalf of this Colony, to meet the deputies of the other Colonies of North America, in General Congress, the first Monday in September next, at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to consider the Acts lately passed, and Bills depending in Parliament, with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which Acts and Bills, in the precedent and consequences, *affect the whole Continent of America*; also the grievances under which America labors, by reason of the several Acts of Parliament, that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unneces-

every restraints and burdens on trade; and of the Statutes, Parliamentary Acts, and Royal Instructions, which make an invidious distinction between His Majesty's subjects in Great Britain and America, *with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute, such legal measures*, as, in the opinion of the said deputies, and of the deputies so to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a repeal of the said Acts, and a redress of those grievances.

‘*Resolved*, unanimously, That this House do recognize, ratify, and confirm the appointment of the said deputies, for the purposes mentioned.’

‘Attested.

‘THOMAS FARR, JR., Clerk.’

‘TUESDAY, September 6, 1774.

‘The Congress met, according to adjournment.

‘*Resolved*, That in determining questions in this Congress, each Colony or Province shall have one vote,—*the Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure, proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony.*

‘*Resolved*, That the door be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct them to be made public.

‘*Resolved*, That no person shall speak more than twice on the same point, without leave of the Congress.

‘*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, to state the rights of the Colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights are violated or infringed, and the means most proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them.

‘*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, to examine and report the several statutes which affect the trade and manufactures of the Colonies.

‘*Resolved*, That the Rev. Mr. Duché be desired to open the Congress, to-morrow morning, with prayers, at the Carpenters' Hall, at nine o'clock.’

‘IN CONGRESS. September 7, 1774.—Agreeably to the resolve of yesterday, the meeting was opened with prayers, by the Rev. Mr. Duché.

‘*Voted*, That the thanks of the Congress be given to Mr. Duché, by Mr. Cushing and Mr. Ward, for performing Divine service, and for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on the occasion.

‘The Congress, taking into consideration the appointment of the committees, a vote was taken on the number of which the first

committee should consist, and, by a great majority, resolved that it consist of two from each of the Colonies, as follows :

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| From <i>New Hampshire</i> , | Major John Sullivan and Colonel Folsom.  |
| <i>Mass. Bay</i> ,          | Mr. Samuel Adams and Mr. John Adams.     |
| <i>Rhode Island</i> ,       | Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Ward.                |
| <i>Connecticut</i> ,        | Colonel Dyer and Mr. Sherman.            |
| <i>New York</i> ,           | Mr. James Duane and Mr. John Jay.        |
| <i>New Jersey</i> ,         | Mr. Livingston and Mr. Dehart.           |
| <i>Pennsylvania</i> ,       | Mr. Jos. Galloway and Mr. Edward Biddle. |
| <i>Delaware</i> ,           | Mr. Cæsar Rodney and Mr. M'Kean.         |
| <i>Maryland</i> ,           | Mr. Thos. Johnson and Mr. Goldsborough.  |
| <i>Virginia</i> ,           | Mr. Lee and Mr. Pendleton.               |
| <i>North Carolina</i> ,     | Mr. Wm. Hooper and Mr. Joseph Hewes.     |
| <i>South Carolina</i> ,     | Mr. Lynch and Mr. J. Rutledge.           |

' *Agreed*, That the second committee consist of one chosen from each Colony, as follows :

|                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| <i>New Hampshire</i> ,  | Mr. Sullivan. |
| <i>Mass. Bay</i> ,      | Mr. Cushing.  |
| <i>Rhode Island</i> ,   | Mr. Hopkins.  |
| <i>Connecticut</i> ,    | Mr. Deane.    |
| <i>New York</i> ,       | Mr. Low.      |
| <i>New Jersey</i> ,     | Mr. Kinsey.   |
| <i>Pennsylvania</i> ,   | Mr. Mifflin.  |
| <i>Delaware</i> ,       | Mr. Read.     |
| <i>Maryland</i> ,       | Mr. Chase.    |
| <i>Virginia</i> ,       | Mr. Henry.    |
| <i>North Carolina</i> , | Mr. Hooper.   |
| <i>South Carolina</i> , | Mr. Gadsden.  |

' *Resolved*, That the President may adjourn the Congress, from day to day, when he finds there is no business prepared to be laid before them, and may, when he finds it necessary, call them together before the time to which they may stand adjourned.'

After this, Congress did little more than adjourn from day to day, till the 14th.

On the 8th, Hon. John Adams wrote to Mrs. Adams :—' Every gentleman seems to consider the bombardment of Boston as the bombardment of the capital of his own Province. Our deliberations are grave and serious indeed.

' We cannot depart from this place until the business of the Congress is completed, and it is the general disposition to proceed slowly. There is in the Congress a collection of the greatest men upon this continent, in point of abilities, virtues, and fortunes. There is such a spirit through the Colonies, and the members of the Congress are such characters, that no danger can happen to us, which will not involve the whole Continent in universal desolation.'

Again, on the 14th:—‘The Congress will, to all present appearance, be well united, and in such measures as, I hope, will give satisfaction to the friends of our country. A Tory here is the most despicable animal in the creation. The spirit, the firmness, the prudence, of our Province, are vastly applauded, and we are universally acknowledged the saviours and defenders of American liberty. The designs and plans of the Congress must not be communicated until completed, and we shall move with great deliberation.’

Also, on the 16th:—‘When the Congress first met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. The motion was seconded, and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our President, waited on Mr. Duché, and received for answer, that, if his health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning he appeared, with his clerk, and in his pontificals, and read several prayers, in the established form, and then read the collect for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning.

‘After this, Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to every body, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. It has had an excellent effect upon every body here. I must beg you to read that Psalm.’

*Letters of John Adams to Mrs. Adams, vol. i, pp. 20 to 24.*

‘IN CONGRESS. September 14, 1774.—Henry Wisner, a delegate from the county of Orange, in the Colony of New York, appeared at Congress, and produced a certificate of his election by the said county, which being read and approved, he took his seat in Congress, as a deputy for the Colony of New York.

‘The delegates from the Province of Massachusetts Bay, agreeable to a request from the joint committees of every town and district in the county of Middlesex, in the said Province, communicated to the Congress the proceedings of those committees at Concord, on the 30th and 31st days of August last, which were read.’

No business being prepared, the Congress was adjourned from day to day, until Saturday morning (17th).

‘September 17th, A. M. The resolutions entered into by the delegates from the several towns and districts in the county of Suffolk, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, on Tuesday, the 6th of September, were laid before the Congress, and are as follows:

‘At a meeting of the delegates of every town and district in the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday, the 6th of September, at the house of Mr. Richard Woodward, of Dedham, Joseph Palmer, Esq., being chosen Moderator, and William Thompson, Esq., Clerk, a



committee was chosen to bring in a report to the Convention, and the following being several times read, and put, paragraph by paragraph, was unanimously voted, namely :

*'Whereas*, The power, but not the justice, the vengeance, but not the wisdom, of Great Britain, which of old persecuted, scourged, and exiled our fugitive parents from their native shores, now pursues us, their guiltless children, with unrelenting severity ; And whereas, this then savage and uncultivated desert was purchased by the toil and treasure, or acquired by the blood and valor of those our venerable progenitors ; to us they bequeathed the dear-bought inheritance ; to our care and protection they consigned it ; and the most sacred obligations are upon us to transmit the glorious purchase, unfettered by power, unclogged with shackles, to our innocent and beloved offspring. On the fortitude, on the wisdom, and on the exertions of this important day, is suspended the fate of this new world, and of unborn millions. If a boundless extent of continent, swarming with millions, will tamely submit to live, move, and have their being, at the arbitrary will of a licentious minister, they basely yield to voluntary slavery, and future generations shall load their memories with incessant execrations. On the other hand, if we arrest the hand which would ransack our pockets ; if we disarm the parricide which points the dagger to our bosoms ; if we nobly defeat that fatal edict, which proclaims a power to frame laws for us, in all cases whatsoever, thereby entailing the endless and numberless curses of slavery upon us, our heirs and their heirs, forever ; if we successfully resist that unparalleled usurpation of unconstitutional power, whereby our capital is robbed of the means of life ; whereby the streets of Boston are thronged with military executioners ; whereby our coasts are lined, and harbors crowded, with ships of war ; whereby the Charter of the Colony, that sacred barrier against the encroachments of tyranny, is mutilated, and, in effect, annihilated ; whereby a murderous law is framed, to shelter villains from the hands of justice ; whereby the unalienable and inestimable inheritance which we derived from nature, the Constitution of Britain, and the privileges warranted to us in the Charter of the Province, is totally wrecked, annulled, and vacated, posterity will acknowledge that virtue which preserved them free and happy ; and while we enjoy the rewards and blessings of the faithful, the torrent of panegyrists will roll our reputations to that latest period, when the streams of time shall be absorbed in the abyss of eternity.

Therefore, *We have resolved, and do resolve,*

1. That, whereas, His Majesty, George the Third, is the rightful successor to the throne of Great Britain, and justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and, agreeable to compact, of the English Colonies in America, therefore we, the heirs and successors of the first planters of this Colony, do cheerfully acknowledge

the said George the Third to be *our rightful sovereign*, and that said covenant is the tenure and claim on which are founded our allegiance and submission.

'2. That it is an indispensable duty, which we owe to God, our country, ourselves, and posterity, by all lawful ways and means in our power, to maintain, defend and preserve those civil and religious rights and liberties, for which many of our fathers fought, bled and died, and to hand them down entire to future generations.

'3. That the late Acts of the British Parliament, for blocking up the Harbor of Boston, for altering the established form of Government in this Colony, and for screening the most flagitious violators of the laws of the Province from a legal trial, are gross infractions of those rights, to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British Constitution, and the Charter of the Province.

'4. That no obedience is due from this Province to either or any part of the Acts above mentioned, but that they be rejected, as the attempts of a wicked administration to enslave America.

'5. That, so long as the Justices of our Superior Court of Judicature, Court of Assize, &c., and inferior Court of Common Pleas in this county, are appointed, or hold their places, by any other tenure than that which the Charter and the laws of the Province direct, they must be considered as under undue influence, and are therefore unconstitutional officers, and, as such, no regard ought to be paid to them by the people of this county.

'6. That if the Justices of the Superior Court of Judicature, Assize, &c., Justices of the Court of Common Pleas, or of the General Sessions of the Peace, shall sit and act during their present disqualified state, this county will support, and bear harmless, all Sheriffs and their deputies, constables, jurors, and other officers who shall refuse to carry into execution the orders of said Courts; and, as far as possible, to prevent the many inconveniences which must be occasioned by a suspension of the Courts of Justice, we do most earnestly recommend it to the creditors, that they show all reasonable, and even generous forbearance to their debtors; and to all debtors, to pay their just debts, with all possible speed; and if any disputes relative to debts or trespasses shall arise, which cannot be settled by the parties, we recommend it to them to submit all such causes to arbitration; and it is our opinion that the contending parties, or either of them, who shall refuse so to do, ought to be considered as coöperating with the enemies of this country.

'7. That it be recommended to the collectors of taxes, constables, and all other officers who have public moneys in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof to the Provincial County Treasurer, until the civil government of the Province is placed upon a constitutional foundation, or until it shall otherwise be ordered by the proposed Provincial Congress.



‘8. That the persons who have accepted seats at the Council Board, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, in conformity to the late Act of the British Parliament, entitled an Act for the regulating the Government of the Massachusetts Bay, have acted in direct violation of the duty they owe to their country, and have thereby given great and just offence to this people;—*therefore resolved*, That this county do recommend it to all persons who have so highly offended by accepting said departments, and have not already resigned their seats at the Council Board, to make public resignations of their places at said Board, on or before the 20th day of this instant September; and that all persons refusing so to do, shall, from and after said day, be considered by this county as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country.

‘9. That the fortifications begun, and now carrying on, upon Boston Neck, are justly alarming to this country, and give us reason to apprehend some hostile intention against that town, more especially, as the Commander-in-Chief has, in a very extraordinary manner, removed the powder from the magazine at Charlestown, and has also forbidden the keeper of the magazine at Boston to deliver out to the owners the powder which they had lodged in said magazine.

‘10. That the late Act of Parliament, for establishing the Roman Catholic religion and the French laws in that extensive country now called Quebec, is dangerous, in an extreme degree, to the Protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of all America; and therefore, as men, and Protestant Christians, we are indispensably obliged to take all proper measures for our security.

‘11. That whereas, our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave, and hardy people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline; we, therefore, for the honor, defence and security of this county and Province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons be elected in each town, as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do for that purpose appear under arms at least once a week.

‘12. That during the present hostile appearance on the part of Great Britain, notwithstanding the many insults and oppressions which we must sensibly resent, yet, nevertheless, from our affection to his Majesty, which we have at all times evidenced, we are determined to act merely upon the defensive, so long as such conduct

may be vindicated by reason, and the principles of self-preservation, but no longer.

13. That as we understand it has been in contemplation to apprehend sundry persons of this county, who have rendered themselves conspicuous in contending for the violated rights and liberties of their countrymen; we do recommend, should such an audacious measure be put in practice, to seize and keep in safe custody, every servant of the present tyrannical and unconstitutional government throughout the county and province, until the persons so apprehended be liberated from the hands of our adversaries, and restored safe and uninjured to their respective friends and families.

14. That until our rights are fully restored to us, we will to the utmost of our power, and we recommend the same to the other counties, withhold all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and abstain from the consumption of British merchandize and manufactures, and especially of East India teas and piece goods, with such additions, alterations, and exceptions only as the *General Congress* of the Colonies *may agree to*.

15. That under our present circumstances, it is incumbent on us to encourage arts and manufactures amongst us, by all means in our power, and that be and  
are hereby appointed a committee to consider of the best ways and means to promote and establish the same, and to report to this convention as soon as may be.

16. That the exigencies of our public affairs, demand that a Provincial Congress be called to consult such measures as may be adopted, and vigorously executed by the whole people; and we do recommend it to the several towns in this county, to choose members for such a Provincial Congress, to be holden at Concord, on the second Tuesday of October next ensuing.

17. That this county, *confiding in the wisdom and integrity of the Continental Congress*, now sitting at Philadelphia, *pay all due respect and submission to such measures* as may be recommended by them to the Colonies, for the restoration and establishment of their just rights, civil and religious, and for renewing that harmony and union between Great Britain and the Colonies, so earnestly wished for by all good men.

18. That whereas the universal uneasiness which prevails among all orders of men, arising from the wicked and oppressive measures of the present administration, may influence some unthinking persons to commit outrage upon private property; we would heartily recommend to all persons of this community, not to engage in any routs, riots, or licentious attacks upon the properties of any person whatsoever, as being subversive of all order and government; but by a steady, manly, uniform, and persevering opposition, to convince our enemies that in a contest so important, in a cause so solemn, our conduct shall be such as to merit the approbation of

the wise, and the admiration of the brave and free of every age and of every country.

19. That should our enemies, by any sudden manœuvres, render it necessary to ask the aid and assistance of our brethren in the country, some one of the committee of correspondence, or a select man of such town, or the town adjoining, where such hostilities shall commence, or shall be expected to commence, shall despatch couriers with written messages to the selectmen, or committees of correspondence, of the several towns in the vicinity, with a written account of such matter, who shall despatch others to committees more remote, until proper and sufficient assistance be obtained, and that the expense of said couriers be defrayed by the county, until it shall be otherwise ordered by the Provincial Congress.

*September 17, p. m.* The Congress taking the foregoing into consideration,

*Resolved unanimously,* That this assembly deeply feel the suffering of their countrymen in the Massachusetts Bay, under the operation of the late august, cruel and oppressive Acts of the British Parliament; that they most thoroughly approve the wisdom and fortitude, with which opposition to these wicked ministerial measures has hitherto been conducted, and they earnestly recommend to their brethren, a perseverance in the same firm and temperate conduct as expressed in the resolutions determined upon at a meeting of the delegates for the county of Suffolk, on Tuesday the 6th instant, trusting that *the effect of the united efforts of North America* in their behalf, will carry such confidence to the British nation, of the unwise, unjust, and ruinous policy of the present administration, as quickly to introduce better men and wiser measures.

*Resolved unanimously,* That contributions from all the Colonies for supplying the necessities, and alleviating the distresses of our brethren at Boston, ought to be continued, in such manner, and so long as their occasions may require.

*Ordered,* That these resolutions, together with the resolutions of the county of Suffolk, be published in the newspapers.

On the 18th, Mr. Adams wrote to Mrs. A. : — ‘The proceedings of the Congress are all a profound secret as yet, except two votes which were passed yesterday and ordered to be printed. You will see them from every quarter. These votes were passed in full Congress with perfect unanimity. The esteem, the affection, the admiration for the people of Boston and the Massachusetts, which were expressed yesterday, and the fixed determination that they should be supported, were enough to melt a heart of stone. I saw the tears gush into the eyes of the old, grave, pacific Quakers of Pennsylvania.

‘My dear, do intreat every friend I have to write me. Every line that comes from our friends is greedily inquired after, and our letters have done us vast service. Middlesex and Suffolk have acquired unbounded honor here. There is no idea of submission here in any body’s head.

‘If Camden, Chatham, Richmond, and St. Asaph, had travelled through the country, they could not have been entertained with greater demonstrations of respect than Cushing, Paine, and the brace of Adamses have been.

nate and appoint Cæsar Rodney, Thomas M'Kean, and George Read, Esqs., or any two of them, deputies, on the part and behalf of this Government, in a General, Continental Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next, or at any other time or place that may be generally agreed on, then and there to consult and advise with the deputies from the other Colonies, and to determine upon all such prudent and lawful measures as may be judged most expedient for the Colonies immediately and *unitedly to adopt, in order to obtain relief for an oppressed people*, and the redress of our *general grievances*.

‘Signed by order of the Convention.

‘CÆSAR RODNEY, Chairman.’

‘MARYLAND.

‘At a meeting of the committees appointed *by the several counties* of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, the 22d day of June, 1774, and continued, by adjournment, from day to day, till the 25th of the same month, Matthew Tilghman, Esq., in the Chair, John Duckett, Clerk,

‘*Resolved*, That Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Jr., Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, and Samuel Chase, Esqs., or any two or more of them, be deputies for this Province, to attend a General Congress of Deputies from the Colonies, at such time and place as may be agreed on, *to effect one general plan of conduct*, operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the mother country, for the relief of Boston, and *preservation of American liberty*.’

‘VIRGINIA.

‘Monday, the first of August, in the year of our Lord 1774.

‘At a general meeting of delegates from the different *counties* in this Colony, convened in the city of Williamsburgh, to take under their consideration the present critical and alarming situation of the *Continent of North America*, Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., in the Chair, it was unanimously

‘*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this meeting that it will be highly conducive to the security and happiness of the British empire, that a General Congress of Deputies from all the Colonies assemble, as soon as the nature of their situations will admit, to consider of the most proper and effectual manner of so operating on the commercial connection of the Colonies with the mother country, as to procure redress for the much injured Province of Massachusetts Bay, *to secure British America* from the ravage and ruin of arbitrary taxes, and speedily to procure the return of that harmony and union, so beneficial to the whole empire, and so ardently desired by all British America.’

‘FRIDAY, August 5, 1774.

‘The meeting proceeded to the choice of delegates, to represent

this Colony in General Congress, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton, Esqs., were appointed for that purpose.'

'NORTH CAROLINA.

'At a general meeting of *deputies of the inhabitants* of this Province, Newbern, the 25th day of August, 1774,

'*Resolved*, That we approve of the proposal of a General Congress, to be held in the city of Philadelphia, on the twentieth day of September next, then and there to deliberate upon the present state of British America, and to take such measures as they may deem prudent to effect the purpose of describing with certainty the rights of Americans, repairing the breach made in those rights, and for guarding them for the future from any such violation, done under the sanction of public authority.'

'*Resolved*, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqs., and every of them, be deputies to attend such Congress; and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any acts done by them, or consent given in behalf of this Province, *obligatory*, in honor, *upon every inhabitant hereof*, who is not an alien to his country's good, and an apostate to the *liberties of America*.'

'Signed,

JOHN HERVEY, Moderator.

'Attested, ANDREW KNOX, Clerk.'

'SOUTH CAROLINA.

'In the Commons House of Assembly, }  
Tuesday, the 2d day of August, 1774. }

'Colonel Powel acquainted the House that, during the recess of the House, namely, on the sixth, seventh and eighth days of July last, at a *general meeting of the inhabitants* of this Colony, *they* having under consideration the Acts of Parliament, lately passed, with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, as well as other American grievances, *had nominated and appointed* the Hon. Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, and Edward Rutledge, Esqs., deputies on the part and behalf of this Colony, to meet the deputies of the other Colonies of North America, in General Congress, the first Monday in September next, at Philadelphia, or at any other time and place that may be generally agreed on, there to consider the Acts lately passed, and Bills depending in Parliament, with regard to the Port of Boston and Colony of Massachusetts Bay, which Acts and Bills, in the precedent and consequences, *affect the whole Continent of America*; also the grievances under which America labors, by reason of the several Acts of Parliament, that impose taxes or duties for raising a revenue, and lay unneces-

‘ *Tuesday, October 11.* A copy of the letter to General Gage was brought into Congress, and agreeable to order, signed by the President, and is as follows:

‘ PHILADELPHIA, October 10, 1774.

‘ SIR: The inhabitants of the town of Boston have informed *us*, *the representatives of his Majesty’s faithful subjects* in all the Colonies from Nova Scotia to Georgia, that the fortifications erecting within that town, the frequent invasions of private property, and the repeated insults they receive from the soldiery, have given them great reason to suspect a plan is formed very destructive to them, and tending to overthrow *the liberties of America*.

‘ Your Excellency cannot be a stranger to *the sentiments of America*, with respect to the Acts of Parliament, under the execution of which, those unhappy people are oppressed, the approbation universally expressed of their conduct, and the determined resolution of the colonies, for the preservation of their common rights, to unite in their opposition to those Acts.— In consequence of these sentiments, they have appointed us the guardians of their rights and liberties, and we are under the deepest concern, that whilst we are pursuing dutiful and peaceable measures to procure a cordial and effectual reconciliation between Great Britain and the Colonies, your Excellency should proceed in a manner that bears so hostile an appearance, and which even those oppressive acts do not warrant.

‘ We entreat your Excellency to consider what a tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a free people, hitherto well disposed to peaceable measures, into hostilities which may prevent the endeavors of this Congress to restore a good understanding with our parent state, and may involve us in the horrors of a civil war.

‘ In order therefore to quiet the minds and remove the reasonable jealousies of the people, that they may not be driven to a state of desperation, being fully persuaded of their pacific dispositions towards the King’s troops, could they be assured of their own safety, we hope, Sir, you will discontinue the fortifications in and about Boston, prevent any further invasions of private property, restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and give orders that the communication between the town and country may be open, unmolested and free.

‘ Signed by order and in behalf of the General Congress,

‘ PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.’



‘ *October 11.* As Congress have given General Gage an assurance of the peaceable disposition of the people of Boston and Massachusetts Bay,

‘ *Resolved unanimously,* That they be advised still to conduct themselves peaceably towards his Excellency General Gage, and his Majesty’s troops now stationed in the town of Boston, as far as can possibly be consistent with their immediate safety, and the security of the town; avoiding and discountenancing every violation of his Majesty’s property, or any insult to his troops, and that they peaceably and firmly persevere in the line they are now conducting themselves, on the defensive.

‘ *Ordered,* That a copy of the foregoing resolve, and of that passed on Saturday, and the three passed yesterday, be made out; and that the President enclose them in a letter to the committee of correspondence for the town of Boston, being the sentiments of the Congress on the matters referred to them by the committee, in their letter of the 29th of September last.’

‘ *Resolved unanimously,* That a memorial be prepared to the people of British America, stating to them the necessity of a firm united, and invariable observation of the measures recommended by the Congress.

‘ Also that an address be prepared to the people of Great Britain.

‘ *Ordered,* That Mr. Lee, Mr Livingston, and Mr. Jay, be a committee to prepare a draught of the Memorial and Address.’

‘ *Wednesday, October 12.* The committee appointed to prepare a plan for carrying into effect the non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, brought in a report, which was read.

‘ The Congress then resumed the consideration of the rights and grievances of these Colonies, and after deliberating on the subject this and the following day, adjourned till Friday.’

‘ *Friday, October 14, 1774.* The Congress met according to adjournment, and resuming the consideration of the subject under debate, made the following *declaration* and *resolves* :

‘ Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British Parliament claiming a power, of right, to bind the people of America by Statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath, in some Acts, expressly imposed taxes on them, and, in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath imposed rates and duties payable in these Colonies, established a board of Commissioners, with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county.

‘ And whereas, in consequence of other Statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace : And whereas, it has lately been resolved

in Parliament, that by force of a Statute, made in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, colouists may be transported to England, and tried there upon accusations for treason and misprisions, or concealments of treasons committed in the Colonies, and by a late Statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned.

‘ And whereas, in the last session of Parliament, three Statutes were made, one entitled, ‘ An Act to discontinue, in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize, at the town, and within the Harbour of Boston in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in North America ;’ another entitled ‘ An Act for the better regulating the government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England ;’ and another entitled ‘ An Act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England ;’ and another Statute was then made ‘ for making more effectual provisions for the government of the Province of Quebec, &c.’ All which Statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive to American rights: And whereas Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances ; and their dutiful, humble, loyal, and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his Majesty’s ministers of state.

‘ *The good people of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, justly alarmed at these arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and Administration, have severally elected, constituted, and appointed deputies to meet, and sit in general Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties may not be subverted: Whereupon the deputies so appointed being now assembled, in a full and free representation of these Colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining their end aforesaid, do in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors in like cases have usually done, for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, DECLARE,*

‘ *That the inhabitants of the English Colonies in North America, by the immutable Laws of Nature, the principles of the English Constitution, and the several Charters and compacts, have the following RIGHTS:*

‘ *Resolved unanimously, 1. That they are entitled to life, liberty,*



*and property*; and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

*Resolved unanimously*, 2. That our ancestors who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

*Resolved unanimously*, 3. That by such emigration they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

*Resolved*, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: But from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation internal and external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America, without their consent.

*Resolved unanimously*, 5. That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by the peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

*Resolved*, 6. That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English Statutes, as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

*Resolved unanimously*, 7. That these, his Majesty's Colonies, are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by Royal Charters, or secured by their several codes of Provincial laws.

*Resolved unanimously*, 8. That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider their grievances, and petition the King; and that all prosecutions prohibiting proclamations and commitments for the same are illegal.

*Resolved unanimously*, 9. That the keeping a standing army in these Colonies, in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, 10. It is indispensibly necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English Constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other, that therefore the exercise of legislative power in several Colonies, by a council appointed, during pleasure, by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive, to the freedom of American legislation.

‘ All and each of which, the aforesaid deputies, *in behalf of themselves*, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties; which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several Provincial legislatures.

‘ In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such Acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That the following Acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the Colonists:

‘ The several Acts of 4 Geo. III. ch. 15 and ch. 34.; 5 Geo. III. ch. 25; 6 Geo. III. ch. 52; 7 Geo. III. ch. 41 and ch. 46; 8 Geo. III. ch. 22; are subversive of *American rights*.

‘ Also 12 Geo. III. ch. 24, entitled, ‘ An Act for the better securing his Majesty’s dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores,’ which declares a new offence in America.

‘ Also the three Acts passed in the last session of Parliament, for stopping the Port and Harbour of Boston, for altering the Charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is entitled, ‘ An Act for the better administration of justice, &c.’

‘ Also the Act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic Religion in the Province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws.

‘ Also the Act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty’s service, in North America.

‘ Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of the Colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the Legislature of that Colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

‘ To these grievous Acts and measures Americans cannot submit; but, in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have for the present only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial *to the inhabitants of British Amer-*

ica ; and 3. To prepare a loyal address to his Majesty, agreeable to resolutions already entered into.'

Committee appointed, Sept. 7.

' *October 17.* Mr. John Dickinson appeared in Congress, produced his credentials, and took his seat as one of the deputies from the Province of Pennsylvania.'

' *Tuesday, October 18.* The Congress resumed the consideration of the plan of Association, &c., and after sundry amendments, the same was agreed to, and ordered to be transcribed, that it may be signed by the several members.'

' *THURSDAY, October 20, 1774.*

'The Association being copied, was read and signed at the table, and is as follows :

' We, his Majesty's most loyal subjects, the delegates of the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the three lower counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, deputed to represent them in a Continental Congress, held in the city of Philadelphia, on the fifth day of September, 1774, avowing our allegiance to his Majesty, our affection and regard for our fellow subjects in Great Britain and elsewhere, affected with the deepest anxiety and most alarming apprehensions, at those grievances and distresses, with which his Majesty's American subjects are oppressed ; and having taken under our most serious deliberation, the state of the whole continent, find, that the present unhappy situation of our affairs is occasioned by a ruinous system of Colony administration, adopted by the British ministry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enslaving these Colonies, and, with them, the British empire. In prosecution of which system, various Acts of Parliament have been passed, for raising a revenue in America, for depriving the American subjects, in many instances, of the constitutional trial by jury, exposing their lives to danger, by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the seas, for crimes alleged to have been committed in America. And in prosecution of the same system, several late, cruel, and oppressive Acts have been passed, respecting the town of Boston and the Massachusetts Bay, and also an Act for extending the Province of Quebec, so as to border on the western frontiers of these Colonies, establishing an arbitrary government therein, and discouraging the settlement of British subjects in that wide extended country ; thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to dispose the inhabitants to act with hostility against the free Protestant Colonies, whenever a wicked ministry shall choose so to direct them.

' To obtain redress of these grievances, which threaten destruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majesty's subjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-

consumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the most speedy, effectual, and peaceful measure. And, therefore, *we do, for ourselves and the inhabitants* of the several colonies, *whom we represent, firmly agree and associate*, under the sacred ties of virtue, honor, and love of our country, as follows:

‘ *First*, That from and after the first of December next, we will not import into British America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatsoever, or from any other place, any such goods, wares, or merchandize, as shall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor will we, after that day, import any East India tea from any part of the world; nor any molasses, syrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations or from Dominica; nor wine from Madeira, or the Western Islands; nor foreign indigo.

‘ *Second*, We will neither import nor purchase any slave imported after the first day of December next, after which time, *we will wholly discontinue the slave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourselves, nor will we hire our vessels, nor sell our commodities or manufactures to those who are concerned in it.*

‘ *Third*, As a non-consumption agreement, strictly adhered to, will be an effectual security for the observation of the non-importation, we, as above, solemnly agree and associate, that from this day, we will not purchase or use any tea, imported on account of the East India Company, or any one on which a duty hath been or shall be paid; and from and after the first day of March next, we will not purchase or use any East India tea whatever: nor will we, nor shall any person for or under us, purchase or use any of those goods, wares, or merchandize, we have agreed not to import, which we shall know, or have cause to suspect, were imported after the first day of December, except such as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article hereafter mentioned.

‘ *Fourth*, The earnest desire we have not to injure our fellow-subjects in Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, induces us to suspend a non-exportation, until the tenth day of September, 1775; at which time, if the said Acts and parts of Acts of the British Parliament hereinafter mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatsoever to Great Britain, Ireland, or the West Indies, except rice to Europe.

‘ *Fifth*, Such as are merchants, and use the British and Irish trade, will give orders, as soon as possible, to their factors, agents, and correspondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ship any goods to them, on any pretence whatsoever, as they cannot be received in America; and if any merchant residing in Great Britain or Ireland, shall directly or indirectly ship any goods, wares, or merchandize, for America, in order to break the said non-importa-

tion agreement, or in any manner contravene the same, on such unworthy conduct being well attested, it ought to be made public; and on the same being so done, we will not, from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with such merchant.

*' Sixth,* That such as are owners of vessels will give positive orders to their captains, or masters, not to receive on board their vessels any goods prohibited by the said non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate dismissal from their service.

*' Seventh,* We will use our utmost endeavors to improve the breed of sheep, and increase their number to the greatest extent; and to that end, we will kill them as seldom as may be, especially those of the most profitable kind; nor will we export any to the West Indies or elsewhere; and those of us who are, or may become overstocked with, or can conveniently spare any sheep, will dispose of them to our neighbors, especially to the poorer sort, on moderate terms.

*' Eighth,* We will, in our several stations, encourage frugality, economy, and industry, and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, especially that of wool; and will discountenance and discourage every species of extravagance and dissipation, especially all horse-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of shows, plays, and other expensive diversions and entertainments; and on the death of any relation or friend, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dress, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat, for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies, and we will discontinue the giving of gloves and scarfs at funerals.

*' Ninth,* Such as are venders of goods or merchandize will not take advantage of the scarcity of goods, that may be occasioned by this association, but will sell at the same rates we have been respectively accustomed to do, for twelve months last past; and if any vender of goods or merchandize shall sell any such goods on higher terms, or shall, in any manner, or by any device whatsoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no person ought, nor will any of us deal with any such person, or his or her factor or agent at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

*' Tenth,* In case any merchant, trader, or other person, shall import any goods or merchandize, after the first day of December, and before the first day of February next, the same ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either reshipped or delivered up to the committee of the county or town, wherein they shall be imported, to be stored at the risk of the importer, until the non-importation agreement shall cease, or be sold under the direction of the committee aforesaid; and in the last mentioned case, the owner or owners of such goods shall be reimbursed out of the sales, the first cost and charges, the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing such poor inhabitants of the town of

Boston, as are immediate sufferers by the Boston Port Bill; and a particular account of all goods so returned, stored, or sold, to be inserted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandize shall be imported after the said first day of February, the same ought forthwith to be sent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

*Eleventh*, That a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town, by those who are qualified to vote for representatives in the legislature, whose business it shall be attentively to observe the conduct of all persons touching this association; and when it shall be made to appear, to the satisfaction of a majority of any such committee, that any person within the limits of their appointment, has violated this association, that such majority do forthwith cause the truth of the case to be published in the Gazette; to the end, that all such foes to the rights of British America may be publicly known, and universally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth we respectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

*Twelfth*, That the committee of correspondence, in the respective Colonies, do frequently inspect the entries of their custom houses, and inform each other from time to time, of the true state thereof, and of every other material circumstance that may occur relative to this association.

*Thirteenth*, That all manufactures of this country be sold at reasonable prices, so that no undue advantage be taken of a future scarcity of goods.

*Fourteenth*, And we do further agree and resolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, dealings, or intercourse whatsoever, with any Colony or Province, in North America, which shall not accede to, or which shall hereafter violate this association, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country.

*And we do solemnly bind ourselves and our constituents*, under the ties aforesaid, to adhere to this association, until such parts of the several Acts of Parliament, passed since the close of the last war, as impose or continue duties on tea, wine, molasses, syrups, coffee, sugar, pimento, indigo, foreign paper, glass, and painters' colors, imported into America, and extend the powers of the Admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judges certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, from a trial by his peers, require oppressive security from a claimant of ships or goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, are repealed. And until that part of the Act of the 12, G. 3, ch. 24, entitled, 'an Act for the better securing his Majesty's dockyards, magazines, ships, ammunition, and stores,' by which any persons charged with committing any of the offences therein described, in



America, may be tried in any shire or county within the realm, is repealed; and until the four Acts, passed the last session of Parliament, viz., that for stopping the Port and blocking up the Harbor of Boston; that for altering the Charter and government of the Massachusetts Bay; and that which is entitled, 'An Act for the better administration of justice,' &c., and that 'For extending the limits of Quebec,' &c., are repealed.

'And we recommend it to the Provincial Conventions, and to the committees in the respective Colonies, to establish such farther regulations as they may think proper, for carrying into execution this association.

'The foregoing association being determined upon by the Congress, was ordered to be subscribed by the several members thereof, and thereupon, we have hereunto set our respective names accordingly.

'In Congress, Philadelphia, October 24.

'Signed,

'PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

'*New Hampshire*, John Sullivan,  
Nathaniel Folsom,  
*Massachusetts Bay*, Thomas Cushing,  
Samuel Adams,  
John Adams,  
Robert T. Paine.  
*Rhode Island*, Stephen Hopkins,  
Samuel Ward.  
*Connecticut*, Eliphalet Dyer,  
Roger Sherman,  
Silas Deane.  
*New York*, Isaac Low,  
John Alsop,  
John Jay,  
James Duane,  
William Floyd,  
Henry Wisner,  
S. Boerum,  
Philip Livingston.  
*New Jersey*, James Kinsey,  
William Livingston,  
Stephen Crane,  
Richard Smith,  
John De Hart.  
*Pennsylvania*, Joseph Galloway,  
John Dickinson,

Charles Humphreys,  
Thomas Mifflin,  
Edward Biddle,  
John Morton,  
George Ross.  
*New Castle, &c.*, Cæsar Rodney,  
Thomas M'Kean,  
George Read.  
*Maryland*, Matthew Tilghman,  
Thomas Johnson,  
William Paca,  
Samuel Chase.  
*Virginia*, Richard Henry Lee,  
George Washington,  
Patrick Henry,  
Richard Bland,  
Benjamin Harrison,  
Edmund Pendleton.  
*North Carolina*, William Hooper,  
Joseph Hewes,  
Richard Caswell.  
*South Carolina*, Henry Middleton,  
Thomas Lynch,  
Christopher Gadsden,  
John Rutledge,  
Edward Rutledge.'

Committee appointed, Sept. 30th.

'*Friday, October 21.* The address to the people of Great Britain being brought in, and the amendments directed being made, the same was approved, and is as follows :

*‘ To the People of Great Britain, from the delegates appointed by the several English Colonies of New Hampshire, &c.*

**‘ FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS,**

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty, to you their posterity.

‘ Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the Constitution, you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may with the greatest facility enslave you.

‘ The cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe to ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject.

‘ *Know then*, that we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our consent.

‘ That we claim all the benefits secured to the subject by the English Constitution.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ The Parliament assert, that they have a right to bind us in all cases without exception, whether we consent or not.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Such declarations we consider heresies in English politics.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire: did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which you



confessed we had advanced beyond our proportion, and far beyond our abilities? You did.

\* \* \* \* \*

' Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp Act. Paint, glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed.

\* \* \* \* \*

' For the necessary support of government here, we ever were and every shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property.

\* \* \* \* \*

' It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a Royal Charter from a British sovereign, the forefathers of the present inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay, left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal Colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their rights, without being heard, without being tried, without law, and without justice, by an Act of Parliament, their Charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their Constitution and form of government changed.

' We might tell of dissolute, weak, and wicked Governors, having been set over us; or legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects.

\* \* \* \* \*

' We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire; we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own.

' But, if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind — if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the Constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding

human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood, or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.

*‘Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.’*

‘But lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shown, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

‘By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the ministry have endeavored to induce submission to their measures. The like fate may befall us all. We will endeavor, therefore, to live without trade, and recur for subsistence to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us the necessaries, and some of the conveniences of life. We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and, in less than a year’s time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and the West Indies.

‘It is with the utmost regret, however, that we find ourselves compelled by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But, we hope that the magnanimity and justice of the British nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independence, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office; and thereby restore that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his Majesty’s kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.’

Committee appointed, October 11th.

‘October 21. ‘The Congress then resumed the consideration of the memorial to the *inhabitants* of the British Colonies, and the same being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows:

‘To the *inhabitants* of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina:

‘FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

‘We, the *Delegates appointed by the good people* of these Colonies, to meet at Philadelphia, in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective constituents, have in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration, the important matters recommended to the Congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But, as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more

alarming; and, as it may be more satisfactory to you, to be informed by us, in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved, upon a full and free discussion, by the representatives of so great a part of America, we feel obliged to add this address to these resolutions.

‘ In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one State to another, duty to Almighty God, the Creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on the one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all the circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

‘ From councils thus tempered, arise the surest hopes of the Divine favor, the firmest encouragement to the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

‘ With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately and calmly enquired into, and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention, considered the conduct of the Colonies.

‘ Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being silent, and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out, and censuring those we wish to revere. In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty, and a regard for the welfare of our country.

‘ Soon after the conclusion of the late war, there commenced a miserable change in the treatment of these Colonies. By a Statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of profound peace, alleging “the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great Britain and his majesty’s dominions in America, and the necessity of raising a revenue in said dominions, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting and securing the same,” the Commons of Great Britain undertook to give and grant to his Majesty many rates and duties to be paid in these Colonies.

‘ To enforce the observance of this Act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and, in two sections, makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great Britain, and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred there are to be recovered in any of the King’s courts of record, at Westminster, or in the court of Exchequer, in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred here, are to be recovered in any court of record, or in any court of Admiralty or Vice-Admiralty, at the election of the informer or prosecutor.

‘The inhabitants of these Colonies, confiding in the justice of Great Britain, were scarcely allowed sufficient time to receive and consider this Act, before another, well known by the name of the Stamp Act, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this Statute the British Parliament exercised, in the most explicit manner, a power of taxing us, and extending the jurisdiction of courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty, in the Colonies to matters arising within the body of a county, and directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures, thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said courts.

‘In the same year, a tax was imposed upon us, by an Act establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year, the Stamp Act was repealed; not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing Act recites, because “the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great Britain.”

‘In the same year, and by a subsequent Act, it was declared, “that his Majesty in parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of these Colonies, by Statutes, in all cases whatsoever.”

‘In the same year another Act was passed, for imposing rates and duties, payable in these Colonies. In this Statute, the Commons, avoiding the terms of giving and granting, “humbly besought his Majesty that it might be enacted, &c.”

‘But, from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were “in lieu of” several others granted by the Statute, first before-mentioned, for raising a revenue, and from some other expressions, it appears that these duties were intended for that purpose.

‘In the next year, 1767, an Act was made “to enable his Majesty to put the customs, and other duties in America, under the management of commissioners, &c.,” and the King, thereupon, erected the present expensive board of commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several Acts relating to the revenue and trade in America.

‘After the repeal of the Stamp Act, having again resigned ourselves to our ancient unsuspecting affections for the parent State, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favorable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above-mentioned Statutes, made subsequent to that repeal.

‘Administration, attributing to trifling causes a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year, 1767, to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

‘By a Statute, commonly called the Glass, Paper, and Tea Act, made fifteen months after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Commons of Great Britain resumed their former language, and again

undertook "to give and grant rates and duties, to be paid in these Colonies," for the express purpose of "raising a revenue, to defray the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the King's dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures, incurred under this Statute, are to be recovered in the same manner with those mentioned in the foregoing Acts.

' To this Statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity, then universal throughout the Colonies, parliament, in the same session, added another no less extraordinary.

' Ever since the making the present peace, a standing army has been kept in these Colonies. From respect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the Provincial Legislatures, generally, made provision for supplying the troops.

' The Assembly of the Province of New York, having passed an Act of this kind, but differing in some articles from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the fifth year of this reign, the House of Representatives in that Colony, was prohibited by a Statute, made in the last session mentioned, from making any bill, order, resolution, or vote, except for adjourning or choosing a Speaker, until provision should be made, by the said Assembly, for furnishing the troops within that Province, not only with all such necessaries as were required by the Statute, which they were charged with disobeying, but also with those required by two subsequent Statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty-fourth day of March, 1769.

' These Statutes of the year 1767, revived the apprehensions and discontents that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the Stamp Act; and, amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a Statute was made, in the year 1768, to establish Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty on a new model, expressly for the end of more effectually recovering of the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, &c.

' The immediate tendency of these Statutes is, to subvert the rights of having a share in legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the Colonists without their consent; the right of trial by jury, by substituting in their place trials in Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts, where single judges preside, holding their commissions during pleasure; and unduly to influence the Courts of common law, by rendering the judges thereof totally dependent on the crown for their salaries.

' These Statutes, not to mention many others, exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found, not only to form a regular system, in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system, for subjugating these Colonies, that are not, and from local circumstances cannot, be

represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

‘ This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behavior of these Colonies.

‘ From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them the charge of disloyalty to their Sovereign, or disaffection to their mother country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves, whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important.

‘ Their fidelity, duty, and usefulness, during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed, by his late Majesty, and the present King.

The reproaches of those who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts Bay; but with what little reason, will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence, in their favor, will not be questioned. Governor Barnard thus addressed the two Houses of Assembly, in his speech, on the 24th of April, 1762:—“ The unanimity and despatch with which you have complied with the requisitions of his Majesty, require my particular acknowledgment; and it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire, and as the body of a particular province.”

‘ In another speech, on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says —“ Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this Province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. Every thing that hath been required of it, hath been complied with, and the execution of the powers committed to me, for raising the provincial troops, hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never, before, were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field, as they have been this year; the common people seemed to be animated with the spirit of the General Court, and to vie with them, in their readiness to serve the King.”

‘ Such was the conduct of the people of the Massachusetts Bay, during the last war. As to their behavior before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in great Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and cheerfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions, but that, chiefly by their vigorous efforts, Nova Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisburg in 1745.

‘ Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances, that quickly succeeded, on account of the Stamp Act, being quieted



by its repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the King and divers noblemen, and soon after passed a Bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that Act.

‘ These circumstances, and the following extracts from Governor Barnard’s letters, in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly show with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful deference they endeavored to escape other subjects of future controversy. “ The House,” says the Governor, “ from the time of opening the session to this day, has shown a disposition to avoid all dispute with me ; every thing having passed with as much good humor as I could desire, *except only their continuing to act in addressing the King, remonstrating to the Secretary of State, and employing a separate Agent.* It is the importance of this innovation, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance, at a time when I have a fair prospect of having, in all other business, nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House.\*

“ They have acted, in all things, even in their remonstrance, with temper and moderation ; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation. †

“ I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this letter, as, I hope, will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this Province, for which *considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives.*” ‡

‘ The vindication of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, contained in these letters, will have greater force, if it be considered that they were written several months after the fresh alarm given to the Colonies, by the Statutes passed in the preceding year.

‘ In this place, it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation contained in one of those Statutes, that the interference of Parliament was necessary to provide for “ defraying the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the King’s dominions in America.”

‘ As to the two first articles of expense, every Colony had made such provision, as by their respective Assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient, and suitable to their several circumstances ; respecting the last, it is well known to all men, the least acquainted with American affairs, that the Colonies were established, and generally defended themselves, without the least assistance from Great Britain ; and that, at the time of her taxing them, by the Statutes before mentioned, most of them were laboring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they

\* January 21, 1768.

† January 20, 1768.

‡ February 2, 1768.

from sparing their money, when their Sovereign constitutionally asked their aid, that, during the course of that war, Parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expenses of those strenuous efforts, which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had cheerfully incurred.

‘ Severe as the Acts of Parliament before-mentioned are, yet the conduct of administration hath been equally injurious and irritating to this devoted country.

‘ Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions, uniformly rigid and dangerous, have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters, for collecting the *tribute*, or rather the *plunder*, of *conquered* Provinces.

‘ By an order of the King, the authority of the commander-in-chief, and, under him, of the brigadier-generals, in time of peace, is rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America; and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested in officers, not known to the Constitution of these Colonies.

‘ A large body of troops, and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

‘ Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

‘ The judges of the Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves.

‘ The commissioners of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without any authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

‘ Judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on the crown for their commissions and salaries.

‘ A court has been established at Rhode Island for the purposes of taking Colonists to England to be tried.

‘ Humble and reasonable petitions, from the representatives of the people, have been frequently treated with contempt; and Assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

‘ From some few instances, it will sufficiently appear, on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

‘ The tranquillity of the Colonies having been again disturbed, as has been mentioned, by the Statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Barnard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the “presumption” of the House of Representatives, for “resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature, as that of writing to the other Colonies, on the subject of their intended representations against some late Acts of Parliament,” then declares that “his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parlia-



ment" — and afterwards adds, "it is the King's pleasure, that as soon as the General Court is again assembled, at the time prescribed by the Charter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in his Majesty's name, to rescind the resolution which gave birth to the circular letter, from the Speaker,\* and to declare their disapprobation of, and dissent to, that rash and hasty proceeding."

"If the new Assembly should refuse to comply with his Majesty's reasonable expectation, it is the King's pleasure that you should immediately *dissolve them*."

'This letter being laid before the House, and the resolution being rescinded according to order, the Assembly was dissolved. A letter of a similar nature was sent to other Governors to procure *resolutions, approving* the conduct of the representatives of Massachusetts Bay *to be rescinded also*; and the Houses of Representatives in other Colonies, *refusing to comply, Assemblies were dissolved*.

'These mandates spoke a language, to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations, been strangers. The nature of Assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation, but those commands, proscribing the exercise of judgment, on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the Assemblies only the election between dictated submission, and threatened punishment: a punishment, too, founded on no other act, than such as is deemed innocent, even in slaves — of agreeing in petitions for redress of *grievances, that equally affect all*.

'The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston, soon followed these events, in the same year; though that town, the Province in which it is situated, and *all the Colonies*, from abhorrence of contest with their parent State, permitted the execution, even of those Statutes, *against which they so unanimously were complaining, remonstrating, and supplicating*. Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom, which English ministers should have rejoiced to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East India Company, to send to this continent vast quantities of tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a Statute, that, in a particular manner, attacked the liberties of America, and which therefore the inhabitants of these Colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored, and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

'On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public-spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined the Province it belonged to should partake of its fate. In the last session of Parliament, therefore,

\* The circular letter from the Speaker to other Colonies.

were passed the Act for shutting up the Port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these Acts, that Province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

‘ To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For, though it is pretended that the Province of Massachusetts Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great Britain, yet, in truth, the behavior of the people in other Colonies has been, “an equal opposition to the power *assumed by Parliament*. No step, however, has been taken against any of the rest.

‘ This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected the Province of Massachusetts Bay will be irritated into some violent action, that may displease the rest of the continent, or may induce the people of Great Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of our imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that Province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped that other Colonies will be so far intimidated, as to desert their brethren, *suffering in a common cause*, and that thus disunited, all may be subdued.

‘ To promote these designs, another measure has been proposed. In the session of Parliament last mentioned, an Act was passed changing the government of Quebec, by which Act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established; and the people there are deprived of a right to our Assembly, trials by jury, and the English laws in civil cases are abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws are established, in direct violation of his Majesty’s promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that Province; and the limits of that Province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions, that lie adjoining to the northerly and westerly boundaries of these Colonies.

‘ The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves, that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

‘ From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these Colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

‘ At this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together, *for the welfare of our common country*.

‘ We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavored to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of *these*

*Colonies* would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character these Colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and imminent dangers that surround them, every act of loyalty, and therefore we were induced once more to offer to his Majesty, the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding with the tender affection, which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom from which we derive our origin, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the Colonists are equally dear to them. Between these Provinces and that body subsists a sacred bond, which we ardently wish may never be dissolved, until their minds shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile, to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the *Colonists*, and, in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard, but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the violence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition, that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce, that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them by reflecting, that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexpected and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

‘The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded, that they, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the Colonies; in favor of our open, and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues for several years past have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

‘Another reason that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance, that the mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shown that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain.

‘Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure, from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honor of your country, that must, from your behavior, take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition, recommended by us, be broken and rendered inefficient, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to choose, either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

‘Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief! But we think ourselves bound in duty, to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against these Colonies have been so conducted, as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be in all respects prepared for every contingency. Above all things, we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves and implore the favor of Almighty God: and we fervently beseech His divine goodness, to take you into His gracious protection.’

Com. appointed Oct. 15th.

‘WEDNESDAY, OCT. 26. — THE PETITION OF CONGRESS TO THE KING.  
‘TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

‘*Most gracious Sovereign:*

‘WE, your Majesty’s most faithful subjects of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, *in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants* of these Colonies, *who have deputed us to represent them in General Congress*, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

‘A standing army has been kept in these Colonies, ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our Assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

‘The authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him the brigadier-general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

‘The commander-in-chief of all your Majesty’s forces in North America has, in time of peace, been appointed Governor of a Colony.

‘ The charges of usual offices have been greatly increased, and, new, expensive, and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

‘ The judges of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves

‘ The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses, without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

‘ The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

‘ Counsellors holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

‘ Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been fruitless.

‘ The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and Governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of the salaries.

‘ Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

‘ Commerce has been burthened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

‘ By several Acts of Parliament, made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth year of your Majesty’s reign, duties are imposed on us, for the purpose of raising a revenue; and the powers of admiralty and Vice-Admiralty Courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

‘ Both Houses of Parliament have resolved, that Colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a Statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth; and, in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that Statute.

‘ A Statute was passed in the twelfth year of your Majesty’s reign, directing, that persons charged with committing any offence therein described, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these Colonies, in sundry cases, by that Statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

‘ In the last session of Parliament, an Act was passed for blocking up the Harbor of Boston; and empowering the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, to send persons indicted for murder in that Province, to another Colony, or, even to Great Britain, for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a

third, for altering the chartered Constitution of government in that Province ; and fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British Frenchmen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements ; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America.

‘ To a Sovereign who glories in the name of Britain, the bare recital of these Acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

‘ *From this destructive system of Colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your Majesty's dutiful Colonists with affliction : and we defy our most subtile and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these Colonies, from an earlier period, or from other causes than we have assigned.* Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them ; and can be charged with no offence, unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

‘ Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But thanks be to His adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the British throne, to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the Popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your Majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices, that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty ; and, therefore, we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from Divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious House of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

‘ The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the preëminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects in the manner we do,



silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquility of your government, and the welfare of your people.

‘Duty to your Majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your Majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your Majesty’s authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty’s repose by our complaints.

‘These sentiments are extorted from hearts, that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty’s service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking our property from us without our consent, “to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the Colonies.” But we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that such provision has been, and will be made, for defraying the two first articles, as has been and shall be judged, by the Legislatures of the several Colonies, just and equitable to their respective circumstances: and, for the defence, protection, and security of the Colonies, their militias, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and in case of war, your faithful Colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been, when *constitutionally* required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your Majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subject in affectionate attachment to your Majesty’s person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the Prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

‘Had we been permitted to enjoy in quiet the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should at this time have been peaceably cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your Majesty, and of veneration to the state from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all importan



affaire, we have hitherto with filial reverence constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience; yet, we doubt not, the purity of our intention and the integrity of our conduct will justify us at that Great Tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

‘ We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. *We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.*

‘ Filled with sentiments of duty to your Majesty, and of affection to our parent State, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fear and jealousies, occasioned by the system of Statutes and regulations, adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America—extending the powers of Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty—trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America—affecting the Province of Massachusetts Bay—and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec: by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty and Parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches thoroughly the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess, that our councils have been influenced by no other motive, than a dread of impending destruction.

‘ Permit us, then, most gracious Sovereign, *in the name of all your faithful people in America*, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it, for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms, and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses, that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be farther violated, in uncertain expectation of effects that, if attained, never

can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

‘ We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

‘ That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.’

Committee appointed, October 1st.

‘ TUESDAY, October 25, 1774.

‘ *Resolved*, That the address to the King be enclosed in a letter to the several Colony agents, in order that the same may be by them presented to his Majesty; and that the agents be requested to call in the aid of such noblemen and gentlemen as are esteemed firm friends to American liberty.

‘ *Ordered*, That Mr. Lee and Mr. Jay prepare a letter to the agents.

26th. The letter to the agents, being brought in by the committee, was read, and approved as follows:—

‘ PHILADELPHIA, October 26, 1774.

‘ *Gentlemen* :

‘ We give you the strongest proof our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America, and the cause of liberty, when we commit the enclosed paper to your care.

‘ We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his Majesty, and after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue, and justice of the nation, it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities, and manufacturing towns, throughout the United Kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great Britain.

‘ We doubt not, but your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

‘ The gratitude of America, expressed in the enclosed vote of thanks, we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner you think will be most acceptable to them.

‘ It is proposed, that another Congress be held on the tenth of May next, at this place, but in the meantime, we beg the favor of you, gentlemen, to transmit to the Speaker of the several Assem-

blies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of Ministry, or Parliament, *as it may concern America to know.*

‘ We are, with unfeigned esteem and regard,

‘ Gentlemen, &c.,

‘ By order and in behalf of the Congress,

‘ HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

‘ To Paul Wentworth, Esq.,  
 Doctor Benjamin Franklin,  
 William Bollen, Esq.,  
 Doctor Arthur Lee,  
 Thomas Life, Esq.,  
 Edmund Burke, Esq.,  
 Charles Garth, Esq.’

Committee appointed, October 25th.

‘ TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.

‘ *Friends and Fellow-Subjects,*

‘ WE, the delegates of the Colonies of New Hampshire, &c, \*  
 \* \* \* \* *deputed by the inhabitants* of the said Colonies, *to*  
*represent them in a General Congress* at Philadelphia, \* \* \*,  
 to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of  
 our afflicting grievances; having accordingly assembled, and taken  
 into our most serious consideration, the state of public affairs on  
 this Continent, have thought proper to address your Province, as a  
 member therein deeply intererested.

‘ When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance,  
 had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we re-  
 joiced in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your  
 account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united,  
 our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the  
 Divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his over-ruling  
 providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity, the inesti-  
 mable advantages of a free English Constitution of government,  
 which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.

‘ These hopes were confirmed by the King’s proclamation, issued  
 in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment  
 of those advantages.

‘ Little did we imagine that any succeeding Ministers would so  
 audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold  
 from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights, to which you were  
 thus justly entitled.

‘ But since we have lived to see the unexpected time, when Min-  
 isters of this flagitious temper have dared to violate the most sacred  
 compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form  
 of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the un-  
 speakable worth of that form you are now undoubtedly entitled to,

we esteem it our duty to explain to you some of its most important branches.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ' We do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against the government of our common Sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous Ministers, so far as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism ; but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. \* \*

' In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of last month, and continued to this day, it has been with universal pleasure, and an unanimous vote, resolved, that we should consider the violation of your rights, by the Act for altering the government of your Province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our Confédération, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the preservation of a happy and lasting connection with Great Britain, on the salutary and constitutional principles herein before mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances ; and have associated to stop all importations from Great Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those kingdoms and the West Indies, after the tenth day of next September ; unless the said grievances are redressed.

' That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, *to put your fate*, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, *not on the small influence of your single Province, but on the consolidated powers of North America* ; and may grant to our joint exertions, an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow subjects.'

Committee appointed, Oct. 21st.

Some of the proceedings in Massachusetts about that time.

' Governor Gage had issued writs for holding a General Assembly at Salem, on the fifth of October, (1774).

' The new members, to the number of ninety, meeting according to the precept, and, neither the Governor nor any substitute attending, they resolved themselves into a Provincial Congress, and soon adjourned to Concord. They there chose Mr. Hancock President. \* \* \* \* \* They adjourned to Cambridge ; and, when reassembled, they appointed a Committee to draw up a plan for the immediate defence of the Province ; resolved to enlist a

number of the inhabitants to be in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning; elected three general officers, &c.

'The same Congress meeting again in November, resolved to get in readiness twelve thousand men to act on any emergency, and that a fourth part of the militia should be enlisted as minute-men, and receive pay; appointed two additional general officers; and sent persons to new Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut, to inform those Colonies of its measures, and request their coöperation in making up an army of twenty thousand men. \* \* \*

A circular letter was addressed to the several Ministers in the Province, requesting their assistance in averting the threatened slavery.

'The form of the letter was as follows: "Rev. Sir: We cannot but acknowledge the goodness of Heaven, in constantly supplying us with Preachers of the Gospel, whose concern has been the temporal and spiritual happiness of this people. In a day like this, when all the friends of civil and religious liberty are exerting themselves to deliver this country from its present calamities, we cannot but place great hope in an order of men, who have ever distinguished themselves in their country's cause, and do therefore recommend to the Ministers of the Gospel, in the several towns and other places in this Colony, that they assist us in averting that dreadful slavery, with which we are now threatened." '—*Holmes's Am. Annals*, vol. ii., pp. 315—16.

'Congress rose in October, and Mr. Henry returned to his native county.

'Here, as was natural, he was surrounded by his neighbors, who were eager to hear not only what had been done, but what kind of men had composed that illustrious body. He answered their inquiries with all his wonted kindness and candor; and, having been asked by one of them, "whom he thought the greatest man in Congress," he replied—"If you speak of eloquence, Mr. J. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is, unquestionably, the greatest man on the floor." '—*Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry*, page 113.

'On the 20th of March, 1775, the Convention of delegates from the several counties and corporations of Virginia met for the second time. This Assembly was held in the old church in the town of Richmond.

'The Convention being formed and organized for business, proceeded in the first place to express their unqualified approbation of the measures of Congress, and to declare that they considered "this whole Continent as under the highest obligations to that

respectable body, for the wisdom of their counsels, and their unre-mitted endeavors to maintain and preserve inviolate the just rights and liberties of his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects in America."

'They next resolve that "the warmest thanks of the Convention, and of all the inhabitants of this Colony, were due, and that this just tribute of applause be presented to the worthy delegates, deputed by a former Convention to represent this Colony in General Congress, for their cheerful undertaking and faithful discharge of the very important trust reposed in them." '—*Ibid.* pp. 114, 115.

Mr. Jefferson says,—'The splendid proceedings of that Congress, at their first session, belong to general history, are known to every one, and need not therefore be noted here. They terminated their session the 26th of October, to meet again on the 10th of May ensuing. The Convention, at their ensuing session of March, '75, approved of the proceedings of Congress, thanked their delegates, and reappointed the same persons to represent the Colony at the meeting to be held in May: and foreseeing the probability that Peyton Randolph, their President, and Speaker also of the House of Burgesses, might be called off, they added me, in that event, to the delegation.'—*Jefferson's Writings*, vol i., p. 8.

'THOMAS LYNCH to RALPH IZARD.

'PHILADELPHIA, October 26, 1774.

'*Dear Sir*,—On my arrival here I wrote you the occasion of it. I now have the pleasure of enclosing to you a pamphlet, which contains the result.

'The New England men continue a behavior truly heroic. Without rashness, or any tumultuous proceedings that belong to mobs, they oppose a steady, manly, cool and regular conduct, neither declining nor precipitating war.

'I saw a gentleman a few days ago, who was at Cambridge when the men who had met to oblige the Counsellors and Judges to resign their offices, received intelligence that Gage was marching his little army to attack them. He declares that this news occasioned not the least appearance of hurry or confusion. The men who were armed, prepared to receive their enemy; the unarmed hastened home and brought their arms. Their numbers being but little superior, shows they will not decline an equal combat. If so, where is England to find an army to encounter two hundred thousand of these same New Englanders, besides at least five hundred thousand others, in the rest of America, who have solemnly engaged in the same cause?

'I enclose a newspaper, to show the temper of the people of Maryland, as a specimen of that which prevails in all the Colonies.

'These Middle Colonies were suspected of great lukewarmness,



but since we have been here, a great alteration is visible in that matter.

‘ I am, Dear Sir, &c.’

‘ JAMES ALLEN to RALPH IZARD,  
‘ PHILADELPHIA, October 27, 1774.

‘ You may well think that this is a time of great anxiety and expectation with us, when I tell you that yesterday the grand Continental Congress—broke up after a session of two months in this city. *On the deliberations and resolutions of that body, rests the safety of all America.*

‘ It is wonderful to see so thorough an union of all America ! *That union will make us irresistible.*—*Correspondence of Ralph Izard, vol. i., pp. 18, 27 & 28.*

The delegates of the American Congress met the second time at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May, 1775, the place and time which they had appointed at their former session.

The Hon. Peyton Randolph was again unanimously chosen President, and Mr. Charles Thompson, Secretary.

‘ The delegates from the several Colonies produced their credentials, which were read and approved as follows :

‘ NEW HAMPSHIRE.

‘ At the convention of deputies, appointed by the *several towns* in the Province aforesaid, held at Exeter, on the 25th day of January, 1775,

‘ The Hon. John Wentworth, Esq., in the chair,

‘ *Voted*, That John Sullivan and John Langlow, Esqrs., be delegated to represent this Province in the Continental Congress, proposed to be held at Philadelphia, on the 10th day of May next, and that they and each of them, in the absence of the other, have *full and ample power*, in behalf of this Province, *to consent and agree to all measures*, which said Congress shall deem necessary, *to obtain redress of American grievances.*

‘ True copy, attested.

‘ MASHECK WEARE,  
‘ Clerk of the Convention.’

‘ MASSACHUSETTS.

‘ Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in Provincial Congress, Cambridge, Dec. 5, 1774.

‘ *Resolved*, That the proceedings of the American Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia on the 5th day of September last, and reported by the honorable delegates from this Colony, have, with the deliberation due to their high importance, been considered by us; and the American Bill of Rights therein contained, appears



to be formed with the greatest ability and judgment, to be founded on the immutable laws of nature and reason, the principles of the English Constitution, and respective Charters and Constitutions of the Colonies, and to be worthy of their most vigorous support, as essentially necessary to liberty; likewise the ruinous and iniquitous measures, which, in violation of these rights, at present convulse and threaten destruction to America, appear to be clearly pointed out, and judicious plans adopted for defeating them.

‘*Resolved*, That the most grateful acknowledgments are due to truly honorable and patriotic members of the Continental Congress for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty; and this Congress, in their own names, and in behalf of this Colony, do hereby, with the utmost sincerity, express the same.

‘*Resolved*, That the Hon. John Hancock, the Hon. Thomas Cushing, Esqrs., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esqrs., or any three of them, be and they are hereby appointed and authorized to represent this Colony, on the 10th of May next, or sooner if necessary, at the American Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, *with full power*, with the delegates from the other American Colonies, *to concert, agree upon, direct and order such further measures*, as shall to them appear to be best calculated for the recovery and establishment of *American rights and liberties*, and for restoring harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies.

‘A true copy of record,

‘BENJAMIN LINCOLN, Secretary.’

‘CONNECTICUT.

‘In the House of Representatives of the Colony of Connecticut, November 3, A. D. 1774.

‘This House proceeded to nominate, choose and appoint delegates to attend the General Congress, to be holden in Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, and made choice of the Hon. Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane, Titus Hosmer, and Jonathan Sturgess, Esqrs., to be their delegates, any three of whom are authorized and empowered to attend said Congress, in behalf of this Colony, to join, consult, and advise with the delegates of the other Colonies in British America, on proper measures for advancing the best good of the Colonies.

‘WILLIAM WILLIAMS, Speaker.

‘A true copy. Attested,

‘RICHARD LAW,  
‘Clerk of the English Colony.’

## ‘ RHODE ISLAND.

‘ L. S.

‘ By the Honorable the General Assembly, of the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in New England, in America.

‘ To the Hon. Stephen Hopkins, and Samuel Ward, Esqrs., Greeting:

‘ Whereas the General Assembly of the Colony aforesaid, have nominated and appointed you, the said Stephen Hopkins, and Samuel Ward, to represent *the people* of this Colony, in a General Congress of Representatives, from this and the other Colonies, to be holden in the city of Philadelphia, and there in behalf of this Colony, to meet, and join with the commissioners or delegates from the other Colonies, in consulting upon proper measures to obtain a repeal of the several Acts of the British Parliament, for levying taxes, upon his Majesty’s subjects in America, without their consent; and upon proper measures to establish the rights and liberties of the Colonies, upon a just and solid foundation, agreeable to the instructions given you by the General Assembly.

‘ Signed, ‘ HENRY WARD,  
‘ Secretary.’

## NEW YORK.

‘ At a Provincial Convention formed of deputies from the city and county of New York, the city and county of Albany, and counties of Dutchess, Ulster, Orange, Westchester, Kings, and Suffolk, held at the city of New York, the 22d day of April 1775, for the purpose of appointing delegates to represent the Colony of New York, in the next Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, Philip Livingston, James Duane, John Alsop, John Jay, Simon Boerum, William Floyd, Henry Wisner, Philip Schuyler, George Clinton, Lewis Morris, Francis Lewis, and Robert R. Livingston, Jun. Esqrs., were unanimously elected delegates, to represent this Colony at such Congress, with full power to them, or any five of them, to meet the delegates from the other Colonies, and to concert and determine upon such measures as should be judged most effectual for the preservation and reestablishment of American rights and privileges, and for the restoration of harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies.\*

Signed, Leonard Lispenard, Isaac Roosevelt, Abraham Walton, Alexander McDougall, and twenty-four others.

\* Dec. 21st. The number of delegates from New York was reduced to five.

‘ We, the subscribers, do, in behalf of ourselves, and those freeholders of Queen’s County, at whose request we attended the Convention, signify our assent to, and approbation of the above delegation.’

Signed, John Fulman, Zebulon Williams, Jacob Blackwell, Joseph Robinson.

‘ NEW JERSEY.

‘ IN ASSEMBLY, PERTH AMBOY, Tuesday, January 24, 1775.

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, John de Hart, and Richard Smith, Esqrs., or any three of them, be, and they are hereby, appointed to attend the Continental Congress of the Colonies, intended to be held at the city of Philadelphia, in May next, or at any other time and place, and that they report their proceedings to the next session of General Assembly.

‘ A true copy.

‘ RICHARD SMITH,  
‘ Clerk of the Assembly.’

‘ PENNSYLVANIA.

IN ASSEMBLY, December 15, 1774, A. M. Upon motion,

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That the Hon. Edward Biddle, John Dickinson, Thomas Mifflin, Charles Humphreys, John Morton, and George Ross, Esqrs., be, and they are hereby appointed deputies on the part of this Province, to attend the General Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the 10th of May next; and that they or any four of them, do meet the said Congress accordingly, unless the present grievances of the *American Colonies* shall before that time be redressed.

‘ Extract from the journals.

‘ CHARLES MOORE,  
‘ Clerk of the Assembly.’

‘ IN ASSEMBLY, May 6, 1775, A. M.

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That Benjamin Franklin, the Hon. Thomas Willing, and James Wilson, Esqrs., be, and they are hereby added to the deputies appointed by this House, to attend the Continental Congress, expected to meet the tenth instant, in this city.

‘ Extract from the journals.

‘ CHARLES MOORE.  
‘ Clerk of the Assembly.’

‘ LOWER COUNTIES, ON DELAWARE.

IN ASSEMBLY, Thursday, March 16, 1775, A. M. On motion,

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That the Hon. Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, and George Read Esqrs., be and they are hereby appointed and authorized to represent this government at the American

Congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time or place, with full power to them, or any two of them, together with the delegates from the other American Colonies, to concert and agree upon such further measures, as shall appear to them best calculated for the accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and the Colonies, on a *constitutional* foundation, which the house most ardently wish for, and that they report their proceedings to the next sessions of the General Assembly.

‘ True copy of minutes of Assembly.

‘ DAVID THOMPSON.

‘ Clerk to the Assembly.’

‘ MARYLAND.

‘ At a meeting of the deputies appointed by the *several counties* of the Province of Maryland, at the city of Annapolis, by adjournment on the 8th of December, 1774; and continued till the twelfth day of the same month,

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That the Hon. Matthew Tilghman, Thomas Johnson, Junior, Robert Goldsborough, William Paca, Samuel Chase, John Hall, and Thomas Stone, Esqrs., or any three or more of them, be delegates, to represent this Province in the next Continental Congress, and that they, or any three or more of them, have full and ample power to consent and agree to all measures, which such Congress shall deem necessary and effectual to obtain a redress of American grievances; and this Province bind themselves to execute, to the utmost of their power, all resolutions which the said Congress may adopt.

‘ Signed by order, ‘ JOHN DUCKET, Clerk.’

‘ VIRGINIA.

‘ At a Convention of delegates for the *counties and corporations* in the Colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the County of Henrico, on Monday, the 20th of March, 1775.

‘ The Convention proceeded to the election of delegates, by ballot, to represent this Colony in General Congress, to be held at the city of Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, when the Hon. Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Richard Bland, Esqrs. were chosen for that purpose.

‘ PEYTON RANDOLPH, President.

‘ JOHN TAZEWELL, Clerk of the Convention.’

‘ NORTH CAROLINA.

‘ At a general meeting of the delegates of the *inhabitants* of this Province, in convention, at Newbern, the 8th day of April 1775: Present, the Hon. John Harvey, Esq., Moderator, and sixty-eight members. On motion,

*Resolved*, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqrs., be, and they are hereby appointed delegates to attend the General Congress, to be held at Philadelphia, on the tenth day of May next, or at any other time and place that shall be appointed for that purpose, and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any acts done by them, or any of them, or consent given in behalf of this Province, obligatory, in honor, upon every inhabitant thereof.

‘ A true copy,

‘ JOHN HARVEY, Moderator.

‘ Attested by ANDREW KNOX, Clerk.’

‘ IN ASSEMBLY, 7th of April, 1775.

*Resolved*, That the House do highly approve of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, lately held at Philadelphia, and that they are determined, as members of the community in general, that they will strictly adhere to the said resolutions, and will use what influence they have, to induce the same observance in every individual of this Province.

‘ This House having received information that William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell, Esqrs., were appointed by the Convention held in Newbern, as delegates to attend the meeting of the Continental Congress, soon to be held at Philadelphia :

*Resolved*, That the House approve of the choice made by the said Convention.

‘ A true copy from the Journal of the House of Assembly,

‘ JAMES GREEN, JUN., Clerk.’

‘ SOUTH CAROLINA.

‘ IN THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, }  
Friday, February 3, 1775. . }

‘ Whereas the Continental Congress, held at the city of Philadelphia in September last, amongst other things recommended to the several Colonies in North America to choose Deputies as soon as possible, to hold another Congress, at the same place, on the tenth day of May next, and this house, being fully satisfied with the conduct and fidelity of their late deputies at the Congress, do hereby nominate and appoint the Hon. Henry Middleton, Esquire, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Edward Rutledge, Esquires, Deputies for and in behalf of this Colony, to meet the Deputies appointed, or to be appointed, on the part and behalf of the other Colonies, at the city of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be agreed on by the said Deputies in General Congress, with full power and authority to concert, agree to, and effectually prosecute such measures, as in the opinion of the said Deputies, and the Deputies to be assembled, shall be most likely to obtain a redress of American grievances.

‘ Attested,

THOMAS FARR, JUN. Clerk.’

## ' GEORGIA.

' MIDWAY, Parish of St. John's, in the Province of Georgia, }  
 13th of April, A. D. 1775. }

' It was resolved that a Delegate be sent from this Parish, [about one third of the Province,] to the Congress to be held at Philadelphia, in May next, and that Tuesday, the 21st of March, be appointed for choosing one.

' On the said 21st of March, at a full meeting, Lyman Hall, Esq. was unanimously chosen, to represent and act for the inhabitants of this Parish, as a Delegate at the General Congress, to be held in Philadelphia in May next, who are determined faithfully to adhere to, and abide by the determination of him and the other honorable members of the same.\*

' Signed, by order of the inhabitants, by DANIEL ROBERTS, and twenty others, members of the Committee.

' May 12, 1775. Mr. Hancock laid before Congress a letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay.

' IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, Watertown, May 3, 1775.

' To the Honorable American Continental Congress, to be convened at Philadelphia, on the 10th of May instant:

' *May it please your Honors,*

' The Congress of this Colony, impressed with the deepest concern for their country, under the present critical and alarming state of affairs, beg leave, with the utmost submission, whilst acting in support of the cause of America, to request the direction and assistance of your respectable assembly.

\* \* \* \* \*

' The sanguinary zeal of the ministerial army, to ruin and destroy this Colony, in the opinion of this Congress, [Provincial,] hath rendered the establishment of an army indispensably necessary; we have accordingly passed an unanimous resolve for thirteen thousand, six hundred men, to be forthwith raised by this colony; and proposals are made by us to the Congress of New Hampshire, and the Governments of Rhode Island and Connecticut Colonies, for furnishing men in the same proportion.

' The sudden exigency of our public affairs, precluded the possibility of waiting for your direction in these important measures, more especially, as a considerable reinforcement from Great Britain is daily expected in this Colony, and we are now reduced to the sad alternative of defending ourselves by arms, or submitting to be slaughtered.

' With the greatest deference, we beg leave to suggest, that a powerful army, on the side of America, hath been considered by this Congress, as the only means left to stem the rapid progress of a

\* No part of Georgia had before been represented in Congress. Mr. Hall was admitted into that Honorable Body, May 13th.

tyrannical ministry. Without a force superior to our enemies, we must reasonably expect to become the victims of their relentless fury. With such a force, we may still have hope of seeing an immediate end put to the inhuman ravages of the mercenary troops in America, and the wicked authors of our miseries brought to condign punishment, by the just indignation of our brethren in Great Britain.

‘ We hope that this Colony will at all times be ready to spend and be spent in the cause of America. It is nevertheless a misfortune greatly operating to its disadvantage, that it has a great number of seaport towns, exposed to the approach of the enemy by sea; from many of which the inhabitants have removed, and are removing their families and effects, to avoid destruction from ships of war. These, we apprehend, will be generally distressed, from want of subsistence, and disabled from contributing aid for supporting the forces of the Colony; but we have the greatest confidence in the wisdom and ability of the Continent to support us, so far as it shall appear necessary for supporting the common cause of the American Colonies.

‘ We also inclose several resolves for empowering and directing our Receiver-General to borrow the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, and to issue his notes for the same; it being the only measure, which we could have recourse to for supporting our forces; and we request your assistance in rendering our measures effectual, by giving our notes currency through the Continent. ‘ JOSEPH WARREN, President, P. T.’

‘ The resolve for a loan, referred to above, is as follows:

‘ IN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, Watertown, May 3, 1775.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Receiver-General be, and hereby is empowered, to borrow the sum of one hundred thousand pounds, lawful money, and issue Colony security for the same, payable, with annual interest, at six per cent., June 1, 1777, and that the Continental Congress be desired to recommend to the several Colonies to give a currency to such securities.

‘ A true extract from the minutes,

‘ SAMUEL FREEMAN, Secretary, P. T.’

‘ IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, That the Congress will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take into consideration the state of America.

‘ *Ordered*, That the letter from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts Bay be referred to that Committee.

‘ A petition from the county of Frederick, in Virginia, addressed to the Congress, was presented and read.

‘ Agreed that it be referred to the Committee on Monday.’



*' Monday, May 15, 1775.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*' The city and county of New York, having through the Delegates of that Province, applied to Congress for advice how to conduct themselves with regard to the troops expected there, the Congress took the matter into consideration.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*' The matter under consideration being resumed, the Congress*

*' Resolved, That it be recommended, for the present, to the inhabitants of New York, that, if the troops which are expected should arrive, the said Colony act on the defensive, so long as may be consistent with their safety and security; \* \* \* \* \* and that a sufficient number of men be embodied, and kept in constant readiness, for protecting the inhabitants from insult and injury.*

*' Upon motion,*

*' Resolved, That Mr. Washington, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. S. Adams, and the delegates from New York,\* be a Committee to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the Colony of New York, and that they be desired to report as speedily as possible.*

*' Wednesday, May 17, 1775.*

*' Resolved unanimously, That all exportations to Quebec, Nova Scotia, the island of St. John's, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the Parish of St. John's, and to East and West Florida, immediately cease, and that no provisions of any kind, or other necessaries, be furnished to the British Fisheries on the American coast, until it be otherwise determined by Congress.*

*' May 19. The Committee appointed to consider what posts are necessary to be occupied in the Colony of New York, and by what number of troops, \* \* \* \* \* brought in their report, which, being read, was referred to the Committee of the Whole.'*

*Thursday, May 25th. Secret Journals.*

*' Resolved, That a post be immediately taken and fortified, at or near King's Bridge, in the Colony of New York, that the ground be chosen with a particular view to prevent a communication between the city of New York and the country from being interrupted by land.*

*' Resolved, That a post be also taken in the Highlands, on each side of Hudson's River; and batteries erected in such manner as will most effectually prevent any vessels from passing that may be sent to harass the inhabitants on the border of said river; and that experienced persons be immediately sent to examine said river, in order to discover where it will be most advisable and proper to obstruct the navigation.*

\* See the names of the Delegates, Messrs. Jay, Schuyler, Clinton, Livingston, &c.

‘That it be left to the Provincial Congress of New York to determine the number of men sufficient to occupy the several posts above mentioned, and also that already recommended to be taken at or near Lake George, as well as to guard the city; provided the whole do not exceed the number of three thousand men, to be commanded by such officers as shall thereunto be appointed by said Provincial Congress, and to be governed by such rules and regulations as shall be established by said Congress, *until further order is taken by this Congress*; provided also, that if the said Provincial Congress should be of opinion that the number proposed will not be sufficient for the several services above mentioned, that the said Congress report their sentiments upon this subject to this Congress as soon as may be.

‘That it be recommended to the said Provincial Congress, that in raising those forces, they allow no bounties or clothing; and that their pay shall not exceed the establishment of the New England Colonies.

‘That it be further recommended to the Provincial Congress, aforesaid, that the troops to be established do serve until the last day of December next, *unless this Congress shall direct that they be sooner disbanded.*’

‘June 3. Upon motion,

‘Resolved, That a Committee be appointed for the purpose of borrowing the sum of six thousand pounds, for the use of America; for the repayment of which, with interest, the Congress will make full and ample provision. And that the said Committee apply the said sum of money for the purchase of gunpowder for the use of the Continental army.

‘That the delegates for Pennsylvania compose said Committee, with power as well to borrow the money as to apply it to the purpose intended.’

‘June 9. Upon motion,

‘Resolved, That this Congress will to-morrow take into consideration the ways and means of raising money.

‘Resolved, That the Provincial Convention of New York be requested to convey, as soon as possible, to Providence in Rhode Island, or to any port in the Government of Massachusetts Bay, five thousand barrels of Flour for the use of the Continental army.

‘Resolved, That the Committee of Correspondence at Providence, and in the Government of Massachusetts Bay, where the said Flour may be carried, be desired to receive and forward it to the Camp before Boston as soon as may be; and to lodge such part thereof as cannot be immediately sent thither, in places of security.

‘Resolved, That this Congress will make provision for defraying any expense incurred for this service.

‘June 10. Resolved, That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the several Colonies of New Hampshire, Rhode

Island, Connecticut, and the interior towns of Massachusetts Bay, that they immediately furnish the American army, before Boston, with as much powder out of their town, and other public stocks, as they can possibly spare; keeping an exact account of the quantities supplied, that it may be again replaced, or paid for by the Continent. This to be effected with the utmost secrecy and despatch.'

## PUBLIC JOURNALS.

' *May 26. Resolved unanimously*, That the militia of New York be armed and trained, and in constant readiness to act at a moment's warning; and that a number of men be immediately embodied, and kept in that city, and so disposed of as to give protection to the inhabitants, in case any insult should be offered by the troops that may land there, and to prevent any attempts that may be made to gain possession of the city, and interrupt its intercourse with the country.'

' *May 27.* The President laid before Congress a letter from the Convention of New Jew Jersey, which was read and referred to the Committee of the Whole.'

' Upon motion, *Agreed*, That Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Mifflin, Mr. Deane, Mr. Morris, and Mr. S. Adams, be a Committee to consider on ways and means to supply these Colonies with ammunition and military stores.'

' *June 1.* A petition from the Committee representing the people in that part of Augusta county, in the Colony of Virginia, on the West side of the Alleghany mountain, was laid before Congress and read, intimating "fears of a rupture with the Indians." \* \*

' *Ordered*, That the above be referred to the Delegates of Virginia and Pennsylvania.'

' *June 2.* The President laid before the Congress a letter from the Provincial Convention of Massachusetts Bay, dated May 16, which was read, setting forth the difficulties they labor under, for want of a regular form of government, \* \* \* \* \* requesting the Congress to favor them with "explicit advice respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government," and declaring their readiness to "submit to such a general plan as the Congress may direct for the Colonies, or make it their great study to establish such a form of government there as shall not only promote their advantage *but the union and interest of all America.*"'

' *June 3.* The letter from the Convention of Massachusetts Bay being again read,

' *Resolved*, That a committee of five persons be chosen to consider the same, &c., Messrs. J. Rutledge, Johnson, Jay, Wilson, and Lee.

' *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised.

' The Congress then proceeded to choose, by ballot, Mr. Wash-

ington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes, for that committee.

*'June 7.* The committee appointed to make an estimate of the money necessary to be raised, brought in their report, which was read and referred to the committee of the whole.

*'On motion,*

*'Resolved,* That Thursday the 20th of July next, be observed throughout the twelve United Colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting, and prayer; and that Mr. Hooper, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Paine, be a committee to bring in a resolve for that purpose.'

*'June 9.* The report of the committee, on the letter from the Convention of Massachusetts Bay, being again read, the Congress came to the following resolution:

*'Resolved,* That no obedience being due to the Act of Parliament for altering the Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, nor to a governor, or a lieutenant-governor, who will not observe the directions of, but endeavor to subvert that Charter, the governor, and lieutenant-governor of that Colony are to be considered as absent, and their offices vacant; and as there is no council there, and the inconveniences, especially at a time when Gen. Gage hath actually levied war, and is carrying on hostilities against his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects of that Colony; that, in order to conform as near as may be to the spirit and substance of the Charter, it be recommended to the Provincial Convention, to write letters to the inhabitants of the several places, which are entitled to representation in Assembly, requesting them to choose such representatives, and that the Assembly when chosen, do elect councillors; and that such Assembly, or council, exercise the powers of government, until a governor, of his Majesty's appointment, will consent to govern the Colony according to its Charter.

*'Ordered,* That the President transmit a copy of the above to the Convention of Massachusetts Bay.'

*'June 12.* The Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the ways and means of raising money, and having spent thereon the remainder of the day and the day following, adjourned to Wednesday at nine o'clock.'

*'June 14.* The Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole on the state of America; and Mr. Ward reported that the committee had come to certain resolutions, which he was ordered to report.

The resolutions being read, were agreed to as follows:

*'Resolved,* That six companies of expert riflemen be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia.

\* \* \* \* \*

*'That each company, as soon as completed, march and join the*

army near Boston, to be there employed as light infantry, under the command of the chief officer in that army.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ That the form of the enlistment be in the following words :

‘ I, \_\_\_\_\_ have this day voluntarily enlisted myself, as a soldier, in the *American Continental army*, for one year, unless sooner discharged.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Upon motion,

‘ *Resolved*, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare rules and regulations for the government of the army.

‘ The following persons were chosen to compose that committee : Mr. Washington, Mr. Schuyler, Mr. Deane, Mr. Cushing, and Mr. Hewes.’

‘ *Thursday, June 15.* The report of the committee being read and considered, *Resolved*, That a General be appointed to command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defence of American liberty.

‘ That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the General.

‘ The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a General, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected.’

‘ *Friday, June 16.* The President informed Col. Washington that the Congress had yesterday unanimously made choice of him to be General and Commander-in-chief of the American forces ; to which Col. Washington, standing in his place, answered :

“ MR. PRESIDENT,

“ Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the *momenteous duty* and exert every power I possess in their service, and for support of the *glorious cause*. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation.

“ But, lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in the room, that *I this day declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with.*

“ As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress, that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this ar-

\* On the 22d, two companies in addition to these ten, were ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania. These riflemen were the first troops ordered to be raised by the General Congress ; the army then before Boston having been raised entirely by the New England Colonies. All these twelve companies were prepared and marched, in greater numbers than the limit of Congress, to the lines before Boston, within two months after the resolve of the 14th. Captain Daniel Morgan, who commanded one of them, and who was much distinguished for efficiency during the war, marched in three weeks the distance from Frederick county, in Virginia, six hundred miles.

duous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. These, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

' *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to draught a Commission and instructions for the General.

' The persons chosen to compose the committee, were Mr. Lee, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. J. Adams.'

' *June 16.—Secret Journals.*

' *Resolved*, That the Provincial Convention of New York be desired immediately to apply to Governor Trumbull, to order the Connecticut troops now stationed at Greenwich, Stamford, and other parts adjacent, to march towards New York; and that part of them occupy such parts upon that island, as the said Provincial Convention shall judge best adapted to prevent the communication between the town and country from being cut off; the remainder of the troops to be employed in securing the navigation of Hudson's river, by erecting batteries at such places as the said Convention shall judge most proper to answer that purpose.'

' *Saturday, June 17.*—The committee appointed to draught a Commission to the General, report the same, which, being read by paragraphs and debated, was agreed to as follows:

' IN CONGRESS.

' The delegates of the United Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina,

' TO GEORGE WASHINGTON, ESQ.

' We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be General and Commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised, by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their services, and join the said army for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. And you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act, as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service.

' And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under you command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties.

' And we do also enjoin and require you to be careful in exercising the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries.



‘ And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war, (as herewith given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this, or any future Congress of these United Colonies, or Committee of Congress.

‘ This commission to remain in force, until revoked by this, or a future Congress.

‘ *By order of the Congress.*’

‘ *Ordered*, That the same be fairly transcribed, signed by the President, attested by the Secretary, and delivered to the General.

‘ *Resolved unanimously*, Whereas, the delegates of all the Colonies, from Nova Scotia to Georgia, in Congress assembled, have unanimously chosen George Washington, Esq., to be General and Commander-in-chief of all such forces as are, or shall be, raised for the maintenance and preservation of American liberty; *this Congress doth now declare that they will maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, the said George Washington, with their lives and fortunes in the same cause.*

‘ The Congress then proceeded to the choice of the officers in the army, by ballot :

‘ Artemas Ward, Esq. was chosen first Major-General.

‘ Horatio Gates, Esq., Adjutant-General.

‘ *Resolved*, That Horatio Gates, Esq., now chosen Adjutant-General, shall have the rank of Brigadier-General.

‘ Charles Lee, Esq., second Major-General.

‘ *Monday, June 19, 1775.* The President laid before Congress sundry letters he had received from Massachusetts Bay and New York, which were read.

‘ *Ordered*, That Mr. Henry, Mr. Lynch, and Mr. J. Adams, be a committee to wait upon General Lee, and to inform him of his appointment, and request his answer, whether he will accept the command.

‘ The committee returned and reported, that they had waited on General Lee, and informed him of his appointment, and that he gave for answer, “ That he had the highest sense of the honor conferred upon him by the Congress; that no effort in his power shall be wanting to serve the American cause.”

The above is the record of the Committee’s report, in the public journals of Congress; but, in their secret journals of the same day, is the following :

‘ After the words, “ That no effort in his power shall be wanting to serve the American cause,” add, “ but before he entered upon the service, he desired a conference with a committee to consist of one delegate from each of the associated Colonies, to whom he desired to explain some particulars respecting his private fortune.”



‘Whereupon, Mr. Sullivan, Mr. S. Adams, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Dyer, Mr. P. Livingston, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Ross, Mr. Rodney, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Henry, Mr. Caswell, and Mr. Lynch, were appointed as a committee to confer with General Lee.

‘The committee returned and reported, that they had conferred with General Lee, who had communicated to them an estimate of the estate he risked by this service. Whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That these Colonies will indemnify General Lee for any loss of property which he may sustain by entering into their service, and that the same be done by this, or any future Congress, as soon as such loss is ascertained.\*

*Public Journals* again. — ‘The letters from Massachusetts Bay, being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following resolve :

‘That the Governor of Connecticut be requested to direct all the forces raised in that Colony, not employed at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, or recommended by this Congress to be marched towards New York, to be immediately sent to join the combined army before Boston. And it is earnestly recommended to the Colony of Rhode Island, and to the Provincial Convention of New Hampshire, to send immediately to the army before Boston, such of the forces as are already embodied towards their quotas of the troops agreed to be raised by the New England Colonies.

‘*Resolved*, That Mr. Lee, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. J. Adams, be a committee to prepare the form of a commission for the Major-Generals, also for the Brigadier-Generals, and other officers in the army.

‘*Resolved*, That there be four Major-Generals.

‘The Congress then proceeded to choose the two remaining Major-Generals, when Philip Schuyler, Esq. was chosen third Major-General, and Israel Putnam, Esq. was unanimously chosen fourth Major-General.

‘The committee appointed to prepare the form of a Commission, reported the same.

‘*Ordered*, That a copy thereof be made out, signed by the President, and attested by the Secretary, for each of the Major Generals, and Brigadier Generals.

‘*Ordered*, That the Secretary get a number of commissions, with proper blanks, printed for the other officers.

‘The Committee appointed to prepare a petition to the King, reported a draught of one, which was read.\*

‘*June 21.* Mr. Henry informed the Congress that the General had put into his hand sundry queries, to which he desired the Congress would give an answer.

\* In a letter to Arthur Lee, dated Aug. 21, 1775, Ralph Izard wrote, — I am very much pleased with General Lee's letter to General Burgoyne. Lee has acquired considerable property ; and I have been assured, by people who know well that he would never risk the losing of it by entering into the service of America.—*Cer. R. Izard*, vol. i., p. 118.

‘The queries being read and debated,

‘*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare proper answers.

‘The persons chosen, were Mr. Dean, Mr. Henry, Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. S. Adams, and Mr. Lee.

‘On a motion made,

‘*Resolved*, That the General be allowed three Aids-de-camp.

‘That each of the Major Generals have two Aids-de-camp.

‘That their pay be thirty-three dollars per month, each.

‘*June 22.* The Committee appointed to prepare answers to the General’s queries, reported the same, which were read.

‘The Congress then came to the following resolutions :

‘*Resolved*, That the number of Brigadier Generals be augmented to eight ; and the same were chosen by ballot, as follows :

|                           |         |                    |
|---------------------------|---------|--------------------|
| ‘ Seth Pomeroy, Esq.,     | first   | Brigadier General. |
| Richard Montgomery, Esq., | second  | do. do.            |
| David Worster, Esq.,      | third   | do. do.            |
| William Heath, Esq.,      | fourth  | do. do.            |
| Joseph Spencer, Esq.,     | fifth   | do. do.            |
| John Thomas, Esq.,        | sixth   | do. do.            |
| John Sullivan, Esq.,      | seventh | do. do.            |
| Nathaniel Greene, Esq.,   | eighth  | do. do.            |

‘*Resolved*, That the troops, including the volunteers, be furnished with camp equipage, and blankets, when necessary, at the Continental expense.

‘*Resolved*, That the officers, now in the army, receive their new Commissions through the hands of the General.

‘*Resolved*, That a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the Congress in bills of credit, *for the defence of America.*

‘*Resolved*, That *the twelve Confederate Colonies be pledged* for the redemption of the bills of credit, now directed to be emitted.

‘Mr. Thomas Jefferson, appeared as a delegate from the Colony of Virginia, and produced his credentials, which were read and approved, and are as follows :\*

‘At a Convention of the delegates for the counties and corporations in the Colony of Virginia, at the town of Richmond, in the County of Henrico, on Monday, 27th March, 1775,

‘On a motion made,

‘*Resolved*, That Thomas Jefferson, Esq., be appointed a deputy to represent this Colony, in General Congress, in the room of the Honorable Peyton Randolph Esq., in case of the non-attendance of the said Peyton Randolph, Esq.

‘Attest, JOHN FAZEWELL, Clerk of the Convention.’

\* Mr. Jefferson took his seat, and this entry was made, on the 21st.

‘At a General Assembly began and held at the Capitol, in the city of Williamsburgh, on Thursday, 1st June, in the fifteenth year of the reign of our lord, George the Third, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, &c. A. D. 1775.

‘MONDAY, 5 JUNE, 15th G. III. 1775.

‘*Resolved*, N. C. D. That this house doth entirely approve of the proceedings and resolutions of the Convention of delegates, for the counties and corporations in the Colony of Virginia, held at Richmond town, in the county of Henrico, the 20th of March, 1775; and that it be recommended to all the good people of this Colony, strictly to conform to, and observe the same.

‘By the House of Burgesses,  
‘PEYTON RANDOLPH, Speaker.’

‘June 23. On motion made,

‘*Resolved*, That a Committee of five be chosen to draw up a *declaration*, to be published by General Washington, upon his arrival at the Camp before Boston.

‘The Committee chosen are Mr. J. Rutledge, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Johnson.’

This Committee brought in their report the next day (Saturday), and after being read and debated some time, it was referred till Monday, when it was resumed, further debated, and then recommitted, Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Jefferson being added to the Committee.

‘June 26. *Ordered*, That the President write to Governor Trumbull, and inform him and also the Conventions of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay, and the Governor of Rhode Island, that the Congress have appointed George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-chief of all the forces raised or to be raised for the defence of America.

‘July 6. The Committee to whom the Declaration was recommitted, brought in the same, which being again read, and debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

‘*A Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America now met in Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the causes and necessity of their taking up arms.*

‘If it was possible for men who exercise their reason to believe that the Divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, *the inhabitants* of these Colonies *might at least require* from the Parliament of Great Britain *some evidence*, that this dreadful authority over them, has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity,

and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject, that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very Constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these Colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that Assembly may be, by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world, to make known the justice of our cause.

‘ Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land, to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labor, and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments, vested with perfect legislatures, were formed under Charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the Colonies and the Kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary, as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed, that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm, arose from this source; and the minister, who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war, publicly declared, that these Colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war, it pleased our Sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment, the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

‘ These devoted Colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization, their

dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his Majesty, by the late King, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; Statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of the Courts of Admiralty and Vice-Admiralty beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the Colonies; for interdicting all commerce to the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by Charter, and secured by Acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of Colonists from legal trial, and in effect, from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring Province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the Colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that Colonists charged with committing certain offences, shall be transported to England to be tried.

'But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one Statute it is declared, that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever!" What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it, is chosen by us; or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purpose for which it was raised, would certainly lighten their own burden in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as suppliants; we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament, in the most mild and decent language.

'Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true, but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the King, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure: we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow

subjects, as the last peaceable admonition that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy ; but subsequent events have shown, how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

‘ Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty’s speech ; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address, in the month of February, said, that “ a rebellion at that time actually existed within the Province of Massachusetts Bay ; and that those concerned in it, had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty’s subjects in several of the other Colonies ; and therefore they besought his Majesty, that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme legislature.” — Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies with foreign countries and with each other, was cut off by an Act of Parliament ; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their subsistence ; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

‘ Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments and eloquence, of an illustrious band of the most distinguished Peers and Commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. — Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives ; and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising in our own mode the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies ? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

‘ Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this Continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the nineteenth day of April sent out from that place, a large detachment of his



army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said Province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same Province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people, suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. — The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their Governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteemed sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

‘ By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

‘ The General, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the 12th day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to “declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof, to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial.” — His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized, the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

‘ We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that Province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire,



sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force.— 'The latter is our choice.— We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery.— Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

' Our cause is just. *Our Union is perfect.* Our internal resources are great, and if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable.— We gratefully acknowledge as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operations, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, *declare*, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers, which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; *being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.*

' Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored.— Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory or for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked armies, without any imputation, or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

' In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it — for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

' With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly im-

plore his Divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.'

'SAMUEL ADAMS TO ARTHUR LEE.

'FEBRUARY 14, 1775.

'If the ministry have not abandoned themselves to folly and madness, the *firm union of the Colonies* must be an important objection. \* \* No sensible Minister will think that millions of free subjects, *strengthened by such an union*, will submit to be slaves.'—*Life of Arthur Lee*, vol. ii, p. 224.'

'THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DR. WILLIAM SMALL.

'MAY 7, 1775.

'DEAR SIR: Within this week we have received the unhappy news of an action of considerable magnitude, between the King's troops and our brethren of Boston, \* \* \* \* \* This accident has cut off our last hope of reconciliation, and a frenzy of revenge seems to have seized all ranks of people. It is a lamentable circumstance, that the only mediatory power acknowledged by both parties, instead of leading to a reconciliation his divided people, should pursue the incendiary purpose of still blowing up the flames, as we find him constantly doing, in every speech and public declaration, \* \* \* \* \* and to fill up the measure of irritation, a proscription of individuals has been substituted in the room of just trial. \* \* \* When I saw Lord Chatham's bill, I entertained high hope that a reconciliation could have been brought about. The difference between his terms, and those offered by our Congress might have been accommodated, if entered on by both parties, with a disposition to accommodate. But the dignity of Parliament, it seems, can brook no opposition to its power.'—*Jeff. Writ.* vol. i, p. 149.

'JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. ADAMS.

'MAY 29, 1775.

'MY DEAR: Our amiable friend Hancock, who, by the way, is our president, is to send his servant to-morrow for Cambridge. I am to send a few lines by him.

'We have no regular advices. I received one kind letter from you in one from Colonel Warren. An excellent letter I had from him. It has done him great honor, and me much good.

'The Congress will support the Massachusetts. There is a good spirit here. \* The military spirit, which runs through the Continent, is truly amazing. This city turns out two thousand men every day. Mr. Dickinson is a Colonel, Mr. Reed a Lieuten-

ant Colonel, Mr. Mfflin a Major. He ought to have been a General, for he has been the animating soul of the whole.

‘Col. Washington appears at Congress, in his uniform, and, by his great experience and abilities in military matters, is of much service to us.

‘Oh that I were a soldier! I will be. I am reading military books. Every body must, and will, and shall be a soldier.’

‘*June 10th.* Two days ago we saw a very wonderful phenomenon in this city; a field day, on which three battalions of soldiers were reviewed, making full two thousand men, battalion men, light infantry, grenadiers, riflemen, light-horse, artillery men with a fine train, all in uniform, going through the manual exercise, and the manoeuvres, with remarkable dexterity.

‘All this has been accomplished in this city since the 19th of April; so sudden a formation of an army never took place any where.

‘In Congress, we are bound to secrecy. But, under the rose, I believe that ten thousand men will be maintained in the Massachusetts, and five thousand in New York, at the continental expense.

‘The reputation of our countrymen for valor is very high. I hope they will maintain it, as well as that for prudence, caution, and conduct.’

‘*June 11.* MY DEAR,—I have been this morning to hear Mr. Duffield, a preacher in this city. His discourse was a kind of exposition on the thirty-fifth chapter of Isaiah. He applied the whole prophecy to this country, and gave us as animating an entertainment as I ever heard. He filled and swelled the bosom of every hearer. I hope you have received a letter, in which I enclosed you a pastoral letter from the synod of New York and Philadelphia; by this you will see that the clergy this way are but now beginning to engage in politics, and they engage with a fervor that will produce wonderful effects.’

‘*June 17.* I can now inform you, that the Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous and brave George Washington, Esq., to be General of the American Army, and that he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these Colonies. The Continent is really in earnest, in defending the country. They have voted ten companies of riflemen, to be sent from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, to join the army before Boston. These are an excellent species of light infantry. They are the most accurate marksmen in the world.

‘I have found this Congress like the last. When we first came together, I found a strong jealousy of us from New England, and

the Massachusetts in particular. Suspicions entertained of designs of independency; an American Republic; Presbyterian principles, and twenty other things. Our sentiments were heard in Congress with great caution, and seemed to make but little impression; but the longer we sat, the more clearly they saw the necessity of pushing vigorous measures. It has been so now. Every day we sit, the more we are convinced that the designs against us are hostile and sanguinary, and that nothing but fortitude, vigor, and perseverance, can save us.'

'June 18. MY DEAR,—This letter, I presume, will go by the brave and amiable General Washington. Our army will have a group of officers equal to any service. Washington, Ward, Lee, Gates, Gridley, together with all the other New England officers, will make a glorious Council of War.

'This Congress are all as deep as the delegates from the Massachusetts, and the whole Continent as forward as Boston. We shall have a redress of grievances, or an assumption of all the powers of Government, legislative, executive, and judicial, throughout the whole Continent, very soon. Georgia is bestirring itself. I mean, the whole of it. The Parish of St. John's, which is one-third of it, was with us before.'

'June 23. MY DEAR,—I have this morning been out of town, to accompany our Generals, Washington, Lee, and Schuyler, a little way on their journey to the American Camp, before Boston. The three Generals were all mounted on horseback, accompanied by Major Mifflin, who has gone in the character of Aid-de-Camp. All the delegates from the Massachusetts, with their servants and carriages, attended. Many others of the delegates from the Congress; a large troop of light horse, in their uniforms; many officers of militia, besides, in theirs, music playing, &c. &c. Such is the pride and pomp of war. I, poor creature, worn out with scribbling for my bread and my liberty, low in spirits and weak in health, must leave others to wear the laurels which I have sown; others to eat the bread which I have earned; a common case.

'We had yesterday, by the way of New York and New London, a report which distresses us almost as much as that we had last fall, of the cannonade of Boston—a battle at Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Point; three Colonels wounded, *Gardner* mortally. We wait to hear more particulars. Our hopes and fears are, alternately very strong. If there is any truth in this account, you must be in great confusion. God Almighty's Providence preserve, sustain, and comfort you.'

*Letters of J. Adams to Mrs. A., pp. 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47.*

‘ARTHUR LEE TO RALPH IZARD.

‘LONDON, February 19, 1775.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘The New England Governments are raising and training men. Maryland has voted both men and money. Virginia has raised a standing army of six thousand. South Carolina has voted fifty thousand pounds.

‘The Resolves of the Congress are every where obeyed, New York not excepted. \* \* We seem to be on the rough edge of battle. If New York is firm, I have not a single fear of success.’—*Cor. of R. Izard*, vol. i., p. 49.

‘R. IZARD TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

‘ROME, March 2, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR, — I have seen the proceedings of the Congress, and think that the members of it are entitled to the thanks of the public. *If the measures which are so wisely recommended are adopted and executed, we may still be a happy people. Unanimity, and a great degree of public virtue, are absolutely necessary.*

*Ibid*, p. 51.

‘ARTHUR LEE TO RALPH IZARD.

‘LONDON, April 23, 1775.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘There is a silence in the New England Provinces, which argues an approaching storm. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, *are united and firm.*

‘Maryland and Virginia are making the most serious military preparations. The frontier militia-men in Virginia have unanimously published their determination to fight, if it be necessary.

‘*Every thing depends on the wisdom, firmness, and unanimity, of the May Congress, at which Dr. Franklin will assist, he having sailed, a month since, for Philadelphia, with every profession and every incentive to do right.*’—*Ibid*, p. 69.

‘R. IZARD TO EDWARD RUTLEDGE.

‘LONDON, May 25, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you and Mr. Lynch, from Rome, and directed the letters to Philadelphia.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘If there proves to be as much virtue *in the people of America* as there was wisdom in the Congress, the gentlemen in this country may be brought to their senses. \* \* \*

‘The King is determined never to treat with the Congress, which convinces me that nothing honest is intended. *They are the true*

\* Mr. Lee, from Virginia, and Mr. Izard, from South Carolina, had then resided in Europe some years; the former from 1776, the latter from 1771.

*representatives of the people, and in every respect have shown themselves worthy of confidence.*—*Ibid*, p. 76.

‘R. IZARD TO ISAAC LOW.

‘LONDON, June 12, 1775.

‘SIR,—As I am informed you are Chairman of the Committee of New York, I take the liberty of addressing this letter to you.

‘I approve highly of the proceedings in general of the Continental Congress, and am firmly of opinion that, if the virtue and fortitude of America be equal to the wisdom of her delegates, the contest will soon be determined in our favor.

‘*The salvation of the Colonies depends upon the strict adherence to the measures recommended by the Congress.*’

‘GENERAL GREENE TO JACOB GREENE.

‘RHODE ISLAND CAMP (before Boston), 2 June, 1775.

‘I arrived in camp on Saturday last, and found it in great commotion. A few days longer in the state of excitement in which I found our troops would have proved fatal to our campaign. The want of government, and of a certainty of supplies, had thrown every thing into disorder. Several companies had clubbed their muskets in order to march home. I have made several regulations for introducing order, and composing their murmurs; but it is very difficult to limit people who have had so much latitude, without throwing them into disorder. The Commissaries had been beaten off at my arrival, and were about returning home the next day. I believe there never was a person more welcome, who was so little deserving, as myself. I wish you would forward Colonel Varnum’s regiment; he will be a welcome guest in camp. I expect much from his, and his troop’s example.’

‘TO GOVERNOR WARD, IN CONGRESS.

‘CAMP, PROSPECT HILL, 4 June, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR,—Your kind favor of the 23d last, is now before me. I am extremely happy to find your views so affectionately extend to the combined interests of the United Colonies. We have consulted our wishes rather than our reason, in indulging the idea of accommodation. America must raise an empire of permanent duration, supported upon the grand pillars of truth, freedom and religion, based upon justice, and defended by her own patriotic sons.

‘No doubt a large army must be raised in addition to the forces upon the present establishment. You are acquainted with my sentiments upon that head already. However, one thing is certain, the great body must be superior in number to any force the



enemy can send. *All the forces in America should be under one Commander, raised and appointed by the same authority, subject to the same regulations, and ready to be detached wherever occasion may require.*

‘MY DEAR SIR,—I am now to open my mind a little more freely.

‘*Permit me, then, to recommend, from the sincerity of my heart, ready at all times to bleed for my country’s cause, a declaration of Independence, and call upon the world, and the great God who governs it, to witness the sincerity, propriety, and rectitude thereof.*

‘*My worthy friend, the interests of mankind hang upon that truly worthy body of which you are a member.\** You stand the representatives, not of America only, but of the whole world; the friends of liberty, and the supporters of the rights of human nature.

‘How will posterity, millions yet unborn, bless the memory of those brave patriots, who are now hastening the consummation of freedom, truth, and religion!

‘But want of decision renders wisdom in council insignificant.

‘Frugality, a most amiable domestic virtue, becomes a vice of the most enormous kind, when opposed to the common good. The Tyrant by his last speech has convinced us, that to be free or not, depends upon ourselves. Nothing, therefore, but the most vigorous exertions on our part, can shelter us from the evils intended us. How can we, then, startle at the idea of expense, when our whole property, our dearest connexions, our liberty, nay, life itself is at stake: let us, therefore, act like men inspired with a resolution, that nothing but the frowns of Heaven, shall conquer us.

‘*Resolves, declarations, and all the parade of heroism in words, will not obtain a victory.* Arms and ammunition are as necessary as men, and must be had at the expense of every thing short of Britain’s claims.

‘An army unequipped, will ever feel the want of spirit and courage; but, properly furnished, fighting in the best of causes, will bid defiance to the united force of men and devils. When a finishing period will be put to the present dispute, God only knows.

‘A large body of troops will probably be wanted for a considerable time. *It will be infinitely safer, and not more expensive in the end, for the Continent to give a large bounty to any number of troops in addition to what may be ordered on the present establishment, that will engage during the war, than to enlist them from year to year without a bounty; and should the present regiments be inclined to engage for the same term, let them receive the same encouragement.* There is not the least prospect of our being able to disband, and form a new army again, without the enemy’s availing himself of the advantage.’

\* Governor Samuel Ward was a member of the Continental Congress from its commencement in 1774, until his death in Philadelphia, March 26, 1775.



The two last letters are in Judge Johnson's *Sketches of the Life of General Greene*, vol. i., pp. 31, 35.

Immediately after the battles of Lexington and Concord, the Legislature of Massachusetts proceeded to raise an armed force. They requested and promptly received the coöperation of Rhode Island and Connecticut. Rhode Island raised sixteen hundred men, enlisted to December 31st, 1775.

Nathaniel Greene, afterwards Major General Greene, a native of East Greenwich in that State, then 33 years of age, was appointed their Commander. In that character he was soon with them on the lines before Boston.

' GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

' PHILADELPHIA, 20 June, 1775.

' DEAR BROTHER,—I am to bid adieu to you, and to every kind of domestic ease, for a while. I am embarked on a wide ocean, boundless in its prospect, and in which perhaps no safe harbor is to be found. I have been called upon by the unanimous voice of the Colonies to take the command of the Continental army, an honor I neither sought after nor desired, as I am thoroughly convinced that it requires greater abilities and much more experience than I am master of, to conduct a business so extensive in its nature, and arduous in its execution. But the partiality of the Congress, joined to a political motive, really left me no choice; and I am now commissioned a General and Commander-in-chief of all the forces now, or to be raised for the defence of the *United Colonies*. That I may discharge the trust to the satisfaction of my employers, is my first wish; that I shall aim to do it, there remains little doubt. How far I may succeed, is another point; but this I am sure of, that, in the worst event, I shall have the consolation of knowing, if I act to the best of my judgment, the blame ought to lodge upon the appointers, not the appointed, as it was by no means a thing of my own seeking, or proceeding from any hint of my friends.

' I am at liberty to inform you, that the Congress, in committee, have consented to a Continental currency, and have ordered two millions of dollars to be struck for payment of the troops, and other purposes, and have voted fifteen thousand men as a Continental army, which number will be augmented, as the strength of the British troops will be greater than was expected at the time of passing the vote. General Ward, General Lee, General Schuyler, and General Putnam are appointed Major Generals under me. The Brigadier Generals are not yet appointed. Major Gates is made Adjutant General. I expect to set out to-morrow for Boston, and hope to be joined there in a little time by ten companies of riflemen from this Province, Maryland and Virginia. For other articles of intelligence, I shall refer you to the papers, as the printers are diligent in collecting every thing that is stirring.

' I shall hope that my friends will visit and endeavor to keep up the spirits of my wife, as much as they can, for my departure will, I know, be a cutting stroke upon her; and on this account alone I

have many disagreeable sensations. I hope that you and my sister, although the distance is great, will find so much time this summer as to spend a little of it at Mount Vernon.

'My sincere regards attend you both, and the little ones, and I am your most affectionate brother.'—*Writings of Washington*, by Dr. Sparks, vol. iii., p. 5.



# INTRODUCTION

TO THE SECOND AND THIRD NUMBERS, ETC.

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THE intelligent and attentive reader of the preceding Number has perceived, that, as long as confidence remained of so terminating the difficulties between this country and Great Britain, as to admit a continuance of their then existing connection, and opposition was therefore extended hardly beyond Petitions, Memorials, Addresses, Letters, Resolves, Associations, and Declarations, — so long, from the first assembling of Congress in 1774, did unanimity signalize all their proceedings, and so long, too, did near three millions of People look up to that Congress, for guidance, for direction, for deliverance.

But, a few pages onward will begin to disclose, that, little sooner did events press upon the minds of some men the possibility of a separation, and require to the aid of opposition a military force, than, in that Transcendent Council then holding the power, the confidence, and the destinies of a Nation, arose, instead of such unanimity, a difference so great and so determined, that its deranging influences quickly affected all the civil and military operations throughout the country.

It was, however, a difference between Patriots; for in no sane mind can exist a doubt of the patriotism of men, who, in any stage of that eventful contest, stood forth, and in council or field, perseveringly hazarded their lives and devoted their labors, in the best way or not, to render effectual that opposition which labored out, ultimately, the Independence of this Union. Yes, Patriots were they all, and each.

Causes far other than want of patriotism may be found as manifest, as their consequences have been enduring. They were rather in the head, than in the heart. That Assembly was justly esteemed

wise ; but, by laws ever immutable, its members were not, all, equally so :

‘ Some [were,] and must be, greater than the rest.’

The stern work of the Revolution before them, impelled alike to effort, those of smaller, and those of larger comprehension, and forced to their entire measure, the intellectual energies of every one. As separation in prospect seemed near, and old objects with their relations receded from their views, various new ones more and more advanced, and with these as various new influences, operating on some minds less, *but on others, more.*

In the Autumn of 1775, Congress first realized a necessity to raise an extensive military force, when the increasing difficulties had demonstrated, at least to many, that the struggle of Revolution was fast approaching, and demanded method and means to carry it on and through.

Then came that test and measure of minds with minds ; and soon, between that company of Patriots, who all had been, and from beginning to end of the contest continued to be, inflexibly firm in the opposition, and in favor of its prosecution — Men, who but a few months before had declared to their countrymen and the world, ‘ *Our Union is perfect,*’ \* — between the same men, even our Fathers of the Revolution, so soon began that wide political difference, whose rending consequences those Fathers did feel ; whose consequences we have felt, and feel now. Indeed, reasons apparently worthy of consideration have induced the belief, that the legitimate, the only adequate security against a prevalence of these mischiefs, is a knowledge of truth, instead of error, enlarged and extended to the people — a knowledge of those uniting and securing truths and principles, which, when predominant over distracting and destroying errors, never yet failed to save and protect the great interests of our country.

This belief well founded, the motive and the object of this Inquiry are enough explained. In pursuing it are regarded, not more, effects alone, undoing as many of them were and have been, than their connection with the causes that produced them ; not more, how battles were fought, how victories were lost, or how gained, than how other battles were not fought, their victories not lost, and how fatal defeat was avoided ; not more, the great dangers from the ampler means and superior armies of the enemy, than those greater dangers from want and disorder, by interfering friends ; not more, the extent of sufferings borne, or their causes even, than how those sufferings were alleviated, and how patience was induced to bear them ; not more, the number, or aggregate amount of opposing evils, than how the Master-Agents averted or controlled those evils, and persevered and labored on to a general conquest of them all ; not more, any other object of honest, impartial, and just inquiry, than, what Agents led, and by what means they led, to this country’s safety and its glory.

The whole is guided by the marks of their footsteps, *yet visible* ; al-

\* See page 78.

though much and long obscured, till at length trodden down and trampled on, by Demagogues.

If the institutions of no other nation depend as much as those of our own, upon right knowledge generally diffused among its people, then, no other nation requires and needs so much as our own, an increased amount and extended radiance of the true light reflected from its Fathers.

To exhibit impartially and plainly the views, principles, services, and influences of the Leading Men through the earliest periods of our Nation's history, would be, to unfold the great sustaining principles of social and political order and freedom, together with the influences and operations of those principles, in founding our Union, in achieving our Independence, in forming, explaining, and administering our Government; — to unfold beside those, other principles also, with the influences and operations of these other during the Revolution, in embarrassing and periling that most arduous work of unrequited beneficence, and since its completion, in more than once threatening even the duration of the same Union, Independence, and Government.

The variant, though honest views, in which originated so different principles of plans and counsels, and by which the memorable men in the very birth-period of the Nation, early became to a great extent divided into two classes; the occasion, nature and circumstances of that division; the distinctive views and principles of the one class, and those of the other; the relative merits of the two classes, and of the several individuals of whom they were composed; — these can be accurately and infallibly learned, only from the unperverted and unaltered records made in that period by those men themselves. Moreover, only by previously learning well their characters, can be known the true characters of those who have succeeded them.

Accordingly, this endeavor is designed and directed, first by their own writings, to show undisguised the real characters of the Leading Men pending the Revolution, especially in regard to their different principles, and the operations, influences and effects of those principles, upon the people and upon the people's great concerns, — and, afterward by subsequent writings from their pens and from the pens of their successors, to trace the same principles, the same operations and influences, from 1783 to the present time; that the whole Series may afford a view sufficiently distinct and full for all, *who will*, to acquire a correct, practical knowledge of our Nation's more than seventy years' experience — a knowledge, of vastly-increased, and still-increasing interest, at least to every citizen of this Union.

It is deemed proper in due candor to add, that this publication, intended toward a supply of a long-existing public want far-reaching in its effects, is a result of some labor in a broad and prolific field, which, lacking ways of access, was seen by our intervening fathers but in distant, misty view; and which, since new-made and other objects many and various beset its now more numerous avenues, is

too little seen or sought by us, and hence too little known, — a field, which therefore claims greater and better labors of the abler and more competent, to cull and select its original, genuine and restoring fruits of mature experience; to gather them as prepared, preserved, and left there by the enlightened, expanded, and forecasting patriotism of those Elder Fathers; and finally, to dispense them to the well-meaning many, who, long accustomed to feed on the false or spurious because they knew or could obtain no better, so much more need now, and in proportionately augmented measure, a free, common, salutary use of the true and pure.

The reader who regards with interest the inquiries below, is referred for satisfaction respecting the first two of them, principally to these two Numbers; — respecting the last of them, to these and the subsequent Numbers to be comprised in the first volume, but, principally, to the fourth in the series.

What was the real point of difference between those Fathers, then all aiming at one and the same object?

When and how did that difference become first apparent?

How did it speedily affect the army, the people, and the general prospect of the country?

## MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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GENERAL WASHINGTON to the Honorable MEMBERS of the CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, at Philadelphia.

NEW YORK, June 25, 1775.

‘GENTLEMEN, — The rain on Friday afternoon and Saturday, — the advice of several gentlemen of the Jerseys and this city, by no means to cross Hudson’s River at the lower Ferry — and some other circumstances, too trivial to mention, prevented my arrival at this place until the afternoon of this day.

‘In the morning, after giving General Schuyler such orders, as, from the result of my inquiry into matters here, appear necessary, I shall set out on my journey to the camp at Boston, and shall proceed with all the despatch in my power. Powder is so essential an article, that I cannot help again repeating the necessity of a supply. The camp at Boston, from the best account I can get from thence, is but very poorly supplied. At this place they have scarce any. How they are provided at Wooster’s camp, I have not been able yet to learn.

‘Governor Tryon is arrived, and General Schuyler directed to advise you of the line of conduct he moves in. I fear it will not be very favorable to the American cause.\*

‘I have only to add, that I am, with great respect and regard, Gentlemen, your most obedient and obliged humble servant.

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 1.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 8.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOHN HANCOCK Esquire, President of Congress.

‘NEW YORK, Sunday, 25 June, 1775, 5 o’clock, P. M.

‘SIR, — Upon my arrival here this afternoon, I was informed that an express was in town, from the Provincial camp in Massachusetts Bay; and having seen, among the papers in his posses-

\* Mr. Tryon had been Governor of New York almost four years. At that time he arrived from England, having been absent several months immediately previous.



sion, a letter directed to you as President of the Congress, I have taken the liberty to open it. It was induced to take that liberty by several gentlemen of New York, who were anxious to know the particulars of the seventeenth instant,\* and agreeable to the orders of many members of the Congress, who judged it necessary that I should avail myself of the best information in the course of my journey.

‘ You will find, sir, by that letter, a great want of powder in the Provincial army, which I sincerely hope the Congress will supply as speedily and as effectually as in their power. One thousand pounds in weight were sent to the camp at Cambridge, three days ago, from this city; which has left this place almost destitute of that necessary article; there being at this time, from the best information, not more than four barrels of powder in the city of New York.

‘ I propose to set off for the Provincial camp to-morrow, and will use all possible despatch to join the forces there.

‘ Please to make my compliments to the gentlemen of the Congress; and believe me to be, Sir, your obliged friend and humble servant.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 2.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 10.

The above are the first two letters from General Washington to Congress, after his appointment as Commander-in-Chief.

His subsequent letters to that body were addressed to their President.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ NEW YORK, 26 June, 1775.

‘ SIR, — You are to take upon you the command of all the troops destined for the New York department, and see that the orders of the Continental Congress are carried into execution, with as much precision and exactness as possible.

‘ For your better government therein, you are herewith furnished with a copy of the instructions given to me by that Honorable body. Such parts as are within the line of your duty, you will please to pay particular attention to. Delay no time in occupying the several Posts recommended by the Provincial Congress of this Colony, and putting them in a fit posture to answer the end designed; nor delay any time in securing the stores, which are, or ought to have been, removed from this city by order of the Continental Congress.

‘ Keep a watchful eye on Governor Tryon, and, if you find him directly or indirectly attempting any measures inimical to the *common cause*, use every means in your power to frustrate his designs.

‘ In like manner watch the movements of the Indian Agent, Colonel Guy Johnson, and prevent, as far as you can, the effect of his influence to our prejudice with the Indians. Obtain the best

\*The battle of Bunker-Hill.

information you can of the temper and disposition of those people, and also of the Canadians, that a proper line may be marked out to conciliate their good opinion, or facilitate any future operation.

‘The Posts on Lake Champlain you will please to have properly supplied with provisions and ammunition; and this I am persuaded you will aim at doing on the best terms, to prevent our *good cause* from sinking under a heavy load of expense. You will be pleased also to make regular returns to me, and to the Continental Congress, once a month, or oftener, as occurrences may require, of the forces under your command, and of your provisions and stores, and give me the earliest advices of every piece of intelligence which you shall judge of importance to be speedily known.

‘Your own good sense must govern you in all matters not particularly pointed out, as I do not wish to circumscribe you within narrow limits.

I am, Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 11.

When General Washington arrived, he received from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, a very appropriate address. He answered as follows:

‘GENTLEMEN, — Your kind congratulations on my appointment and arrival, demand my warmest acknowledgements, and will be ever retained in grateful remembrance. In exchanging the enjoyments of domestic life for the duties of my present honorable but arduous situation, I only emulate the virtue and public spirit of the whole Province of Massachusetts, which, with a firmness and patriotism without example, has sacrificed all the comforts of social and political life, in support of the rights of mankind, and the welfare of *our common country*. My highest ambition is, to be the happy instrument of vindicating those rights, and to see this devoted Province again restored to peace, liberty, and safety.’

Marshall, in 2 vols., i. p. 29. Note.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 14.

IN CONGRESS, ‘July 20, 1775. Resolved, That General Schuyler be empowered to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department, in such manner as he may think best *for the protection and defence of these Colonies*, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us, *and most effectually to promote the general interest*, still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders from this Congress, and *subject to the future orders of the Commander-in-Chief*.’

‘September 20th. Resolved, That the President write to the Provincial Convention of New York, or the Committee of Safety, *directing* them immediately to equip and send forward the whole of the troops ordered to be raised, to join General Schuyler, with all possible expedition.

‘Ordered, That a copy of General Schuyler’s letter, and of the enclosed papers, and of the letters sent to General Schuyler, *be immediately forwarded to General Washington*.’

'October 7th. The committee appointed to take into consideration the letter from the Convention of New York, brought in their report, which being read and debated, was agreed to as follows:—

'That the Provincial Convention of New York be *directed* immediately to render Hudson's River defensible; that in doing this, they be particularly attentive to form such works as may be finished before the winter sets in. As it is very doubtful whether any stone work can be properly made at this advanced season, it is submitted to the judgment of the said Convention, whether it could not be more cheaply and expeditiously done by works of wood, or Fascines. If they should think otherwise, that they be *directed* to go on with the work in the way which they think best, since it is the opinion of the Congress that the work should by no means be neglected.

'But if the work be already begun on the plan sent us, that they render such parts as can be first finished defensible, so that the labor be not thrown away, if an attack should be made before the whole can be finished.

'That the Convention be *directed* to inquire whether there are not some other places where small batteries might be erected, so as to annoy the enemy on their passage, particularly a few heavy cannon at or near Moore's house, and at a Point on the West shore, a little above Verplanck's Point.

'That the Convention be farther *directed* to take the most effectual method to obstruct the navigation of the said River, if, upon examination, they find it practicable.'

This is one of the instances in which relations of subject seem to require deviation from the order of dates.

It would be useful to notice, and to retain in mind while perusing the following pages, that unity of sentiment and aim, still continued in the first two above Resolves and in the Order following them, which pervades the Resolve of Congress to appoint a General, June 15, page 68, their Commission to the General, p. 69, their Resolve next after that Commission, June 17, p. 70, and the foregoing Orders of General Washington to General Schuyler, June 26; and to observe likewise, in all the above Proceedings of Congress, that appropriateness and consistency of plan and purpose, which had distinguished their whole course from the beginning, and by which that memorable body of men gained, for themselves and for their country, not only the ready concurrence and support of their constituents, but an imperishable name and praise through the whole civilized world.

What true American can contemplate that Congress and their Doings so far, without elevating and ennobling emotions of patriotic pride and gratitude?

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 10 July, 1775.

'SIR,—I arrived safe at this place on the 3d instant, after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities, which accompanied me in my whole route.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Upon the whole, I think myself authorized to say, that, considering the great extent of line and the nature of the ground, we are as well secured as could be expected in so short a time, and the disadvantages we labor under. These consist in *a want of engineers* to construct proper works, and direct the men, a want of tools, and a sufficient number of men to man the works, in case of an attack. \* \* \* \*

‘ We labor under *great disadvantages for want of tents*; for, though they have been helped out by a collection of sails from the seaport towns, the number is far short of our necessities. \* \* \* \*

‘ As materials are not to be had here, I would beg leave to recommend the procuring of *a farther supply from Philadelphia as soon as possible*. \* \* \* \*

‘ I should be extremely deficient in gratitude as well as justice, if I did not take the first opportunity to acknowledge the readiness and attention, which the Provincial Congress and different Committees have shown, to make everything as convenient and agreeable as possible. But there is a vital and inherent principle of delay, incompatible with military service, in transacting business through such numerous and different channels. I esteem it therefore, my duty, to represent the inconvenience which must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies; and submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether the public service will not be best promoted *by appointing a Commissary-General* for these purposes. We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode, in the establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well provided, under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different times assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your honors on this subject, I beg leave to *recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person* for this department. In the arrangement of troops collected under such circumstances, and upon the spur of immediate necessity, several appointments have been omitted which appear to be indispensably necessary for the good government of the army, particularly *a Quarter-Master-General, a Commissary of Musters, and a Commissary of Artillery*. These I must particularly recommend to the notice and provision of the Congress.

‘ I find myself already much embarrassed for *want of a military chest*. These embarrassments will increase every day. I must therefore most earnestly request, that money may be forwarded as soon as possible. \* \* \* \*

‘ I find the army in general, and the troops raised in Massachusetts in particular, very *deficient in necessary clothing*. Upon inquiry, there appears no probability of obtaining any supplies in this quarter; and on the best consideration of this matter I am able

to form, I am of opinion that a number of hunting-shirts, not less than ten thousand, would in a great degree remove this difficulty, in the cheapest and quickest manner. *I know nothing*, in a speculative view more trivial, yet *which*, if put in practice, *would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those Provincial distinctions, that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction.*

‘ In a former part of this letter I mentioned *the want of engineers.*

‘ I can hardly express the disappointment I have experienced on this subject.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ If any persons thus qualified are to be found in the Southern Colonies, it would be of great public service to forward them with all expedition.

‘ Upon the *article of ammunition*, I must re-echo the former complaints on this subject. We are so exceedingly destitute, that our artillery will be of little use without a supply both large and seasonable. What we have must be reserved for the small arms, and that managed with the utmost frugality.

‘ I am very sorry to observe, that *the appointment of general officers*, in the Provinces of Massachusetts and Connecticut, has not corresponded with the wishes and judgment of either the civil or military. The great dissatisfaction expressed on this subject, and the apparent danger of throwing the whole army into the utmost disorder, \* \* have induced me to retain the commissions in my hands until the pleasure of the Continental Congress should be further known, except General Putnam’s, which was given the day I came to the camp, and before I was apprized of these disgusts.

‘ In such a step I must beg the Congress to do me the justice to believe, that I have been actuated solely by a regard to the public good.

‘ I have not, nor could I have, any private attachments; every gentleman in appointment was a stranger to me, but from character. \* \* \* \*

‘ General Spencer’s disgust was so great at General Putnam’s promotion, that he left the army without visiting me, or making known his intention in any respect.

‘ General Pomroy had also retired before my arrival, occasioned, as it is said, by some disappointment from the Provincial Congress. \* \* \* \*

‘ Upon finding the number of men to fall so far short of the establishment, and below all expectation, I immediately called a council of general officers, whose opinion I have the honor of enclosing, together with the best judgment we are able to form of the Ministerial troops. \* \* \* *All the general officers agree, that*

*no dependence can be put on the militia, for a continuance in camp, or regularity and discipline during the short time they may stay.*

‘ This unhappy and devoted Province has been so long in a state of anarchy, and the yoke of Ministerial oppression has been laid so heavily on it, that great allowances are to be made for troops raised under such circumstances. The deficiency of numbers, discipline, and stores, can only lead to this conclusion, that their spirit has exceeded their strength.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ It requires no military skill to judge of the difficulty of introducing proper discipline and subordination into an army, while we have the enemy in view, and are in daily expectation of an attack; but it is of so much importance that every effort will be made to this end, which time and circumstances will admit. In the mean time, I have a sincere pleasure in observing, that there are materials for a good army, a great number of able-bodied men, active, zealous in the cause, and of unquestionable courage.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Generals Gates and Sullivan have both arrived in good health. ‘ My best abilities are at all times devoted to the service of my country; but I feel the weight, importance, and variety of my present duties too sensibly, not to wish a more immediate and frequent communication with the Congress.’

London ed. vol. i. p. 3.

Washington Writings.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 17.

The following extracts from their Journal, show the prompt action of Congress on most of the matters suggested in this first letter from General Washington, after he arrived at the camp before Boston.

‘ IN CONGRESS. *July 19, 1775.* The President laid before the Congress a letter from the General, with papers enclosed, which were read and considered, whereupon,

‘ *Ordered,* That Mr. Wilson apply to the committee of the City and Liberties of Philadelphia, and request them to make diligent inquiry, what quantity of duck Russia sheeting, tow-cloth, oznaburghs, and ticklenburghs can be procured in this city, and make return as soon as possible to this Congress.

‘ *Resolved,* That Joseph Trumbull be Commissary-general of stores and provisions for the army of the United Colonies.

‘ *Resolved,* That the appointment of a Quarter-master-general, a Commissary of musters and a Commissary of artillery, *be left to General Washington.*

‘ That General Thomas be appointed first Brigadier-General, in the army of the United Colonies, in the room of General Pomroy, who never acted under the commission sent to him, and that General Thomas’s Commission bear the same date that General Pomroy’s did.



‘That it be left to General Washington, if he thinks fit, to appoint three Brigade-Majors, and commission them accordingly.

‘That it be recommended to the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, to complete the regiments belonging to their respective Colonies, retained by the General in the Continental army before Boston.’

‘July 29. Resolved, That the appointment of Provost-martial, Wagon-master, and Master-carpenter, be left to the Commander-in-Chief of the army, who is to fix their pay, having regard to the pay they receive in the Ministerial army, and the proportion that the pay of the officers in said army bears to the pay of our officers.’

‘August 1. Resolved, That the sum of five hundred thousand dollars be immediately forwarded from the Continental Treasury, to the Paymaster-general, to be applied to the use of the army in Massachusetts-Bay, in such manner as General Washington, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, by his warrants shall limit and appoint; and if the above sum shall be expended before the next meeting of the Congress,\* then that General Washington, or the Commander-in-Chief for the time being, be empowered to draw upon the Continental Treasury, for the sum of two hundred thousand dollars, in favor of the Paymaster-general, to be applied for the use and in the manner above mentioned..

‘SECRET JOURNAL. August 1, 1775. Resolved, That out of the powder belonging to the Continent, now in this city, five tons be sent to General Washington, in the speediest and safest manner, by the delegates of the Colony of Pennsylvania.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

‘CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 10 July, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR, — I was exceedingly glad to receive a letter from you, as I always shall be whenever it is convenient. \* \* \*

After a journey, a good deal retarded, principally by the desire of the different townships through which I travelled of showing respect to the *General of your armies*, I arrived here on this day week. \* \* \*

‘I do not doubt but the Congress will think me very remiss in not writing to them sooner; but you may rely on it yourself, and I beg you to assure them, that it has never been in my power till this day to comply with their orders. Could I have conceived, that what ought, and, in a regular army, would have been done in an hour, would employ eight days, I should have sent an express on the morning after I arrived, with a general account of things; but expecting in the morning to receive the returns in the evening, and in the evening surely to find them in the morning, and at last getting them full of imperfections, I have been drilled on from day

\* On the 1st day of August Congress adjourned to the 5th of September.



to day till I am ashamed to look back at the time, which has elapsed since my arrival here. \* \* \* Between you and me, I think we are in an exceedingly dangerous situation, as our numbers are not much larger than we suppose those of the enemy to be. They are situated in such a manner, as to be drawn to any point of attack, without our having an hour's previous notice of it, (if the General will keep his own counsel;) whereas, we are obliged to be guarded at all points, and know not where, with precision, to look for them.'

Life of R. H. Lee, vol. ii. p. 1.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 26.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.\*

13 July, 1775.

'Suffer me to join in congratulating you on your appointment to be General and Commander-in-Chief of the troops raised or to be raised for the defence of American liberty. Men who have tasted of freedom, and who have felt their personal rights, are not easily taught to bear with encroachments on either, or brought to submit to oppression. Virtue ought always to be made the object of government; justice is firm and permanent.

'His Majesty's Ministers have artfully induced the Parliament to join in their measures, to prosecute the dangerous and increasing difference between Great Britain and these Colonies with vigor and military force; whereby the latter are driven to an absolute necessity to defend their rights and properties, by raising forces for their security. The honorable Congress have, with one united voice, appointed you to the high station you possess. The Supreme Director of all events has caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist amongst us. Now, therefore, be strong and very courageous. May the God of the armies of Israel shower down the blessings of his Divine Providence on you, give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and danger, add success, convince our enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their inestimable constitutional rights and liberties, are injurious and vain.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 31. Note.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JONATHAN TRUMBULL, Governor of Connecticut.

'CAMBRIDGE, 18 July, 1775.

'SIR, — Allow me to return you my sincere thanks for the kind wishes and favorable sentiments expressed in yours of the 13th

\* Mr. Trumbull was first appointed Governor in 1769, and by successive reflections continued in that office until the close of the Revolutionary war, when, at the age of 73 years, he declined another election.

instant. *As the cause of our common country calls us both to an active and dangerous duty, I trust that Divine Providence, which wisely orders the affairs of men, will enable us to discharge it with fidelity and success. The uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people has raised you to deserved eminence. That the blessings of health, and the still greater blessing of long continuing to govern such a people, may be yours, is the sincere wish of, Sir, yours, &c.'*

Ibid, p. 31.

SAME to the SAME.

'CAMBRIDGE, 18 July, 1775.

'SIR, — It is with no small concern, that I find *the arrangement of general officers made by the Continental Congress*, has produced much dissatisfaction. As the army is upon a general establishment, *their right to supersede and control a Provincial one, must be unquestionable*; and in such a cause, I should hope every post would be deemed honorable, which gave a man an opportunity to serve his country.

'A representation from the Congress of this Province, with such remarks as occurred to me on this subject, is now before the Continental Congress. In the mean time, I beg leave to assure you, that unbiased by any private attachments, I shall studiously endeavor to reconcile their pretensions to their duty, and so dispose them as to prevent, as far as possible, any inconvenience to the public service from this competition.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Ibid, p. 32.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 20 July, 1775.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Next to the more immediate and pressing duties of putting our lines in as secure a state as possible, attending to the movements of the enemy, and gaining intelligence, my great concern is to establish order, regularity and discipline, without which our numbers would embarrass us, and, in case of action, general confusion must infallibly ensue. In order to this, I propose to divide the army into three divisions. At the head of each will be a general officer; these divisions to be again subdivided into brigades under their respective brigadiers. But the difficulty arising from the arrangement of the general officers, and waiting the farther proceedings of the Congress on this subject, have much retarded my progress in this most necessary work. I should be very happy to receive their final commands, as any determination would enable me to proceed in my plan.

'General Spencer returned to the camp two days ago, and has

agreed to serve under Putnam rather than leave the army entirely. I have heard nothing from General Pomroy; *should he wholly retire, I apprehend it will be necessary to supply his place as soon as possible.*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 12.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 33.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 27 July, 1775.

'DEAR BROTHER, — On the 2d instant I arrived at this place after passing through a great deal of delightful country, covered with grass, (although the season has been dry,) in a manner very different from our lands in Virginia.

'I found a mixed multitude of people here, under very little discipline, order, or government; the enemy in possession of a place called Bunker's Hill, on Charlestown Neck, strongly intrenched, and fortifying themselves; part of our own army on two hills, called Winter and Prospect Hills, about a mile and a quarter from the enemy on Bunker's Hill, in a very insecure state; another part at this village; and a third part at Roxbury, guarding the entrance in and out of Boston. My whole time, since I came here, has been employed in throwing up lines of defence at these three several places, to secure, in the first instance, our own troops from any attempts of the enemy; and, in the next place, to cut off all communication between their troops and the country.

'To do this, and to prevent them from penetrating into the country with fire and sword, and to harass them if they do, is all that is expected of me.

'If effected, it must totally overthrow the designs of Administration, as the whole force of Great Britain in the town and harbor of Boston can answer no other end, than to sink her under the disgrace and weight of the expense.

'The enemy's strength, including marine forces, is computed, from the best accounts I can get, at about twelve thousand men; ours, including sick and absent, at about sixteen thousand; but then we have to guard a semicircle of eight or nine miles, to every part of which we are obliged to be equally attentive; whilst they, situated as it were in the centre of the semicircle, and having the entire command of the water, can bend their whole force against any one part of it with equal facility. This renders our situation not very agreeable, though necessary. However, by incessant labor, Sundays not excepted, we are in a much better posture of defence now, than when I first came.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Our works and those of the enemy are so near, and the space between is so open, that each sees every thing the other is doing.

'I shall conclude, with my best wishes and love to my sister and

the family, and compliments to any inquiring friends. Your most affectionate brother.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 38.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to MAJOR GENERAL SCHUYLER.

' CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 28 July, 1775.

\* \* \* \* \*

' I am much easier with respect to the public interest since you arrived at Ticonderoga, as I am persuaded those abilities and that zeal for the common welfare which have led your country to repose such confidence in you, will be fully exerted. From my own experience I can easily judge of your difficulties in introducing order and discipline into troops, who have from their infancy imbibed ideas of the most contrary kind. It would be far beyond the compass of a letter, for me to describe the situation of things here on my arrival. Perhaps you will only be able to judge of it from my assuring you, that mine must be a portrait at full length, of what you have had in miniature.

' Confusion and discord reigned in every department, which, in a little time, must have ended either in a separation of the army, or fatal contests with one another. The better genius of America has prevailed, and most happily the Ministerial troops have not availed themselves of their advantages, till I trust the opportunity is in a great measure passed over.

\* \* \* \* \*

' I must recommend to you, what I endeavor to practice myself, patience and perseverance.'

Ibid. p. 41.

*To the Speaker of the General Assembly of Massachusetts Bay.*

' CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 31 July, 1775.

' SIR, — I have considered the application made to me yesterday from the General Court, with all the attention due to the situation of the people in whose behalf it is made, and the respect due to such a recommendation.\* Upon referring to my instructions and consulting with those Members of Congress who are present, as well as the general officers, they all agree, that it would not be consistent with my duty to detach any part of the army now here on any particular Provincial service. \* \* \*

This will appear the more proper, when it is considered, that every town, and indeed every part of our sea-coast, which is exposed to these depredations, would have an equal claim upon this army.

\* By a committee, the General Court had made application for a detachment from the army, to protect the eastern part of the province from some apprehended depredations on the coast. Similar applications were often repeated during the war, the objects of which General Washington steadily labored to effect, by unremitted exertions to protect and defend the whole country. (See letter to Gov. Trumbull, Sept. 21, and many others.)

‘ It is a misfortune of our situation which exposes us to these ravages, and against which, in my judgment, no such temporary relief could possibly secure us. \* \* \*

‘ It would give me great pleasure to have it in my power to extend protection and safety to every individual; but the wisdom of the General Court will anticipate me in the necessity of conducting our operations *on a general and impartial scale*, so as to exclude any just cause of complaint and jealousy.’

Ibid. p. 44.

• RALPH IZARD TO GEORGE DEMPSTER, Esq.

‘ WEYMOUTH, [Eng.] August 1, 1775.

‘ You wished to be informed of the proceedings of the Continental Congress. They are kept so secret, that nothing has transpired but a few articles, which they have allowed to be published, such as *their directions to the City and County of New York*; how to conduct themselves, if any of the King’s troops should arrive in their Province; *their orders* that no more provisions should be sent to the island of Nantucket than is necessary for the inhabitants, lest the Newfoundland Fisheries should from thence be supplied, and their Resolution, that no money be furnished the British army for their bills of exchange.

‘ The Congress, by these few specimens, seem to be proceeding with great wisdom.

‘ I make no doubt, but, if America should be driven to the necessity of disuniting herself from Great Britain, that the world would see *the firmest and freest Constitution formed*, that any people were ever blessed with.’

Cor. of R. Izard, vol. i. p. 110.

• GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 4 August, 1775.

‘ SIR, — I am to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 24th July, accompanied by two hundred and eighty-four commissions, which are yet much short of the necessary number. I am much honored by the confidence reposed in me, of appointing the several officers recommended in mine of the 10th ultimo. \* \*

In the renewal of these commissions some difficulties occur, in which I should be glad to know the pleasure of Congress. The general officers of Massachusetts have regiments; those of Connecticut have both regiments and companies; and the other field officers have companies each. In New Hampshire, the general officers have no regiments; nor the field officers companies. In Rhode Island, the general officers have no regiments; but the field officers have companies. \* \* \*

Should the commissions now to be delivered, pursue these different establishments, there will be a distinction between the general and field officers of

the same rank. In order to put New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island upon a line with Connecticut, it would be necessary to dismiss a number of officers in possession of commissions, without any fault of theirs. On the other hand, to bring the Connecticut general and field officers to the same scale with the others, will add to the number of officers, and may be deemed inconsistent with the terms on which they entered into the service, although you add nothing to the expense, except in the articles of provisions. *Upon the whole, it is a case which I would wish the honorable Congress to consider and determine.*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘The estimate made in Congress, supposed all the regiments to be formed upon one establishment; but they are different in different Provinces, and even vary in the same Province in some particulars. In Massachusetts, some regiments have ten companies, others eleven; the establishment of the former is five hundred and ninety men, officers included; of the latter, six hundred and forty-nine. The establishment of Rhode Island and New Hampshire is five hundred and ninety to a regiment, officers included; Connecticut has a thousand men to a regiment. \* \* \*

The reduction of some of them seems to be necessary, and yet it is a matter of much delicacy, as we are situated. *I most earnestly request it may be taken into immediate consideration*, and the time and mode of doing it pointed out by the honorable Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘As General Gage is making preparations for winter by contracting for quantities of coal, it will suggest to us the propriety of extending our views to that season. \* \* \*

But I need not enlarge upon the variety of necessities, such as clothing and fuel, (both exceedingly scarce and difficult to be procured,) which that season must bring with it, if the army or any considerable part of it is to remain embodied.

‘Since I had the honor of addressing you last, I have been applied to by a committee of the General Court, for a detachment of the army, to protect the inhabitants of the eastern parts of this Province from some apprehended depredations on their coasts. I could have wished to comply with their request; but after due consideration, and consulting the general officers, together with those Members of Congress who are here, I thought it my duty to excuse myself. The application and my answer are enclosed, which I hope will be approved by the honorable Congress.

‘The army is now formed into three grand divisions, under the command of the Generals Ward, Lee, and Putnam; each division into two brigades, consisting of about six regiments each, commanded by Generals Thomas and Spencer at Roxbury; Heath at Cambridge; Sullivan and Greene at Winter Hill. By this, you will please to observe, there is a deficiency of one Brigadier-Gen-



*ral*, occasioned by Mr. Pomroy's refusal to accept his commission, *which I beg may be filled up as soon as possible*. I observe the honorable Congress have also favored me with the appointment of three brigade majors. I presume they have appointed, or intend to appoint, the rest soon, as they cannot be unacquainted that one is necessary to each brigade; and, in a new-raised army, it will be an office of great duty and service.

'The accession of Georgia\* to the measures of the Congress is a happy event, and must give sincere pleasure to every friend of America. I am, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 17.

Wash. Writ.

Sparka, vol. iii. p. 49.

GEORGE MERCER TO RALPH IZARD.

'MANCHESTER, [Eng.] August 18, 1775.

'The Provincial Congress of Virginia have entered into the same resolution with South Carolina, "to summon all absentees above twenty and under sixty, to return to their respective Provinces.'

'I have not been regularly served with one, nor do I suppose you have. Nevertheless, I am informed, the strict letter of it is meant to be complied with, and that a confiscation general will follow a refusal.'

Cor. of R. Izard, vol. i. p. 116.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN RANDOLPH, ESQ.

'MONTICELLO, August 25, 1775.

'DEAR SIR, — I am sorry the situation of our country should render it not eligible to you to remain longer in it. I hope the returning wisdom of Great Britain will, ere long, put an end to this unnatural contest. There may be people to whose tempers and dispositions, contention is pleasing, and who, therefore, wish a continuance of confusion, but to me it is of all states but one, the most horrid. \* \* \* \*

I think it must be evident to yourself, that the Ministry have been deceived by their officers on this side of the water, who, (for what purpose I cannot tell,) have constantly represented the American opposition as that of a small faction, in which the body of the people took little part. This, you can inform them, of your own knowledge, is not true. \* \* \* \*

I wish they were thoroughly and minutely acquainted with every circumstance relative to America, as it exists in truth. I am persuaded, this would go far towards disposing them to reconciliation. \* \* \* \*

The Congress (of 1774) stated the lowest terms they thought pos-

\* This fact respecting Georgia, communicated to Congress by letter, was recorded in their Journal, July 20th.



sible to be accepted, in order to convince the world, they were not unreasonable. \* \* \*

I wish no false sense of honor, no ignorance of our real intentions, no vain hope that partial concessions of right will be accepted, may induce the Ministry to trifle with accommodation, till it shall be out of their power ever to accommodate. \* \*

‘It would be certainly unwise, by trying the event of another campaign, to risk our accepting a foreign aid, which, perhaps, may not be obtainable but on condition of everlasting avulsion from Great Britain. This would be thought a hard condition, to those who still wish for reunion with their parent country. *I am sincerely one of those, and would rather be in dependence on Great Britain, properly limited, than on any nation upon earth, or than on no nation. But I am one of those, too, who, rather than submit to the right of legislating for us, assumed by the British Parliament, and which late experience has shown, they will so cruelly exercise, would lend my hand to sink the whole island in the ocean.*

‘If undeceiving the Minister as to matters of fact, may change his disposition, it will, perhaps, be in your power by assisting to do this, to render service to the whole empire, at the most critical time, certainly, that it has ever seen.’

Jeff. Writ. vol. i. p. 150.

RALPH IZARD to THOMAS LYNCH, Esq.

‘WEYMOUTH, September 8, 1775.

‘Depend upon it you will never be assisted by any people from motives of generosity; and, if any thing ever looks like it, still interest will be at the bottom of it.

‘France, most sincerely wishes America to be disunited from Great Britain. \* \* \* Should the civil war continue, and America form *an independent Constitution for herself*, and publish an invitation to all powers to trade with her, interest would begin to operate, and I believe that France would then stand forth. \* \* \* I have the greatest confidence in the wisdom and virtue of the Congress, and do, from my soul, believe them to be the best, the most incorrupt, and disinterested representative body that ever the world saw.’

Cor. of R. Izard, vol. i. p. 120.

SAME to LIEUT. GOVERNOR COLDEN.

WEYMOUTH, September 10, 1775.

‘The cause of America is approved of by all Europe. \* \* \* I approve highly of the proceedings of the Continental Congress, and most religiously believe, that the liberties of America have been preserved by them. \* \* \* I can assure you that in the opinion of foreigners, they have done the greatest honor to their country.

‘The conduct of the Assembly of New York astonished and afflicted me. If they had succeeded in their attempts to persuade their constituents to disregard *the directions of the Congress*,  
 \* \* \* every thing mischievous was to be expected. A disunion is all that our enemies wish; and could they be gratified, our destruction would be the certain consequence.’

‘P. S. I write in full expectation that there will be no accommodation. \* \* \* Could such a happy event be brought about, and we again be put into the situation we were, in the year 1763, *I should* for many years, *prefer it to any Constitution that could be formed.*’

Ibid. p. 126.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GAGE.

‘HEAD QUARTERS, CAMBRIDGE, 20 August, 1775.

‘SIR, — I addressed you on the 11th instant, in terms which gave the fairest scope for that humanity and politeness which were supposed to form a part of your character.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ‘You advise me to give free operation to truth, and to punish misrepresentation and falsehood. If experience stamps value upon counsel, yours must have a weight which few can claim. \* \*

‘You affect, Sir, to despise all rank not derived from the same source with your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would comprehend and respect it.

‘What may have been the Ministerial views which have precipitated the present crisis, Lexington, Concord, and Charlestown can best declare.

‘May that God, then, to whom you appeal, judge between America and you. Under his Providence, those who influence the counsels of America, and all the other inhabitants of the United Colonies, at the hazard of their lives, are determined to hand down to posterity those just and invaluable privileges which they received from their ancestors.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 65.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

‘CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 29 August, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 1st instant, by Mr. Randolph,\* came safe to hand. The merits of this young gentleman, added to your recommendation, and my own knowledge of his character,

\* Edmund Randolph. The time and occasion of his leaving, appear in the General's letter, Nov. 2.

induced me to take him into my family, as an Aid-de-Camp, in the room of Mr. Mifflin, whom I have appointed Quartermaster-general, from a thorough persuasion of his integrity, my own experience of his activity, and, finally, because he stands unconnected with either of these governments, or with this, that, or the other man; for between you and me, there is more in this than you can easily imagine.

‘I submit it, therefore, to your consideration, whether there is, or is not, a propriety in that Resolution of the Congress, which leaves the ultimate appointment of all officers below the rank of Generals, to the governments where they originated, now the army is become Continental. *To me it appears improper; it is giving that power and weight to one individual Colony, which ought, of right, to belong only to the whole.* \* \* \* Would it not be better, therefore, to have the warrants, which the Commander-in-Chief is authorized to give *pro tempore*, approved or disapproved by the Continental Congress, or a committee of their body, which I should suppose, in any long recess must always sit. In this case every gentleman will stand an equal chance of being promoted, according to his merit.’

Life of R. H. Lee, vol. ii. p. 3. Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 68.

The Resolution referred to in the preceding letter to Col. Lee, stands on the Journal as follows:

‘IN CONGRESS, *June 22, 1775. Resolved*, That the Colony of Pennsylvania raise two more companies of riflemen, and that these, with the six before ordered [on the 14th] to be by them raised, making eight companies, be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such field officers, captains and lieutenants, *as shall be recommended by the Assembly or Convention of said Colony.*’

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 31 August, 1775.

‘SIR, — *As the filling up the vacant place of Brigadier-General will probably be of the first business* of the honorable Congress, I flatter myself it will not be deemed assuming, to mention the names of two gentlemen, whose former services, rank, and age, may be thought worthy of attention on this occasion. Of the one I can speak from my own knowledge, of the other only from character. The former is Colonel John Armstrong of Pennsylvania. \*

\* \* The other gentleman is Colonel Frye of Massachusetts Bay. \* \* \*

‘Either of these gentlemen, or any other the honorable Congress shall please to favor with this appointment will be received by me with the utmost deference and respect. \* \*

‘The *scarcity of ammunition* does not admit of our availing ourselves of the situation, as we otherwise might do. \* \*

‘ I need not add to what I have already said on this subject.

‘ Our late supply was very seasonable, but far short of our necessities.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 25.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 72.

This want of a *Brigadier-General*, mentioned by General Washington before, and several times after this letter, continued till Jan. 10th, when Colonel Frye was elected. Particulars relating to it will be found in, and immediately after, the General's letter to Col. Reed, Jan. 14th.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

‘ CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 8 September, 1775.

‘ SIR, — Upon the receipt of this you will please to give directions, that all the new levies march immediately to this camp. By a Resolution of Congress, the troops on the Continental establishment were not to be employed for the defence of the coasts, or of any particular Province, the militia being deemed competent to that service. When I directed these troops to remain in their own Province, I had some reason to expect a remove from Boston to New York, in which case they would have been able to give the enemy a more speedy opposition; but as that suspicion now appears groundless, there will be an impropriety in continuing them where they now are, considering the above Resolve.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 83.

#### GOVERNOR TRUMBULL TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

‘ September 15, 1775.

‘ I am surprised that mine of the 5th instant was not received, or not judged worthy of notice, as no mention is made of it. Stonington had been attacked and severely cannonaded, and by Divine Providence marvellously protected. New London and Norwich are still so menaced by the Ministerial ships and troops, that the militia cannot be thought sufficient for their security, and it is necessary to throw up some intrenchments. We are obliged actually to raise more men for their security, and for the towns of New Haven and Lyme. I hoped some of the new levies might have been left here till these dangers were over, without injury to any of your operations. I own that it must be left to your judgment. Yet it would have given me pleasure to have been acquainted that you considered it. I thank Divine Providence and you for this early warning to great care and watchfulness, *that so the Union of the Colonies may be settled on a permanent and happy basis.*

‘ You may depend on our utmost exertions for the defence and security of the constitutional rights and liberty of the Colonies, and of our own in particular. None has shown greater forwardness, and thereby rendered itself more the object of Ministerial vengeance.

‘ I am, with great esteem and regard for your *personal* character, &c.’

Ibid. p. 96, *Note*.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 21 September, 1775.

‘ SIR, — It gives me real concern to observe by yours of the 15th instant, that you should think it necessary to distinguish between *my personal* and *public* character, and confine your esteem to the former. Upon a reperusal of mine of the 8th instant, I cannot think it bears the construction you have put upon it; and, unless that construction was the most obvious, I should have hoped that the respect I really have for you, and which I flatter myself I had manifested, would have called for the most favorable. In the disposition of the Continental troops, I have long been sensible that it would be impossible to please, not individuals merely, but particular Provinces, whose partial necessities would occasionally call for assistance. I therefore thought myself happy, that the Congress had settled the point, and apprehended I should stand excused to all, for acting in the line, which not only appeared to me to be that of policy and propriety, but of express and positive duty. If, to the other fatigues and cares of my station, that is to be added of giving reasons for all orders, and explaining the grounds and principles on which they are formed, my personal trouble would, perhaps, be of the least concern. The public would be most affected. You may be assured, Sir, nothing was intended that might be construed into disrespect; and, at so interesting a period, nothing less ought to disturb the harmony so necessary for the happy success of our public operations.

‘ The omission of acknowledging, in precise terms, the receipt of your favor of the 5th instant, was purely accidental. The subject was not so new to me as to require long consideration. I had had occasion fully to deliberate upon it, in consequence of applications for troops from Cape Ann, Machias, New Hampshire, and Long Island, where the same necessity was as strongly pleaded, and, in the last two instances, the most peremptory orders were necessary to prevent the troops from being detained. I foresaw the same difficulty here. I am by no means insensible to the situation of the people on the coast. I wish I could extend protection to all; but the numerous detachments, necessary to remedy the evil, would amount to the dissolution of the army, or make the most important operations of the campaign depend upon the piratical expeditions of two or three men-of-war and transports.

‘ The spirit and zeal of the Colony of Connecticut is unquestionable; and whatever may be the hostile intentions of the men-of-war, I hope their utmost efforts can do little more than alarm the coast.

‘I am, with great esteem and regard for both *your personal* and *public* character, Sir, &c.’

Ibid. p. 96.

*From GOVERNOR TRUMBULL's Reply.*

‘I have no disposition to increase the weight of your burdens, which, in the multiplicity of your business, must be sufficiently heavy, nor inclination to disturb the harmony so necessary to the happy success of our public operations. I am persuaded no such difficulty will any more happen. It is unhappy, that jealousies should be excited, or disputes of any sort litigated, between any of the Colonies, to disunite them at a time, when our liberty, our property, our all is at stake.

‘If our enemies prevail, which our disunion may occasion, our jealousies will then appear frivolous, and all our disputed claims of no value to either side.’ \*

Ibid. p. 98. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 21 September, 1775.

‘SIR, — The mode in which the present army has been collected has occasioned some difficulty, in procuring the subscription of both officers and soldiers to the Continental articles of war. Their principal objection has been, that it might subject them to a longer service than that for which they engaged under their several Provincial establishments. It is in vain to attempt to reason away the prejudices of a whole army, often instilled, and in this instance, at least, encouraged, by the officers, from private and narrow views. I have therefore forbore pressing them; more especially as the restraints, necessary for the establishment of essential discipline and subordination, indisposed their minds to every change, and made it both duty and policy to introduce as little novelty as possible. With the present army, I fear such a subscription is impracticable; but the difficulty will cease with this army.

‘The Connecticut and Rhode Island troops stand engaged to the 1st of December only; and none longer than the 1st of January.

‘A dissolution of the present army, therefore, will take place, unless some early provision is made against such an event.

‘In the Continental establishment no provision has been made for the *pay of artificers*, distinct from that of the common soldiers; whereas, under the Provincial such as found their own tools were allowed one shilling *per diem* advance, and particular artisans more. The pay of the artillery, also, now differs from that of the

\* After that occasion, which apparently excited some inclination to distinguish *personal* from *public* character, Governor Trumbull's efficient coöperation was un-failing during the war, and harmony in the public views of those two UNFALTERING PATRIOTS, was constant to the close of the Governor's life, August, 1785.



Province; the men have less, the officers more; and for some ranks, no provision is made, as the Congress will please to observe by the list which I have the honor to enclose. These particulars, though seemingly inconsiderable, are the source of much complaint and dissatisfaction, which I endeavor to compose in the best manner I am able.

‘By the returns of the rifle companies, and that battalion, they appear to exceed their establishment very considerably. I doubt my authority to pay these extra men without the direction of the Congress; but it would be deemed a great hardship wholly to refuse them, as they have been encouraged to come.

‘The necessities of the troops having required pay, I directed that those of the Massachusetts should receive for one month, upon their being mustered, and returning a proper roll; but a claim was immediately made for pay by lunar months; and several regiments have declined taking up their warrants on this account. As this practice was entirely new to me, though said to be warranted by former usage here, the matter now waits the determination of the honorable Congress. I find, in Connecticut and Rhode Island, this point was settled by calendar months; in Massachusetts, though mentioned in the Congress, it was left undetermined; which is also the case of New Hampshire.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘For the better regulation of duty, I found it necessary to settle the rank of the officers, and to number the regiments; and, as I had not received the commands of the Congress on the subject, and the exigence of the service forbade any farther delay, the general officers were considered as having no regiments; an alteration, which, I understand, is not pleasing to some of them, but appeared to me and others to be proper, when it was considered, that, by this means, *the whole army is put upon one footing, and all particular attachments are dissolved.*

\* \* \*

‘It gives me great pain to be obliged to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly *distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army*, the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring, and no provision yet made for such important events.’

\* \* \*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 28.

\* \* \*

Wash. Writ.

\* \* \*

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 98.

SAME to BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH SPENCER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 26 September, 1775.

SIR,—I have perused and considered a petition, or rather a remonstrance, directed to you, and signed by several captains and subalterns.

\* \* \*

‘The decent representation of officers, or even of common sol-



diers, through the channel of their Colonel, or other superior officers, I shall always encourage and attend to; but I must declare my disapprobation of this mode of associating and combining, as subversive of all subordination, discipline and order. \* \*

'In an army so young as ours, the claims arising from real service are very few, and the accidental circumstance of obtaining a commission a month or two sooner can with no reasonable person claim any superior regard, or make such a scrutiny of any consequence. This army is supported *by the whole Continent*; the establishment is entirely new.

'*All Provincial customs, therefore, which are different in different Provinces, must be laid out of the question. The power, which has established and which pays this army, has alone the right to judge, who shall command in it.* \* \*

'To put it into any other hands would be a high breach of my trust, and would give birth to such factions and cabals, as must soon end in the dissolution of the army and the ruin of our country.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 108.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 5 October, 1775.

SIR,—I was honored with your favor of the 26th ultimo, late the night before last; and a meeting of the general officers having called upon a business, \* \* I took the opportunity of laying before them those parts of yours, which respect the continuance and new modeling of the army, *the fuel, clothing, and other preparations for the ensuing winter*. They have taken two or three days to consider; and, as soon as I am possessed of their opinions, I shall lose no time in transmitting the result, not only on the above subjects, but the number of troops necessary to be kept up. I have also directed the Commissary-general and the Quartermaster-general to prepare estimates of the expense of their departments for a certain given number of men, from which a judgment may be made, when the number of men to be kept in pay is determined; all which I shall do myself the honor to lay before Congress, as soon as they are ready.

'As I shall reserve all further remarks upon the state of the army till my next, I shall now beg leave to request the determination of Congress, as to the property and disposal of such vessels and cargoes as are designed for the supply of the enemy, and may fall into our hands. There has been an event of this kind at Portsmouth, in which I have directed the cargo to be brought hither for the use of the army, reserving *the settlement of any claims of capture to the decision of Congress*.

"As there are many unfortunate individuals whose property has been confiscated by the enemy, I would humbly suggest to the

consideration of Congress, the humanity of applying, in part or in whole, such captures to the relief of those sufferers, after compensating the captors for any expense, and for their activity and spirit. I am the more induced to request that this determination may be speedy, as I have directed three vessels to be equipped in order to cut off the supplies; and from the number of vessels hourly arriving, it may become an object of some importance. In the disposal of these captures, for the encouragement of the officers and men, I have allowed them one third of the cargoes, except military stores, which, with the vessels, are to be reserved for the public use. I hope my plan as well as the execution, will be favored with the approbation of Congress.'

London ed. vol. i. p. 36.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 115.

The letter of the 26th ultimo, mentioned in the beginning of the above, related to the subjects referred to in the General's letter, of Aug. 4, p. 103; but on the receipt of his, of Sept. 21, p. 111. Congress appointed a Committee, as follows.

'IN CONGRESS. September 29. — A letter from General Washington, dated the 21st of September, with sundry enclosed papers, being received by express, was laid before Congress and read.

'Resolved, That a Committee of three members be appointed to repair immediately to the Camp at Cambridge, to confer with General Washington, and with the Governor of Connecticut, Lieutenant-Governor of Rhode Island, the Council of Massachusetts, and the President of the Convention of New Hampshire, and such other persons as, to the said Committee shall seem proper, touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army.

'September 30. The Congress proceeded to the election of a Committee, and the ballots being examined, Mr. Lynch, and Dr. Franklin, \* \* \* and Mr. Harrison were found to be duly elected by a majority of votes.

'Resolved, That the President inform General Washington, by express, of the Resolution of Congress, appointing a Committee to wait on him, in order to consult with him, touching the most effectual method of continuing, supporting, and regulating a Continental army.'

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 12 October, 1775.

'SIR, — I am honored with your several favors of the 26th and 30th of September, and 5th of October. \* \* \*

'Previous to the direction of Congress to consult the general officers on the best mode of continuing and providing for the army during the winter, I had desired them to turn their thoughts upon these subjects, and to favor me with the result by a particular day,

in writing. In the interval, the appointment of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Colonel Harrison, was communicated, an event which has given me the highest satisfaction, as the subject was too weighty and complex for a discussion by letter. This appointment made any conclusion here unnecessary, as it is not probable any such arrangement would be agreed on, as would not be altered in some respects, upon a full and free conference. This good effect will arise from the step already taken, that every officer will be prepared to give his sentiments upon these important subjects.

‘The estimates of the Commissary and Quarter-master-general I have now the honor of enclosing. With respect to the *reduction of the pay of the men*, which may enter into the consideration of their support, it is the unanimous opinion of the general officers, that *it cannot be touched with safety at present*.

‘Before I was honored with your favor of the 5th instant, I had given orders for the equipment of some armed vessels, to intercept the enemy’s supplies of provisions and ammunition. One of them was on a cruise between Cape Ann and Cape Cod when the express arrived. The others will be fit for the sea in a few days.

\* \* \* Two of these will be immediately despatched on this duty, and every particular mentioned in your favor of the 5th instant, literally complied with. \* \* \*

‘There are no armed vessels in this Province;\* and Governor Cooke informs me that the enterprise can receive no assistance from him, as one of the armed vessels of Rhode Island is on a long cruise, and the other unfit for the service. Nothing shall be omitted to secure success. A fortunate capture of an ordnance ship would give new life to the Camp, and an immediate turn to the issue of this campaign.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 39.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 122.

The enterprise alluded to above, and the intended manner of conducting it, are explained in the following Resolutions.

‘IN CONGRESS, October 5, 1775. *Resolved*, That a letter be sent to General Washington to inform him that Congress having received certain intelligence of the sailing of two north country built brigs of no force, from England, on the 11th of August last, loaded with arms, powder, and other stores, for Quebec, without convoy, which it being of importance to intercept, desire that he apply to the Council of Massachusetts Bay, for the two armed vessels in their service, and dispatch the same, with a sufficient number of people, stores, &c. \* \* \* to intercept the said two brigs and their cargoes, and secure the same for the use of the Continent; also, any other transports laden with ammuni-

\* On the 20th of June, the Provincial Congress had resolved to provide six, but none of them appear to have been prepared for service.

tion, clothing, or other stores for the use of the Ministerial army or navy in America, and secure them in the most convenient places for the purpose abovementioned; that he give the Commander or Commanders such instructions as are necessary, as also proper encouragement to the marines and seamen, that shall be sent on this enterprise, which instructions are to be delivered to the Commander or Commanders, sealed up, with orders not to open the same until out of sight of land, on account of secrecy.

‘That a letter be written to the said honorable Council to put the said vessels under the General’s command and direction, and to furnish him instantly with every necessary in their power, at the expense of the Continent.

‘That the General be directed to employ the said vessels and others, if he judge necessary, to effect the purposes aforesaid; and that he be informed that the Rhode Island and Connecticut vessels of force will be sent directly to their assistance.’

GENERAL GREENE to GOVERNOR WARD, in Congress.

‘PROSPECT HILL, 16 October, 1775.

‘With regard to paying the troops part of their wages, and the Committee part, it will be productive of a multitude of inconveniences. \* \* \* As the troops are considered Continental and not Colonial, there *must be some systematical plan* for the payment, without any reference to any particular Colonies; otherwise, they will be partly Continental, and partly Colonial. His Excellency has a great desire to banish every idea of local attachments. It is next to impossible to unhinge the prejudices that people have for places and things which they have long been connected with. But the fewer of those local attachments which discover themselves in our plan of establishing the army, the more satisfactory it must be to the Southern people. For my part, *I feel the cause, and not the place. I would as soon go to Virginia as stay here.*\* I can assure the gentlemen to the Southward, that there could not be anything more abhorrent to —, than an union of these Colonies for the purpose of conquering those of the South.

‘*The pay and provision of the troops cannot be lowered at present*; they do not feel themselves under a necessity to enter the service, \* \* \* and, therefore, would refuse to enlist again. This might produce a recess at the termination of their present enlistment, which would be dangerous to the liberties of America. \* \* \* The Committee from the Congress arrived last evening, and I had the honor to be introduced to that *very great man*, Dr. Franklin, whom I viewed with

\* Southern gentlemen themselves became satisfied of General Greene’s sincerity, if not before, during his command of the Southern army, from the Autumn of 1780, till the close of the war.

silent admiration during the whole evening. "Attention watched his lips, and conviction closed his periods." Colonel Harrison is a very facetious, good humored, sensible, spirited gentleman; he appears to be calculated for military employment. Mr. Lynch was much fatigued and said but little, but appeared sensible in his inquiries and observations.'

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 38.

### SAME to the SAME.

' PROSPECT HILL, 23 October, 1775.

' There appears a strange hobble in our gait. Here, we are at loggerheads; in other places, only sparring; and in others again, are in perfect tranquillity. Here we are cutting them off from fresh provisions, and removing the stock from the Islands, which amounts to a perfect depopulation; while at New York, Philadelphia, and many other parts of America, their ships are supplied with every thing they stand in need of, and live in the midst of peace and plenty. If we are to be considered as one people, and they as the common enemy, upon what principles are they so differently treated in different governments? \* \* \* The fate of kingdoms depends upon the just improvement of critical minutes. Suffer not the noble ardor to slacken for want of action, nor smother the generous flame for want of fuel. This is the time for a wise legislator to avail himself of the advantage which the favorable disposition of the people gives him to execute, whatever sound policy dictates. It is not in the province of mortals to reduce human events in politics to a certainty. It is our duty to provide the means to obtain our ends, and leave the event to Him, who is the Allwise Governor and Disposer of the universe.

\* \* \* \* \*

' The Committee has been closely engaged in forming a plan for regulating the army. I hope when the army is reënlisted, and the best of the officers selected, the troops will be under better regulation.

\* \* \* \* \*

' I wish we had a large stock of powder, that we might annoy the enemy wherever they made their appearance. We could easily, in my opinion, drive them out of Boston, if we had the means; but for want thereof we are obliged to remain idle spectators; for we cannot get at them, and they are determined not to come to us. However, I hope ere long fortune will favor us agreeably to our wishes.

' I hinted in my last, *that people began heartily to wish a Declaration of Independence.* \* \* \* We had as well begin in earnest at first as last, for we have no alternative but to be slaves. We should open our Ports to all who have a mind to come and trade with us.

‘The French will never agree to furnish us with powder, as long as there is the least probability of an accommodation between us and Great Britain; the alternative is, a separation from Great Britain, or subjugation to her.’

Ibid. vol. i. p. 40.

GENERAL MONTGOMERY to GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ST. JOHNS, 13 October, 1775.

‘I had had a road cut to the intended ground and some fascines made, when I was informed by Major Brown, that a general dissatisfaction prevailed; that unless something was undertaken in a few days, there would be a meeting; and that the universal sense of the army was, to direct all our attention to the east side. The impatience of the troops to get home has prevented their seeing the impossibility of undertaking this business sooner, the duty being hard for the troops in the present confined state of operations.

‘When I mentioned my intentions, I did not consider that I was at the head of troops, who carry the spirit of freedom into the field, and think for themselves. Upon considering the fatal consequences, which might flow from a want of subordination and discipline, should this ill-humor continue, my unstable authority over *troops of different Colonies*, the insufficiency of the military law, and my own want of powers to enforce it, weak as it is, I thought it expedient to call the field-officers together. Enclosed I send you the result of our deliberations.

‘I cannot help observing to how little purpose I am here. Were I not afraid the example would be too generally followed, and that the public service might suffer, I would not stay an hour at the head of troops, whose operations I cannot direct. I must say I have no hope of success, unless from the garrison’s wanting provisions.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 132. *Note.*

GENERAL SCHUYLER to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

‘TICONDEROGA, 14 October, 1775.

\* \* ‘The vexation of spirit under which I labor, that a barbarous complication of disorders should prevent me from reaping those laurels for which I have unweariedly wrought since I was honored with this command; the anxiety I have suffered since my arrival here, lest the army should starve, occasioned by a scandalous want of subordination and inattention to my orders in some of the officers that I left to command at the different posts; the vast variety of vexations and disagreeable incidents, that almost every hour arise in some department or other, not only retard my cure, but have put me considerably back for some days past. If Job had been a General in my situation, his memory had



not been so famous for patience. But the glorious end we have in view, and which I have a confident hope will be attained, will atone for all.'

Ibid. p. 132. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 26 October, 1775.

'DEAR SIR, — Your several favors of the 12th and 14th instant came safe to hand, though not in the proper order of time, with their several enclosures. You do me justice in believing that I feel the utmost anxiety for your situation, that I sympathize with you in all your distresses, and shall most heartily share in the joy of your success. \* \* \* In the article of powder, we are in danger of suffering equally with you.

\* \* \* \* \*  
'When you write to General Montgomery, be pleased to convey my best wishes and regards to him. It has been equally unfortunate for our country and yourself, that your ill health has deprived the active part of your army of your presence. God Almighty restore you, and crown you with happiness and success.

'Colonel Allen's misfortune will, I hope, teach a lesson of prudence and subordination to others, who may be too ambitious to outshine their general officers, and, regardless of order and duty, rush into enterprises, which have unfavorable effects on the public, and are destructive to themselves.\*

'Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lynch, and Colonel Harrison, delegates from the Congress, have been in the Camp for several days, in order to settle the plan for continuing and supporting the army. This commission extended to your department; but upon consideration it appeared so difficult to form any rational plan, that nothing was done in that respect.

'If your time and health will admit, I should think it highly proper to turn your thoughts to this subject, and communicate the result to the Congress as early as possible.

\* \* \* \* \*  
'The more I reflect upon the importance of your expedition, the greater is my concern lest it should sink under insuperable difficulties. \* \* \* I know you feel its importance, as connected not only with your own honor and happiness, but the public welfare; so that you can want no incitements to press on, if it be possible.'

Ibid, p. 132.

\* Above is indicated the manner in which Col. Ethan Allen attempted an enterprise with an inadequate force. He was taken and treated with great severity. Whatever of rashness was in his procedure, his courage and patriotism being undoubted, the greatest exertions for his relief were made by the General and by Congress.



The following are some of the Resolves passed on the Report of the above Committee of Conference at the Camp, who had then just returned.

IN CONGRESS. 'November 4. *Resolved*, That the new army intended to lie before Boston, consist of 20,372 men, officers included.

'*Resolved*, That the pay of the officers and privates be the same as in the present army.

'*Resolved*, That each regiment consist of 728 men, officers included; that it be divided into eight companies, each company to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, two drums or fifes, and seventy-six privates.

'*Resolved*, That the good arms of such soldiers as leave the service, be retained for the use of the new army, on a valuation made of them.

'*Resolved*, That clothing be provided for the new army by the Continent, and paid for, by stoppages out of the soldiers' wages, at 1 2-3 dollar per month; that as much as possible of the cloth for this purpose be dyed brown, and the distinction of the regiments made in the facings.

'*Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the several Legislatures of New England to empower the General to impress carriages, vessels, horses, and other things necessary, at a reasonable rate, for the transportation or march of the army, or any part of it, or on any other emergency.

'*Resolved*, That the General be *directed* to propose to the officers now serving in the present army, that they signify in writing, as soon as possible, which of them will continue to serve and defend their country, and which of them will retire, and that such officers as propose to continue in the service, and are approved by the General, proceed to enlist their men into the Continental service, upon the same pay and allowance of provisions as is now given, their service to continue to the last day of December, 1776, subject to be discharged at any time by the Continental Congress.

'*Resolved*, That if, upon trial, the number of men before resolved on, cannot be raised out of the present army, then the officers appointed for the new army, recruit their several regiments and companies to their full complement; and *in case the necessity of the service requires it, that the General be empowered to call forth the minute-men or militia\** of Massachusetts Bay, or the neighboring Colonies, according to the nature and exigence of the service.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 2 November, 1775.

'SIR — I have been honored with your favor of the 30th ultimo, by Mr. Trumbull. I sincerely wish this Camp could furnish a good

\* See explanatory Resolve, Dec. 7, p. 130.

engineer. The Commissary-General can inform you how exceedingly deficient the army is of gentlemen skilled in that branch of business, and that most of the works which have been thrown up for the defence of our several encampments, have been planned by a few of the principal officers of this army, assisted by Mr. Knox. Could I afford you the desired assistance in this way, I should do it with pleasure.

‘Herewith you will receive a copy of the proceedings held with the Committee of Congress from Philadelphia. It ought to have been sent sooner, but I am at present without a Secretary. Colonel Reed, having a call at home, left this place on Sunday last. I heartily congratulate you on the recovery of the Commissary-General,\* whose return, so soon as he can travel with safety, is much wished for. I am, with the greatest esteem and regard, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 138.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMBRIDGE, 2 November, 1775.

SIR — I could not suffer Mr. Randolph to quit this Camp, without bearing some testimony of my duty to the Congress; although his sudden departure, (occasioned by the death of his worthy relative,† whose loss, as a good citizen, and a valuable member of society, is much to be regretted,) does not allow me to be particular.

‘The enclosed return shows, at one view, what reliance we have upon the officers of this army, and how deficient we are likely to be in subaltern officers. A few days more will enable me to inform the Congress what they have to expect from the soldiery, as I shall issue recruiting orders for this purpose, so soon as the officers are appointed, which will be done this day, I having sent for the general officers to consult them in the choice.

‘I must beg leave to recall the attention of the Congress to the appointment of a *Brigadier-General*, an officer as necessary to a brigade, as a Colonel is to a regiment, and one that will be exceedingly wanted in the new arrangement.

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 44.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 139.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMBRIDGE, 8 November, 1775.

‘Our *prisoners*, by the reduction of Fort Chamblee, (on which happy event I most sincerely congratulate the Congress,) being

\* A son of the Governor.

† The worthy relative referred to, Hon. Peyton Randolph, who had been twice elected President of the Continental Congress, died at Philadelphia, Oct. 22, 1775. Mr. Edmund Randolph, who was mentioned in the letter to R. H. Lee, Aug. 29, and who left on this occasion, had been appointed an Aid-de-Camp to the General, Aug. 15. In subsequent periods, he held successively numerous civil offices of high rank and responsibility.

considerably augmented, and likely to be increased, I submit it to the wisdom of Congress, whether some convenient inland towns, remote from the post roads, ought not to be assigned them; the manner of their treatment, and their subsistence defined; and a commissary or agent *appointed*, to see that justice is done, both to them and the public, and proper accounts rendered. Unless a *mode* of this sort is adopted, I fear there will be sad confusion hereafter.

I reckoned without my host, when I informed the Congress in my last, that I should in a day or two be able to acquaint them with the disposition of the soldiery towards a new enlistment. I have been in consultation with the Generals of this army ever since Thursday last, (2d,) endeavoring to establish new corps of officers; but I find so many doubts and difficulties to reconcile, than I cannot say when they are to end, or what may be the consequences; as there appears to be such an *unwillingness in the officers of one Government to mix in the same regiment with those of another*; and, without this, many must be dismissed, who are willing to serve, notwithstanding we are deficient on the whole. I am to have another meeting to-day upon this business, and shall inform you of the result.

'The Council of officers are unanimously of opinion, that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; \* \* \* to supply his place, \* \* \* I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry Knox, to the consideration of Congress.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 45.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 147.

IN CONGRESS, November 17. *Resolved*, That the prisoners taken at Chamblee and St. John's be sent to, and kept in the towns of Reading, Lancaster, and York, in the Colony of Pennsylvania.'

'The Congress then proceeded to the choice of a Colonel of the regiment of artillery, and

'Henry Knox, Esq. was unanimously elected.

Had Congress made the above appointment respecting prisoners, here had been occasion to remark only their prompt compliance with the expressed wishes of their General. But other counsels then prevailed there, and as will appear, they attempted its objects through their own Committees and the Provincial governments, so that, though many times urged, such appointment was made no sooner than April, 1777.

'GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOSEPH REED,\* Philadelphia.

'CAMBRIDGE, November 8, 1775.

'I had like to have forgotten what sits heaviest upon my mind, the new arrangement of officers. \* \* \* It has

\* Mr. Joseph Reed was appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, July 4. A few days prior to this date, he left the Camp to return to Philadelphia, where he remained till the next Spring. The correspondence of which this letter is the beginning, discloses many important truths.

employed the general officers and myself ever since Thursday last, and we are nearly as we began. *Connecticut wants no Massachusetts man in her corps; Massachusetts thinks there is no necessity for a Rhode-Islander to be introduced into hers; and New Hampshire says it is very hard, that her valuable and experienced officers, who are willing to serve, must be discarded, because her own regiments, under the new establishment, cannot provide for them. In short, after a few days' labor, I expect that numbers of officers, who have given in their names to serve, must be discarded from the Massachusetts corps, where the regiments have been numerous, and the number in them small, and that of Connecticut will be completed with a fresh recruit of officers from her own government. This will be departing not only from principles of common justice, but from the letter of the Resolve agreed on at this place; but, at present, I see no help for it. We are to have another meeting upon the matter this day, when something must be hit upon, as time is slipping off.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 150.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 11 November, 1775.

'SIR,—Enclosed you have a copy of an Act passed this session by the honorable Council and House of Representatives of this Province. It respects such captures as may be made by vessels fitted out by the Province, or by individuals thereof. As the armed vessels, fitted out at the Continental expense, do not come under this law, I would have it submitted to the consideration of Congress, to point out a more summary way of proceeding, to determine the property and mode of condemnation of such prizes as have been or hereafter may be made, than is contained in this Act.

'*Should not a COURT be established by authority of Congress to take cognizance of prizes made by the Continental vessels?* Whatever the mode is which they are pleased to adopt, there is an absolute necessity of its being speedily determined on; for *I cannot spare time from military affairs, to give proper attention to these matters.*

'The inhabitants of Plymouth have taken a sloop laden with provisions from Halifax, bound to Boston; and the inhabitants of Beverly have under cover of one of the armed schooners taken a vessel from Ireland, laden with beef, pork, butter, &c. for the same place. The latter brings papers and letters of a very interesting nature, which are in the hands of the honorable Council, who informed me they will transmit them to you by this conveyance. To the contents of these papers and letters I must beg leave to refer you and the honorable Congress, who will now see the absolute necessity

*of exerting all their wisdom to withstand the mighty efforts of our enemies.*

‘The trouble I have in the arrangement of the army is really inconceivable. Many of the officers sent in their names to serve in expectation of promotion; others stood aloof to see what advantage they could make for themselves; whilst a number who had declined, have again sent in their names to serve. So great has the confusion, arising from these and many other perplexing circumstances, been, that I found it absolutely impossible to fix this very interesting business exactly on the plan resolved on in the conference, though I have kept up to the spirit of it, as near as the nature and necessity of the case would admit. *The difficulty with the soldiers is as great, indeed more so if possible, than with the officers. They will not enlist until they know their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, and captain;* so that it was necessary to fix the officers the first thing; which is at last in some manner done; and I have given out enlisting orders.

‘You, Sir, can much easier judge than I can express, the anxiety of mind I must labor under on this occasion, especially at this time, when we may expect the enemy will begin to act on the arrival of their reinforcement, part of which is already come, and the remainder daily dropping in.

‘I have other distresses of a very alarming nature. The arms of our soldiery are so exceedingly bad, that I assure you, Sir, I cannot place a proper confidence in them. Our powder is wasting fast, notwithstanding the strictest care, economy, and attention are paid to it.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 48.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 154.

#### SAME to JOSEPH REED.

‘CAMBRIDGE, November, 1775.

‘We have certain advice of a *scoundrel* from Marblehead, a man of property, having carried to General Howe a true state of the temper and disposition of the troops towards the new enlistment, and given him the strongest assurances of the practicability of making himself master of these lines in a very short time, from the disaffection of the soldiers to the service.

‘I am endeavoring to counteract him; how effectually time alone can show.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 157. *Note.*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to HENRY KNOX.

INSTRUCTIONS, 16 November, 1775.

‘SIR,— You are immediately to examine into the state of the artillery of this army, and take an account of the cannon, mortars, shells, lead, and ammunition, that are wanting. When you have

done that, you are to proceed in the most expeditious manner to New York, there to apply to the President of the Provincial Congress, and learn of him whether Colonel Reed did any thing, or left any orders respecting these articles, and get him to procure such of them as can possibly be had there.

‘The President, if he can, will have them immediately sent thither; if he cannot, you must put them in a proper channel for being transported to this Camp with dispatch, before you leave New York. After you have procured as many of these necessaries as you can there, you must go to Major-General Schuyler, and get the remainder from Ticonderoga, Crown Point, or St. Johns; if it should be necessary, from Quebec, if in our hands. The want of them is so great, that no trouble or expense must be spared to obtain them. I have written to General Schuyler; he will give every necessary assistance, that they may be had and forwarded to this place with the utmost dispatch.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 160.

While Mr. Knox was on this duty the following Resolve was passed in Congress.

‘*December 4, 1775. Resolved*, That the President write to Mr. Knox, by the first express to Albany, and desire him in case the services he is upon will admit, to repair to the fortresses on Hudson’s River, in the Highlands, inspect the state of the works carrying on there, and the situation of the places adjacent, and transmit an account thereof to Congress.’

THOMAS LYNCH to RALPH IZARD, in England.

(PHILADELPHIA,) November 19, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR,—Having much to say to you, I begin, before I certainly know how this is to reach you.

‘I had your favor by a young gentleman —.

‘You have had accounts of the battle at Bunker’s Hill; the loss on the part of the Regulars, is near the truth; on the other, greatly exaggerated. \* \* \* \*

‘You wonder, with many others, that an army so superior as ours, have not recovered Boston. \* \* \* You know Boston—recollect, my friend, that it is surrounded by the sea, except a very narrow causeway; that the enemy is master of the sea—that this only entrance by land is fortified to the utmost extent of art. \* \* \* \*

‘Consider that the business of the enemy is to subdue America, and while they are imprisoned in Boston, their errand stands still,—that they are every day perishing by disease, want, and desertion,—all which must increase, as winter cuts off their resources by sea, and I mistake if you will not own, that our Generals act wisely, in not risking a repulse, or losing a number of brave men, in obtaining that, which a little time must give them without loss. \* \* \*



‘Be assured, that our strength at Boston, by means of fortifications, is such as leaves no doubt of our security. I wish the strength of Howe’s army, joined to all that we are threatened with next year, were to try an attack there—and that the fate of the war depended on the event. \* \* \* I have been lately to Cambridge, and speak from what I have seen. I have, also, very lately been at our camp on the Lakes.

‘Have we not, my dear Sir, great reason to bless God for all his abundant mercies, on this occasion? Consider America, lulled in a long peace and security—where were we to look for armies—more especially for Generals—attacked suddenly, and under cover of friendship and protection, by the most powerful nation in the world? \* \* \* Behold, on the sudden, this distressed, unprepared people, roused—behold armies raised, and still more strange, under the command of veteran officers, not only securing our enemy from ravaging our country, but carrying war into every place, where an enemy can be found. \* \* \*

Behold two entire British battalions, for the first time in her history, prisoners of war, besides those in Boston, nay, what is still stranger, the coast of New England scoured by privateers unmolested, and the supplies to the army cut off. Could our most sanguine hopes have gone so far last Spring? Yet, blessed be God, all this is the case. \* \* \*

‘Surely our worst enemies must confess, that of all people, we are the most placable, mild, and forgiving. Peace and reconciliation, upon the one condition, we have ever asked it, viz. Restitution of rights, would be received as the greatest blessing. \* \* \*

‘It gives me great pleasure to be able to enclose you an account of the reduction of Montreal, and the greater part of Canada. \* \* \*

‘Pray mark that no rejoicings have been permitted, though the advantages we have gained are so important, even the consideration of their having been obtained with so little blood, has not been sufficient to make us forget, that we were conquering our brethren—let them blush who have forgotten this.’

Cor. of R. Izard, vol. i. p. 151.

IN CONGRESS. ‘November 10, 1775. *Resolved*, That two battalions of marines be raised, consisting of one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, two Majors, and other officers as usual in other regiments; that they consist of an equal number of privates with other battalions; that particular care be taken, that no person be appointed to offices, or enlisted into said battalions, but such as are good seamen, or so acquainted with maritime affairs as to be able to serve to advantage by sea when required; *that they be enlisted and commissioned to serve for and during the present war*, between

Great Britain and the Colonies, unless dismissed by order of Congress; that they be distinguished by the names of the first and second battalions of American marines, *and that they be considered as part of the number which the Continental army before Boston is ordered to consist of.*

‘Ordered, That a copy of the above be transmitted to the General.’

This Resolve of Congress called forth the letter below.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 19 November, 1775.

‘SIR, — I received your favors of the 7th and 10th instant, with the Resolves of the honorable Congress, to which I will pay all due attention.

‘*The Resolve to raise two battalions of marines will, if practicable in this army, entirely derange what has been done.* It is therein mentioned, one Colonel for the two battalions; of course a Colonel must be dismissed. One of the many difficulties which attended the new arrangement, was in reconciling the different interests, and judging of the merits of the different Colonels. In the dismissal of this one, the same difficulties will occur. The officers and men must be acquainted with marine affairs; to comply with which, they must be picked out of the whole army, one from this corps, one from another, so as to break through the whole system, which it has cost us so much time, anxiety, and pains, to bring into any tolerable form. Notwithstanding any difficulties which will arise, you may be assured, sir, that I will use every endeavor to comply with their Resolve.

‘*I beg leave to submit it to the consideration of Congress, if those two battalions can be formed out of this army, whether this is a time to weaken our lines, by employing any of the officers appointed to defend them, on any other service?* The gentlemen who were here from Congress, know their vast extent; they must know, that we shall have occasion for our whole force for that purpose, more than at any past time, *as we may expect the enemy will take advantage of the first hard weather, and attempt to make an impression somewhere.*

‘*As there is every appearance, that this contest will not be soon decided, and of course that there must be an augmentation of the Continental army, would it not be eligible to raise two battalions of marines in New York and Philadelphia, where there must be numbers of sailors now unemployed?* This, however, is matter of opinion, which I mention with all due deference to the superior judgment of the Congress.

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‘I got returns this day from eleven Colonels, of the numbers enlisted in their regiments. The whole amount is nine hundred

and sixty-six men. There must be some other stimulus, besides love for their country, to make men fond of the service. It would be a great encouragement, and no additional expense to the Continent, were they to receive pay for the months of October and November; also a month's pay in advance. The present state of the military chest will not admit of this. The sooner it is enabled to do so the better.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 50.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 162.

### GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOSEPH REED.

'CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 20 November, 1775.

'DEAR SIR,—The hint contained in the last of your letters respecting your continuance in my family, in other words, your wish that I could dispense with it, gives me pain. You already, my dear sir, know my sentiments on this matter; you cannot but be sensible of your importance to me.

\* \* \* \* \*

'This is my situation, judge you, therefore, how much I wished for your return, especially as *the armed vessels, and the capital change* in the state of this army about to take place, *have added new weight to a burden, before too great for me to stand under*, with the smallest degree of comfort to my own feelings.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Dr. Morgan, as director of the hospital, is exceedingly wanted at this place, \* \* \* many regulations being deferred, and accounts postponed, till his arrival. The method you have suggested, concerning the advanced pay, I very much approve, and would adopt it, but for the unfortunate and cramped state of our treasury, which keeps us forever under the hatches. Pray urge the necessity of this measure to such members as you may converse with, and the want of cash to pay the troops for the months of October and November; as also to answer the demands of the Commissary and Quartermaster, and for contingencies. To do all this a considerable sum will be necessary.

'Do not neglect to put that wheel in motion, which is to bring us the shirts and medicines from New York; they are much wanted here. \* \* \* \*

'Our privateersmen go on at the old rate, mutinying if they cannot do as they please. \* \* \* \*

'I thank you for your frequent mention of Mrs. Washington. I expect that she will be in Philadelphia about the time this letter may reach you, on her way hither. As she and her conductor, who I suppose will be Mr. Custis, her son, are perfect strangers to the road, \* \* \* I shall be much obliged by your particular attentions and advice to her.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 166.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to LUND WASHINGTON,\* Mount Vernon.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 26 November, 1775.

‘It is the greatest, indeed it is the only comfortable reflection I enjoy on this score, that my business is in the hands of a person concerning whose integrity I have not a doubt, and on whose care I can rely. \* \* \* I am persuaded you will do for me as you would for yourself, and more than this I cannot expect.

‘*Let the hospitality of the house, with respect to the poor, be kept up. Let no one go hungry away. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn, supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage them in idleness; and I have no objection to your giving my money in charity to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year, when you think it well bestowed. What I mean by having no objection is, that it is my desire that it should be done.* You are to consider, that neither myself nor wife is now in the way to do these good offices. In all other respects, I recommend it to you, and have no doubt of your observing the greatest economy and frugality; as I suppose you know, that I do not receive a farthing for my services here, more than my expenses. It becomes necessary, therefore, for me to be saving at home.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 171.

To RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

‘CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 27 November, 1775.

‘DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 13th, with the enclosures, for which I thank you, came to this place on Wednesday evening.

‘\* \* \* In answer to your inquiries respecting armed vessels, there are none of any tolerable force belonging to this government. I know of but two of any kind; those very small. At the Continental expense I have fitted out six, as by the enclosed list; two of which are on the cruise directed by Congress; the rest ply about Cape Cod and Cape Ann, as yet to very little purpose. \* \* \* Belonging to Providence there are two armed vessels; and I am told Connecticut has one, which with one of those from Providence, is, I believe, upon the cruise you have directed. \* \* \*

‘For God’s sake hurry the signers of money, that our wants may be supplied. It is a very singular case, that their signing cannot keep pace with our demands.’

Life of R. H. Lee, vol. ii. p. 7.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 172.

To the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, 28 November, 1775.

‘About three hundred men, women and children of the poor inhabitants of Boston came out to Point Shirley last Friday. They

\* Mr. Lund Washington had charge of the General’s ordinary business during the Revolution.

have brought their household furniture, but are destitute of every other necessary of life. I have recommended them to the attention of the Committee of the Council of this Province. \* \* \*

'The number enlisted since my last, is two thousand five hundred and forty men. \* \* \* Instead of pressing to be engaged in the cause of their country, which I vainly flattered myself would be the case, I find we are likely to be deserted in a most critical time. Those that have enlisted must have a furlough, which I have been obliged to grant to fifty at a time from each regiment. \* \* \* Our situation is truly alarming; and of this General Howe is well apprised, it being the common topic of conversation, when the people left Boston last Friday. No doubt, when he is reinforced, he will avail himself of the information.

'I am making the best disposition I can for our defence, \* \* \* *I fear I shall be under the necessity of calling in the militia and minute-men of the country to my assistance.* \* \* \* It is a mortifying reflection, to be reduced to this dilemma. There has been nothing wanting on my part to infuse a proper spirit amongst the officers, that they may exert their influence with the soldiery. You see, by a fortnight's recruiting amongst men with arms in their hands, how little has been the success.

'You doubtless will have heard, before this reaches you, of General Montgomery's having got possession of Montreal. I congratulate you thereon.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 52.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 176.

This letter was received and read in Congress just at the close of the day's business, December 6. The General's expression, 'I fear I shall be under the necessity of calling in the militia and minute-men of the country to my assistance,' seems to have alarmed members to a change of mind, or to some doubt whether they had used sufficient caution and precision in the ninth of their Resolves, passed November 4, p. 120, on the Report of their Committee of Conference at Camp. However the fact, the next day they passed the following Preamble and Resolves. Mention of the first of these, as '*the explanatory Resolve*,' will be found in the letter, December 18, and allusions to it, in others subsequent to that.

*December 7. — The Congress taking into consideration the General's letter of the 28th ult. came to the following Resolutions:*

*'Whereas doubts may arise respecting the true intent and construction of a certain Resolution of Congress, passed the 4th day of November last, empowering the General, in case the necessity of the service should require it, to call forth the minute-men and militia of the New England Colonies:*

*'Resolved, That the said Resolution shall not extend or be construed to authorize the General to call forth the said minute-men or militia, without having applied to and obtained the consent of those officers, in whom the Executive powers of government in those Colonies may be vested.*

*'Resolved, That the President write letters to the Council of Massachusetts Bay, the Convention of New Hampshire, and the Governors of Rhode Island and Connecticut, acquainting them with the present state of the army, and enclosing copies of the Resolutions of this Congress, relative to the General's being empowered to call forth the militia of those governments, on any emergency, and requesting those Colonies to exert themselves in defence of our common liberties, by affording the General all the aid in their power, and comply with his request for the assistance of the militia whenever he may find it necessary to apply for it.'*

THOMAS LYNCH TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

*'PHILADELPHIA, November, 1775.*

*'Providence favors us every where; our success in every operation exceeds our most sanguine expectations; and yet, when God is ready to deliver our oppressors into our hands, that men cannot be found willing to receive them, is truly surprising. With grief and shame it must be confessed, that the whole blame lies not with the army. You will find your hands straitened instead of strengthened. What the event will be, it is impossible to foresee; perhaps it is only intended to force the Continent into their own terms, and to show that neither General nor Congress shall be permitted to control the army; perhaps to mortify the favorites of Congress. Be this as it may, resolution and firmness ought to rule our councils.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 185. *Note.*

The length of time Mr. Lynch had been at Camp in pursuance of his official duty, had afforded him opportunity to learn, according to that duty, the circumstances and views of the General, of the other principal officers, and, to some extent, of the army.

After a month's absence, he had resumed his seat in Congress, participated some weeks in their deliberations and actions on the various subjects demanded by the crisis, and thus learned the posture of affairs and the views of persons there, also.

So informed from both sources, he wrote this letter. His strong expressions of concern, were doubtless prompted by the divergent tendencies which he had witnessed. His striking allusions, especially to persons, present interesting objects of inquiry. It seems worthy of notice and consideration, how far the course of measures then, as indicated by this letter and by many other writings, accorded or did not accord with their direction when Congress passed that noble Resolve, p. 70, to *'maintain and assist him, and adhere to him, she said George Washington.'*

It is believed that more than common attention would be well applied, in tracing the change of direction in public operations, and the near and remote consequences of that change, caused by disarranging agencies and influences which, within a few months embracing that time, rose to irresistible predominance in the great Central Council then ruling and controlling the whole.

Careful attention so directed through these first three Numbers, and, along with it, just comparison of the different public views apparent in numerous writings which they contain, would greatly facilitate a right understanding of those which are to follow.

Faithful examination and comparison of the original records relating to that period, would make plain the reasons of George Washington's solicitous caution to preserve, *'for the benefit of posterity,'* the important portion of them which circumstances cast into his possession, in the long and eventful course of his public life.



## GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 28 November, 1775.

‘ DEAR SIR, — Your favors of the 15th and 17th are come to hand. \* \* \* I can truly assure you, that I miss you exceedingly, and if an express declaration be wanting to hasten your return, I make it most heartily. \* \* \* I feel the want of your ready pen greatly.

‘ What an astonishing thing it is, that those who are employed to sign the Continental bills should not be able, or inclined, to do it as fast as they are wanted. They will prove the destruction of the army, if they are not more attentive and diligent.

\* \* \*  
‘ I tremble at the prospect. We have been till this time enlisting about three thousand five hundred men. To engage these I have been obliged to allow furloughs as far as fifty men to a regiment, and the officers, I am persuaded, indulge as many more. The Connecticut troops will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than their term, saving those who have enlisted for the next campaign, and are mostly on furlough. \* \* \*

‘ In short, after the last of this month our lines will be so weakened, that the minute-men and militia must be called in for their defence; and these, being under no kind of government themselves, will destroy the little subordination I have been laboring to establish, and run me into one evil whilst I am endeavoring to avoid another; but the less must be chosen. *Could I have foreseen what I have experienced, and am likely to experience, no consideration upon earth should have induced me to accept this command. A regiment or any subordinate department would have been accompanied with ten times the satisfaction, and perhaps the honor.*

‘ The Congress already know, from the general estimate given in for a month, what sum it will take to supply the army; and that little less than two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars will answer the purpose. Pray impress this upon the members, and the necessity of forwarding the last sum voted, as one hundred thousand dollars will be totally inadequate to our demands at this time. \* \* \*

‘ Believe me, it is beyond the powers of conception to realize the absurdities and partialities of these people, and the trouble and vexation I have had in the new arrangement of officers. After five, I think, different meetings of the general officers, I have in a manner been obliged to yield to the humor and whimsies of the people, or get no army. *The officers of one government would not serve in the regiments of another, although there was to be an entirely new creation; a captain must be in this regiment, a subaltern in that company.* In short, I can scarce tell at this moment in what manner they are fixed.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 177.

## GENERAL MONTGOMERY TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ MONTREAL, 14 November, 1775.

‘ I am exceedingly sorry that Congress have not favored me with a committee. It would have had great effect with the troops, who are exceedingly turbulent and even mutinous. My vexation and distress can only be alleviated by reflecting on the great public advantages, which must arise from my unparalleled good fortune. I shall clothe the troops completely who engage again. \* \* \* Will not your health permit you to reside at Montreal this winter? I must go home, if I walk by the side of the lake, this winter. I am weary of power, and totally want that patience and temper, so requisite for such a command. I wish some method could be fallen upon of engaging gentlemen to serve. A point of honor, and more knowledge of the world to be found in that class of men, would greatly reform discipline and render the troops much more tractable.

‘ The officers of the first regiment of Yorkers and artillery company were very near a mutiny the other day, because I would not stop the clothing of the garrison of St. John’s. I would not have sullied my own reputation, nor disgraced the Continental arms, by such a breach of capitulation, for the universe. There was no driving it into their heads, that the clothing was really the property of the soldier, that he had paid for it; and that every regiment, in this country especially, saved a year’s clothing to have decent clothes to wear on particular occasions.’

Ibid. p. 180. *Note.*

## GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 28 November, 1775.

‘ DEAR SIR, — You may easily conceive that I had great pleasure in perusing your letter of the 18th instant, which, with the enclosures, I received last evening. It was much damped by my finding General Montgomery had the same difficulty to encounter with the troops under your command, that I have with those here. \* \* \* It grieves me to see so little of that patriotic spirit, which I was taught to believe was characteristic of this people. \* \* \*

‘ Last evening I received the agreeable account of one of our armed schooners having taken a large brigantine, laden with military stores, the inventory of which I have the pleasure to enclose. But let not this acquisition prevent your sending what stores you can spare. We shall want them all. Adieu, my dear General. I wish you a return of health, and am, &c.’

Ibid. p. 180.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JOHN RANDOLPH, ESQ.

‘ PHILADELPHIA, November 29, 1775.

‘ DEAR SIR, — I am to give you the melancholy intelligence of the death of our most worthy Speaker,\* which happened on the 22d of the last month. He was struck with an apoplexy and expired within five hours.

‘ I have it in my power to acquaint you, that the success of our arms has corresponded with the justice of our cause. Chamblee and St. Johns were taken some weeks ago, and in them the whole regular army in Canada, except about forty or fifty men. This day, certain intelligence has reached us, that our General, Montgomery, is received into Montreal, and we expect, every hour, to be informed that Quebec has opened its arms to Colonel Arnold, who, with eleven hundred men, was sent from Boston up the Kennebec, and down the Chaudière river to that place. He expected to be there early this month. Montreal acceded to us on the 13th, and Carleton set out, with the shattered remains of his little army, for Quebec, where we hope he will be taken up by Arnold. In a short time, we have reason to hope, the delegates of Canada will join us in Congress, and complete the American Union, as far as we wish to have it completed. We hear that one of the British transports has arrived at Boston; the rest are beaten off the coast, in very bad weather. You will have heard, before this reaches you, that Lord Dunmore has commenced hostilities in Virginia. That people bore with every thing, till he attempted to burn the town of Hampton. They opposed and repelled him, with considerable loss on his side, and none on ours. It has raised *our countrymen* into a perfect frenzy. It is an immense misfortune to the whole empire, to have a King of such a disposition at such a time. We are told, and every thing proves it true, that he is the bitterest enemy we have. His Minister is able, and that satisfies me that ignorance or wickedness somewhere, controls him. In an earlier part of this contest, our petitions told him, that from our King there was but one appeal. The admonition was despised, and that appeal forced on us. To undo his empire he has but one truth more to learn; that, after Colonies have drawn the sword, there is but one step more they can take. That step is now pressed upon us, by the measures adopted, as if they were afraid we would not take it. *Believe me, dear Sir, there is not in the British empire, a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain, than I do. But by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament propose; and in this, I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power, to declare and assert a separation. It is will, alone, which is want-*

\* Hon. Peyton Randolph.

ing, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King. One bloody campaign will probably decide, everlastingly, our future course; I am sorry to find a bloody campaign is decided on. If our winds and waters should not combine to rescue their shores from slavery, and General Howe's reinforcements should arrive in safety, we have hopes he will be inspirited to come out of Boston and take another drubbing: and *we must drub him soundly*, before the sceptred tyrant will know we are not mere brutes, to crouch under his hand, and kiss the rod with which he deigns to scourge us.

Yours, &c.'

Jeff. Writ. vol. i. p. 152.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

'CAMBRIDGE, 2 December, 1775.

'SIR,—The reason of my giving you the trouble of this, is the late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the Connecticut troops. Some time ago, apprehending that some of them might incline to go home, when the time of their enlistment should be up, I applied to the officers of the several regiments, to know whether it would be agreeable to the men to continue until the 1st of January, or until a sufficient number of other forces could be raised to supply their place, who informed me, that they believed the whole of them would readily stay, till that could be effected. Having discovered last week, that they were very uneasy to leave the service, and determined upon it, I thought it expedient to summon the general officers at head-quarters, and invite a delegation of the General Court to be present, that suitable measures might be adopted for the defence and support of our lines. The result was, that three thousand of the minute-men and militia of this Province, and two thousand men from New Hampshire, should be called in by the 10th instant for that purpose. With this determination the Connecticut troops were made acquainted, and requested and ordered to remain here, as the time of most of them would not be out before the 10th, when they would be relieved. Notwithstanding this, yesterday morning most of them resolved to leave the camp.

'Many went off, and the utmost vigilance and industry were used to apprehend them. Several got away with their arms and ammunition.

'I have enclosed you a list of the names of some of them, in General Putnam's regiment only, who escaped, and submit to your judgment, whether an example should not be made of these men, who have basely deserted the cause of their country at this critical juncture, when the enemy are receiving reinforcements.

'I have the pleasure to inform you, that one of our armed vessels, the Lee, Captain Manly, took and brought in the other day a valuable store-ship bound to Boston. I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 182.

## GOVERNOR TRUMBULL'S REPLY.

' The late extraordinary and reprehensible conduct of some of the troops of this Colony impresses me, and the minds of many of our people, with grief, surprise, and indignation ; since the treatment they met with, and the order and request made to them, were so reasonable, and apparently necessary for the defence of our common cause, and safety of our rights and privileges, for which they freely engaged ; the term they voluntarily enlisted to serve not expired, and probably would not end much before the time when they would be relieved, provided their circumstances and inclinations should prevent their undertaking further.

' Indeed, there is great difficulty to support liberty, to exercise government, to maintain subordination, and at the same time to prevent the operation of licentious and leveling principles, which many very easily imbibe. The pulse of a New England man beats high for liberty ; his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary ; therefore, when the time of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without further engagement.

' This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation amongst the soldiers of the other Colonies, as I am sensible this is the genius and spirit of our people. *The union of the Colonies, and the internal union of each*, are of the utmost importance. I determine to call the General Assembly of this Colony to meet at New Haven on Thursday, the 14th instant. Please to notify me of any matters you think proper to suggest for consideration. *You may depend on their zeal and ardor to support the common cause, to furnish our quota, and to exert their utmost strength for the defence of the rights of these Colonies.* Your candor and goodness will suggest to your consideration, that the conduct of our troops is not a rule whereby to judge of the temper and spirit of the Colony.'

Ibid. p. 183. *Note.*

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

' CAMBRIDGE, 4 December, 1775.

' SIR, — It is some time since I recommended to the Congress, that they would *institute a COURT for the trial of prizes* made by the Continental armed vessels, which I hope they have ere now taken into their consideration ; otherwise I should again take the liberty of urging it in the most pressing manner. \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

' I am informed, that it has been the custom of these Provinces, in the last war, for the legislative power to order every town to provide a certain quota of men for the campaign. This, or some other mode, should be at present adopted, as I am satisfied the men can not be had without it. This the Congress will please to

take into their immediate consideration. My suspicions on this head I shall also communicate to the Governors, Trumbull and Cooke, also to the New Hampshire Convention. \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

' By the last accounts from the armed schooners sent to the River St. Lawrence, I fear we have but little to expect from them. They were falling short of provision, and mentioned that they would be obliged to return; which at this time is particularly unfortunate, as, if they chose a proper station, all the vessels coming down that river must fall into their hands. The plague, trouble, and vexation I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels, are inexpressible. I do believe there is not on earth a more disorderly set. Every time they come into port, we hear of nothing but mutinous complaints. Manly's success has lately, and but lately, quieted his people. The crews of the Washington and Harrison have actually deserted them; so that I have been under the necessity of ordering the agent to lay the latter up, and get hands for the other on the best terms he could. \* \* \*

' The great want of powder is what the attention of Congress should be particularly applied to. I dare not attempt any thing offensive, let the temptation or advantage be ever so great.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 55.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 184.

#### SAME TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

' CAMBRIDGE, 5 December, 1775.

' SIR, — I have of late met with abundant reason to be convinced of the impracticability of recruiting this army to the new establishment, in any reasonable time by voluntary enlistments. The causes of such exceeding great lukewarmness I shall not attempt to point out; sufficient is it to know that the fact is so. Many reasons are assigned; one only shall I mention, and that is, that the present soldiery are in expectation of drawing from the landed interest and the farmers, a bounty equal to that given at the commencement of this army, and therefore they keep aloof. Be that as it may, I am satisfied that this is not a time for trifling, and that the exigency of our affairs calls aloud for vigorous exertions. \*'

' After every stimulus in my power to throw in their way, and near a month's close endeavor, we have enlisted men, of whom one thousand five hundred at a time are to be absent on furlough, until all have gone home to visit and provide for their families. \* \* \*

' I submit it to the wisdom of your and the other New England Colonies, whether vigorous measures, if the powers of government are adequate, ought not to be adopted, to facilitate the completion of this army without offering a bounty from the public, which Congress have declared against. \* \* \*



‘ I have by this conveyance laid the matter before Congress, but the critical situation of our affairs will not await their deliberation and recommendation ; something must be done without further delay.

I am, Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 188.

#### GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

November 22, 1775.

‘ Nothing can surpass the impatience of the troops from the New England Colonies to get to their firesides. Near three hundred of them arrived a few days ago, unable to do duty ; but as soon as I administered *that grand specific, a discharge*, they instantly acquired health, and rather than be detained a few days to cross Lake George, they undertook a march from here of two hundred miles with the greatest alacrity.

‘ Our army requires to be put on a different footing. Habituated to order, I can not, without the most extreme pain, see that disregard of discipline, confusion, and inattention, which reigns so generally in this quarter, and I am therefore determined to retire. Of this resolution I have advised Congress.’

Ibid. p. 191. *Note.*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 5 December, 1775.

‘ DEAR SIR, — Your much esteemed favor of the 22d ultimo, covering Colonel Arnold’s letter, with a copy of one to General Montgomery and his to you, I received yesterday morning.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I am exceedingly sorry to find you so much plagued and embarrassed by the disregard of discipline, confusion, and want of order among the troops, as to have occasioned you to mention to Congress an inclination to retire. I know that your complaints are too well founded ; but I would willingly hope, that nothing will induce you to quit the service, and that, in time, order and subordination will take place of confusion, and command be rendered more agreeable. I have met with difficulties of the same sort, and such as I never expected ; but they must be borne with. The cause we are engaged in is so just and righteous, that we must try to rise superior to every obstacle in its support ; and, therefore, I must beg that you will not think of resigning, unless you have carried your application to Congress too far to recede. I am, dear Sir, with great esteem and regard, yours, &c.’

Ibid. p. 190.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 14 December, 1775.

‘ SIR, — I received your favor of the 2d instant with the several Resolves of Congress therein enclosed. *The Resolves relative to*

*captures made by Continental armed vessels only want a Court established for trial, to make them complete. This I hope will soon be done, as I have taken the liberty to urge it often to the Congress.* I am somewhat at a loss to know *whether I am to raise the two battalions of marines here or not.\** As the delay can be attended with but little inconvenience, I will wait a further explanation from Congress, before I take any steps therein. I am much pleased that the money will be forwarded with all possible expedition, as it is much wanted.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I hope Colonel Knox will soon finish the business he is upon, and appear here to take the honorable command conferred on him by Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

'About a hundred and fifty more of the poor inhabitants are come out of Boston.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I wrote to you this day by Messrs. Penet and Pliarne,† who will lay before the Congress, or a committee thereof, proposals for furnishing the Continent with arms and ammunition. I refer you to themselves for further particulars.'

Lead. ed. vol. i. p. 61.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 196.

Below are the Resolves which the General declared in the above letter, to '*want only a Court established for trial, to make them complete.*'

His letters to Congress, Nov. 11, Dec. 4, 14, and to R. H. Lee, Dec. 26, pp. 123, 136, 138, sufficiently indicate what Court the circumstances, in his opinion, then required for such trials.

The 4th, 5th and 6th of these Resolves, together with the succeeding one, passed Dec. 20, p. 141, show what Courts instead of it, Congress recommended for the purpose. The practical operation of these substitutes will appear.

'IN CONGRESS, November 25, 1775. 'Resolved, That all such ships of war, frigates, sloops, cutters, and armed vessels as are or shall be employed in the present cruel and unjust war against the United Colonies, and shall fall into the hands of, or be taken by *the inhabitants* thereof, be seized and forfeited to, and for the purposes hereinafter mentioned.

'2d. Resolved, That all transport vessels in the same service, having on board any troops, arms, ammunition, clothing, provisions, or military or naval stores, of what kind soever, and all vessels to whomsoever belonging, that shall be employed in carrying provisions or other necessaries to the British army or armies, or

\* Relative to the raising of these two battalions of marines, the reader is referred to the General's letter to Congress, Nov. 19, p. 127, the Resolve immediately above it, of Nov. 10, and to the first two of the following.

IN CONGRESS, November 30. Resolved, That the General be directed to suspend the raising of the two battalions of marines out of his present army.

'That the two battalions of marines be raised independent of the army already ordered for the service in Massachusetts Bay.

'That no BOUNTY be allowed to the army on enlistment.'

† Two merchants of Nantes, in France. Congress employed them.

navy, that now are or shall hereafter be within any of the United Colonies, or any goods, wares, or merchandise for the use of such fleet or army, shall be liable to seizure, and with their cargoes shall be confiscated.

‘ 3d. That no master or commander of any vessel shall be entitled to cruise for, or make prize of any vessel or cargo before he shall have obtained a commission from the Congress, or from such person or persons as shall be for that purpose appointed in some one of the United Colonies.

‘ 4th. *That it be and is hereby recommended to the several Legislatures in the United Colonies, as soon as possible, to erect Courts of Justice, or give jurisdiction to the Courts now in being for the purpose of determining concerning the captures to be made as aforesaid, and to provide that all trials in such case be had by a jury under such qualifications, as to the respective Legislatures shall seem expedient.*

‘ 5th. *That all prosecutions shall be commenced in the Court of that Colony in which the capture shall be made, but if no such Court be at that time erected in the said Colony, or if the capture be made on open sea, then the prosecution shall be in the Court of such Colony as the captor may find most convenient, provided that nothing contained in this Resolution shall be construed so as to enable the captor to remove his prize from any Colony competent to determine concerning the seizure, after he shall have carried the vessel so seized within any harbor of the same.*

‘ 6th. *That in all cases an appeal shall be allowed to the Congress, or such person or persons as they shall appoint for the trial of appeals, provided the appeal be demanded within five days after definitive sentence, and such appeal be lodged with the Secretary of Congress within forty days afterwards, \* \* and give security to prosecute the said appeal to effect.*

‘ 7th. That when any vessel or vessels shall be fitted out at the expense of any private person or persons, then the captures made shall be to the use of the owner or owners of the said vessel or vessels; that where the vessels employed in the capture shall be fitted out at the expense of any of the United Colonies, then one third of the prize taken shall be to the use of the captors, and the remaining two thirds to the use of the said Colony, and where the vessels so employed shall be fitted at the Continental charge, then one third shall go to the captors, and the remaining two thirds to the use of the United Colonies; provided, nevertheless, that if the capture be a vessel of war, then the captors shall be entitled to one half of the value, and the remainder shall go to the Colony or Continent as the case may be, the necessary charges of condemnation of all prizes, being deducted before distribution made.

‘ 8th. That the captures heretofore made by vessels fitted out at the Continental charge were justifiable, and that the distribution

of the captor's share of the prizes by General Washington, be confirmed.'

So far, the action of Congress on this subject, was probably induced by the General's letters, Oct. 5, and Nov. 11. Having, on the 13th, received his letter of the 4th, they proceeded, a week after, as follows :

'*December 20.*—The Congress resumed the consideration of the General's letters, and thereupon came to the following Resolution :

'*Resolved*, That the several vessels heretofore taken and carried into Massachusetts Bay, by the armed vessels *in the service of the United Colonies* be proceeded against by the rules of the law of nations, and *libeled in the Courts of Admiralty erected in said Colony.*'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

'CAMBRIDGE, 15 December, 1775.

'SIR, — Your favors of the 7th and 9th instant I have received, and was much pleased to hear of the zeal of the people of Connecticut, and the readiness of the inhabitants of the several towns to march to this Camp, upon their being acquainted with the behavior and desertion of their troops. I have nothing to suggest for the consideration of the Assembly. I am confident they will not be wanting in their exertions for supporting the just and constitutional rights of the Colonies.

'Enclosed I send you a list of the officers and companies under the new establishment, with the number of the men enlisted; the returns only came in to-day, or I would have transmitted it before.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 198.

SAME to JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, 15 December, 1775.

'DEAR SIR, — Since my last, I have had the pleasure of receiving your favors of the 28th ultimo, and the 2d instant. I must again express my gratitude for the attention shown to Mrs. Washington at Philadelphia. \* \* \* \*

'I am much obliged to you for the hints contained in both of the above letters, respecting the jealousies which you say are gone abroad. *I have studiously avoided in all letters calculated for the public eye, I mean for that of the Congress, every expression that could give pain or uneasiness*; and I shall observe the same rule with respect to private letters, *any further than appears absolutely necessary for the elucidation of facts.* \* \* \*

'The extracts of letters from this Camp which so frequently appear in the Pennsylvania papers, are not only written without my knowledge but without my approbation, as I have always thought

they must have an unfavorable tendency; but there is no restraining men's tongues, or pens, when charged with a little vanity, as in the accounts given of, or rather by, the riflemen. \* \*

'The Congress have resolved well in respect to the pay of the men; but if they cannot get the money signers to dispatch their business, it is of very little avail; for we have not at this time money enough in Camp to answer the Commissary's and Quartermaster's accounts, much less to pay the troops.

'The account which you have given of the *sentiments* of the people respecting my conduct is extremely flattering. *I pray God, that I may continue to deserve them, in my perplexed and intricate situation.*

'Our enlistment goes on slowly. By the returns last Monday, only five thousand nine hundred and seventeen men are engaged for the ensuing campaign; and yet we are told, that we shall get the number wanted, as they are playing off to see what advantages are to be made, and whether a bounty may not be extorted either from the public at large, or individuals, in case of a draft. I doubt the measure exceedingly. The fortunate capture of the store-ship has supplied us with flints, and many other articles we stood in need of; but we have our wants. I am, &c.'

*Ibid*, p. 199.

GENERAL GREENE to GOVERNOR WARD, in Congress.

'PROSPECT HILL, December 18, 1775.

'Your observation is exceedingly just. This is no time for disgusting the soldiery, when their aid is so essential to the preservation of the rights of human nature, and the liberties of America. *His Excellency is a great and good man*; I feel the highest respect for him. I wish him immortal honor. I think myself happy in an opportunity to serve under so good a General. My happiness will be still greater, if fortune gives me an opportunity in some signal instance, to contribute to his glory and my country's good.

\* \* \* The General has often expressed to me his uneasiness about the expenses; they so far exceed the expectations of Congress. He is afraid they will sink under the weight of such charges.

'Economy is undoubtedly essential in this dispute; there should be no wanton waste of public property; but, *if you starve the cause, you protract the dispute.* If the Congress wish to put the finishing stroke to this war, they must exert their whole force at once, give every measure an air of decision. I pray God we may not lose the critical moment. Human affairs are ever like the tide, constantly on the ebb and flow. Our preparations in all parts of the United Colonies ought to be so great, as to leave no room to doubt our intentions to support the cause and obtain our conditions. This will draw in the weak, and wavering, and give such

a turn to the minds of the people, that small shocks will not be seriously felt in the general plan of operations.'

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 44.

IN CONGRESS, 'November 27. *Resolved*, That the troops in the service of the Continent be supplied *with fuel and bedding* at the expense of the Continent.

'December 2. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Assembly, or General Court of Massachusetts Bay, to use all the means in their power, that the army before Boston be supplied *with wood and hay* on the most reasonable terms.

'That in the new establishment of the army, the general officers be not allowed regiments, nor the field officers companies.'

These seem to have been the first recorded Actions of Congress upon the subjects to which they relate, though the General had early and repeatedly solicited their attention to those subjects, especially in his letters, Aug. 4, Sept. 21, Oct. 5, pp. 104, 112, 113.

By the exertions of the Massachusetts Assembly, the distresses, which from want of fuel and hay had then become extreme in the army before Boston, were relieved at the expense of the Colony.

Man. Jour. of Mass. Assembly, or General Court, pp. 284, 375, 393.

'December 2. *Resolved*, That this Congress approve the terms on which *the artificers* have been employed in the army; and that the General go on upon the present agreement, as being the best that can probably be made.

'That the General be *directed* to pick out from each of *the rifle-companies*, such as are not marksmen, and dismiss them in such manner as will be safest, with an allowance of pay to go home, if they do not choose to enlist in other battalions, and, in the mean time, that all receive their pay.'

See expressions on the subjects of these last two Resolves, in letter, Sept. 21, pp. 111, 112.

'That a committee of three be appointed to devise the best mode of having *Expresses*, (persons of character,) posted along the roads at different distances, for the purpose of conveying early and frequent intelligence.

'The members chosen, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Deane.

'*Ordered*, That the Resolutions, passed on the General's letters, and on the Report of the Committee of Conference, and such other Resolutions as relate to the establishment of the new army, not already forwarded, be sent by express to the General.

'December 22. *Resolved*, That if General Washington and his Council of War *should be of opinion*, that a successful attack may be made on the troops in Boston, he do it in any manner he may think expedient, notwithstanding the town and property in it may thereby be destroyed.



This last Resolution drew from the General, soon after its receipt by him, some truthful remarks upon the circumstances of the time. They may be found in his letter to Congress, Jan. 4, p. 150.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 18 December, 1775.

‘SIR, — Captain Manly, of the Lee armed schooner, took and sent into Beverly the sloop Betsey, Atkinson, master. She is an armed vessel, dispatched by Lord Dunmore,\* with Indian corn, potatoes, and oats, for the army in Boston. The packets of letters found on board, I have the honor to send you with this by Captain James Chambers, they being of so much importance, that I do not think it would be prudent to trust them by a common express.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘The returns of men enlisted, since my last, amount to about eighteen hundred, making in the whole seven thousand one hundred and forty.

‘The militia that are come in, both from this Province and New Hampshire, are very fine looking men, and go through their duty with great alacrity.

‘The dispatch made, both by the people in marching and by the Legislative powers in complying with my requisition, has given me infinite satisfaction.

‘Your letter of the 8th instant, with the *explanatory Resolve* respecting my calling forth the militia and minute-men, is come to hand; to which I shall pay all due attention.†

London ed. vol. i. p. 63.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 203.

‘GENERAL GREENE to JACOB GREENE.

‘PROSPECT HILL, December 20, 1775.

‘We must expect to make partial sacrifices for the public good. I love the Colony of Rhode Island, and have ever had a very great affection for the town of Newport; but I am not so attached to either as to be willing to injure the *common cause* for their *particular benefit*.

‘It is astonishing that ancient prejudices and selfish motives should prevail at a time when every thing that is dear and valuable is at stake.

‘We have no reason to doubt the King’s intentions. We must submit unconditionally, or defend ourselves.

‘But we must expect to feel the common calamities which attend even a successful war. We are now driven to the necessity of *making a Declaration of Independence*. We can no longer preserve our freedom and continue the connection with her. With safety we can appeal to Heaven for the necessity, propriety, and rectitude of such a measure.

\* At that time Governor of Virginia.

† The ‘*explanatory Resolve*,’ p. 130.

'The regiments fill up very slowly here. *It is really discouraging*; I fear the advantages proposed from so large an armament as our establishment was to consist of, will be defeated by the length of time it takes to fill the army. However, I hope for better things, and pray God my expectations may not be defeated. *If the Congress had given a large bounty, and engaged the soldiery during the war, the Continent would be much securer, and the measures cheaper in the end.*

'*The wisest may sometimes err.* To profit rightly by past evils is the only right use that can be made of former misfortunes. God grant that our future measures may be so taken, as to render our success equal to our wishes.'

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 50.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL SCHUYLER.

'CAMBRIDGE, 24 December, 1775.

'DEAR SIR, — Your favors of the 15th instant came yesterday to hand, with copies and extracts of your late letters to Congress. I have with great attention perused them. I am very sorry to find by several paragraphs, that both you and General Montgomery incline to quit the service. Let me ask you, Sir, when is the time for brave men to exert themselves in the cause of liberty and their country, if this is not? Should any difficulties, that they have to encounter at this important crisis, deter them? God knows, there is not a difficulty, that you both very justly complain of, which I have not in an eminent degree experienced, that I am not every day experiencing; but we must bear up against them, and make the best of mankind as they are, since we cannot have them as we wish.

'Let me, therefore, conjure you and Mr. Montgomery to lay aside such thoughts, — thoughts injurious to yourselves, and extremely so to your country, which calls aloud for gentlemen of your abilities.

'You mention in your letter to Congress of the 20th ultimo, that the clothing was to remain at Albany, as General Montgomery would provide the troops in Canada. I wish they could be spared for this army, for we cannot get clothing for half of our troops. Let me hear from you on this subject as soon as possible. \* \*

'I hope soon to hear that Colonel Knox has made good progress in forwarding the artillery. It is much wanted for the works we have lately thrown up.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 209.

#### COLONEL KNOX to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

'HEAD OF LAKE GEORGE, 17 December, 1775.

'I returned from Ticonderoga to this place on the 15th instant, and brought with me the cannon, it having taken nearly the time I

conjectured it would to transport them hither. It is not easy to conceive the difficulties we have had in getting them over the Lake, owing to the advanced season of the year and contrary winds. Three days ago, it was very uncertain whether we could get them over until next spring; but now, please God, they shall go. I have made forty-two exceedingly strong sleds, and have provided eighty yoke of oxen to drag them as far as Springfield, where I shall get fresh cattle to take them to Camp.'

Ibid. p. 211. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, 25 December, 1775. .

'DEAR SIR, — At the same time that I thank you for stopping visitors in search of preferment, it will give me pleasure to show civilities to others of your recommendation.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I do not very much understand a paragraph in your letter, which seems to be taken from mine to Colonel Hancock, [President of Congress,] expressive of the unwillingness of the Connecticut troops to be deemed Continental. There is no expression in any of my letters that I can either recollect or find, that has a tendency that way; further than their unwillingness to have officers of other governments mixed in their corps, in which they are not singular, as the same partiality runs through the whole. I have in some measure anticipated the desires of the Connecticut delegates, by a kind of representation to each of the New England governments of the impracticability of raising our complement of men by voluntary enlistments, and submitting to their consideration, whether, if the powers of government are sufficiently coercive, each town should not be called upon for a proportionate number of recruits. What they will do in the matter remains to be known. The militia who have supplied the places of the Connecticut regiments, behave much better than I expected they would under our want of wood, barracks, and blankets.

'Our want of powder is inconceivable. A daily waste and no supply present a gloomy prospect.

'I am so much indebted for the civilities shown to Mrs. Washington, on her journey hither, that I hardly know how to acknowledge them.'

Ibid, p. 214.

SAME to RICHARD HENRY LEE.

'CAMBRIDGE, 26 December, 1775.

'DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 6th instant did not reach this place till Saturday afternoon. The money which accompanied it, came seasonably, but not, as it was so long delayed, *quantum sufficit*, our demands at this time being peculiarly great for pay and

advance to the troops; pay for their arms and blanketing, independent of the demands of the Commissary and Quartermaster-General.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ My letters to Congress will give you the occurrences of this place. I need not repeat them, but I must beg of you, my good Sir, to use your influence in having *a Court of Admiralty*, or some power appointed to hear and determine all matters relative to captures; you cannot conceive how I am plagued on this head, and how impossible it is for me to hear and determine upon matters of this sort, when the facts perhaps are only to be ascertained at ports, forty, fifty, or more miles distant, without bringing the parties here at great trouble and expense. At any rate, my time will not allow me to be a competent judge of this business. I must also beg the favor of you, to urge the necessity of *appointing a Brigadier-General*, to the vacant Brigade in this army. The inconvenience we daily experience for want of one is very great; much more than the want of a Colonel to a regiment, for then the next officer in command does the duty; in a brigade this may not with propriety happen, and seldom or never is done with any kind of regularity. *Perfectly indifferent is it to me, whom the Congress shall please to appoint to these offices*; I only want it done, that business may go regularly on.’

Life of R. H. Lee, vol. ii. p. 8.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 216.

GENERAL GREENE to GOVERNOR WARD, in Congress.

‘ PROSPECT HILL, December 31, 1775.

‘ You entreat the general officers to recommend to the Congress the giving of a *bounty*. But his Excellency, *General Washington*, has often assured us, that the Congress would not give a bounty, and before they would give a bounty, they would give up the dispute.

‘ The cement between the Northern and Southern Colonies is not very strong, if forty thousand lawful, will induce the Congress to give us up. Although I do not imagine that the necessity of allowing a bounty would have broken the Union, yet it was a sufficient intimation, that the bare mention was disagreeable. *Can you think we should hesitate a moment to recommend a bounty, if we thought ourselves at liberty to do so?* We should then have an opportunity of picking the best men, filling the army soon, keeping up a proper discipline, and preserving good order and government in camp; while we are now obliged to relax the very sinews of military government, and give a latitude of indulgence to the soldiery incompatible with security of either camp or country. What reason have you to think that a proposition of that sort, if it came recommended by the general officers, would be acceded to by the Congress?’

\* \* \* \* \*

‘The Congress cannot suppose that the Generals are better acquainted with the temper and genius of this people, than the Delegates are from these Provinces; and why they should refuse to hear you, and not us, I cannot imagine.

‘A good politician will always have an eye to economy, but *to form an extensive plan, and not provide the means for carrying it into execution, betrays either a defect in counsel, or want of resolution to prosecute.*

‘There is nothing that will encourage our enemies, both external and internal, like the difficulties we meet in raising a new army. *If we had given a good bounty and raised the troops speedily, it would have struck the Ministry with astonishment to see that four Colonies could raise such an army in so short a time. They could not expect to conquer a people so united, firm, and resolutely determined to defend their rights and privileges.*

‘*But, from the difficulties we meet with, the confusion and disorder we are in, the large number of the soldiers who are going home, our enemies will draw a conclusion that we are like a rope of sand, and that we shall soon break to pieces. God grant it may not be the case.*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘*The current sentiment in the New England Colonies generally favors opposition; but if the distresses of the people are multiplied, their opinion may change. They will naturally look back upon their former happy situation, and contrast that with their present worse condition; and conclude that the source of all their misery originates in their dispute with Great Britain.*

‘*What signifies our being frightened at the expense? If we succeed, we gain all; but if we are conquered, we lose all; not only our present possessions, but all our future labors will be appropriated to the support of a haughty, proud, insolent set of puppies, whose greatest merit with the Crown will be, to render the people as completely humble as possible.*

‘I agree with you, that Congress should embody seventy thousand men — *all the troops raised in the different Colonies to be upon Continental pay, and where there are any stationed for the protection of any particular Province, to be considered as a detachment from the grand army, and all in every Province to be subject to the Commander-in-Chief, and at his disposal and discretion.* A body of troops in each Colony would support the spirited, confirm the weak and wavering, and awe our oppressors into submission.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘You complain and say the New England Colonies are treated ill. Why are they treated so? You think there ought to have been a bounty given. *The Congress always had it in their power to give a bounty if they pleased. Why were not the New England delegates sent to establish the plan for the constitution of the new army? Why were strangers sent at so critical a period? History*

does not afford so dangerous a measure as that of disbanding an old army and forming a new one within point-blank shot of the enemy.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ From whence originates that groundless jealousy of the New England Colonies? I believe there is nothing more remote from their thoughts than designs unfavorable to the equal rights of the other Colonies. For my own part, I abhor the thoughts, and cannot help thinking it highly injurious to the New England people, who ever have been distinguished for their justice and moderation. I mentioned this subject to Mr. Lynch and Colonel Harrison,\* who assured me there was no such sentiment in Congress, nor among the Southern inhabitants of any respectability. I am sorry to find they were mistaken. It grieves me that such jealousies should prevail.† *If they are nourished, they will sooner or later sap the foundation of the Union.* \* \* \* *God in mercy avert so dreadful an evil! How unhappy it is for the interests of America, that such Colonial prejudices should prevail, and partial motives influence her councils!* The interests of one Colony are no ways incompatible with the interests of another. We have all one common interest, and one common wish to be free from Parliamentary jurisdiction and taxation. The different climates and produce of the Colonies will ever preserve a harmony amongst them by an active trade and commerce. \* \* \*

‘ This is the last day of the old enlisted soldiers’ service. Nothing but confusion and disorder reign. We are obliged to retain their guns. They are prized, and the owners paid. \* \* \* This is looked upon to be both tyrannical and unjust. I am very sorry that necessity forces his Excellency to adopt any measure disagreeable to the people.‡ But the army cannot be provided for in any other way; and those we do obtain are very indifferent; generally without bayonets and of different bores. Twenty thousand troops with such arms, are not equal in an engagement to fifteen thousand with such arms as the King’s troops are equipped with.’

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 45.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 31 December, 1775.

‘ SIR, — I wrote you on the 25th instant, since which I am not honored with any of your favors. The estimate I then enclosed to you, was calculated to pay the troops up to the 1st of January. That cannot be done for want of funds in the Paymaster-General’s hands, which causes a great murmuring amongst those who are going off. The monthly expenses of this army amount to near

\* Two members of the Committee of Conference, who had been at the Camp in October; the former from South Carolina, the latter from Virginia.

† See letter and note, p. 116.

‡ See Resolve of Congress, p. 120; and letter, &c., p. 154.



two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, which I take the liberty of recommending to the observation of Congress, that their future remittances may be governed thereby.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I have long had it on my mind to mention to Congress, that frequent applications had been made to me respecting the Chaplain’s pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them who have left their flocks, are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed for that service in this army. There are two ways of making it worth the attention of such ; one is an advancement of their pay ; the other, that one Chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last I think may be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend the matter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 67.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 218.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 4 January, 1776.

‘ SIR, — Since my last of the 31st ultimo, I have been honored with your favor of the 22d, enclosing sundry Resolves, which shall, in matters they respect, be made the rule of my conduct. *The Resolution relative to the troops in Boston,\** I beg the favor of you, Sir, to assure Congress, *shall be attempted* to be put in execution *the first moment I see a probability of success, and in such a way as a council of officers shall think most likely to produce it*; but if this should not happen as soon as you may expect, or my wishes prompt, *I request that Congress will be pleased to advert to my situation, and do me the justice to believe, that circumstances, and not want of inclination, are the cause of delay.*

‘ *It is not in the pages of history, perhaps, to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a Post within musket shot of the enemy for six months together, without —†, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another, within that distance of twenty-odd British regiments, is more probably, than ever was attempted. But if we succeed as well in the last as we have heretofore in the first, I shall think it the most fortunate event of my whole life.* \* \*

‘ As it is possible you may not yet have received his Majesty’s “most gracious” speech, I do myself the honor to enclose one of many which were sent out of Boston yesterday. It is full of rancor and resentment against us, and explicitly holds forth his royal will to be, that vigorous measures must be pursued, to deprive us of our constitutional rights and liberties. These measures, whatever they be, I hope will be opposed by more vigorous ones, and rendered

\* Resolution of December 22d, p. 143.

† Powder.

unavailing and fruitless, though sanctioned and authorized by the name of Majesty, a name which ought to promote the happiness of his people, and not their oppression. I am, Sir, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 70.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 221.

SAME to JOSEPH REED.

' CAMBRIDGE, 4 January, 1776.

' DEAR SIR, — We are at length favored with a sight of his Majesty's "*most gracious*" speech, breathing sentiments of tenderness and compassion for his deluded American subjects; the echo is not yet come to hand; but we know what it must be, and as Lord North said, and we ought to have believed and acted accordingly, we now know the ultimatum of British justice. The speech I send you. A volume of them was sent out by the Boston gentry, and, farcical enough, we gave great joy to them, without knowing or intending it; for on that day, the day which gave being to the new army, but before the proclamation came to hand, we had hoisted the *Union Flag* in compliment to the *United Colonies*. But behold, it was received in Boston as a token of the deep impression the speech had made upon us, and as a signal of submission. So we hear by a person out of Boston last night. By this time I presume they begin to think it strange, that we have not made a formal surrender of our lines. \* \* \* \*

' It is easier to conceive than to describe the situation of my mind for some time past, and my feelings under our present circumstances. Search the volumes of history through, and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; namely, to maintain a Post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without powder, and then to have one army disbanded and another to be raised within the same distance of a reinforced enemy. It is too much to attempt. What may be the final issue of the last manœuvre, time only can unfold. I wish this month was well over our heads. The same desire of retiring into a chimney-corner seized the troops of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, as had wrought upon those of Connecticut, notwithstanding many of them made a tender of their services to continue till the lines should be sufficiently strengthened. We are now left with a good deal less than half-raised regiments, and about five thousand militia, who only stand engaged till the middle of this month; when, according to custom, they will depart, let the necessity of their stay be ever so urgent. Thus, for more than two months past, I have scarcely emerged from one difficulty before I have been plunged into another.

' How it will end, God in his great goodness will direct. I am thankful for His protection to this time. We are told that we shall soon get the army completed, but I have been told so many things which have never come to pass, that I distrust every thing. \* \*

‘ I hope the Congress will not think of adjourning at so important and critical a juncture as this.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 224.

SAME TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 6 January, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I received your favor of the 1st instant, and return you my thanks for the blankets and your promise of having more procured, as they are wanted. \* \* \*

‘ I am told that Captain Wallace’s ships have been supplied for some time by the town of Newport, on certain conditions stipulated between him and the Committee. When this truce first obtained, perhaps it was right. Then there might have been hopes of an accommodation taking place; but now, when every prospect of it seems to be cut off by his Majesty’s late speech, when the throne from which we had supplicated redress, breathes forth vengeance and indignation, and a firm determination to remain unalterable in its purposes, and to prosecute the system and plan of ruin formed by the Ministry against us, should not an end be put to it, and every possible method be fallen upon to prevent their getting necessities of any kind? We need not expect to conquer our enemies by good offices; and I know not what pernicious consequences may result from a precedent of this sort. \* \* \*

‘ I received a letter from Governor Trumbull of the 1st instant, by which I am informed, that the Connecticut Assembly are very unanimous in the common cause; and among other Acts have passed one for raising and equipping a fourth of their militia, to be immediately selected by voluntary enlistments; with such other able, effective men, as are not included in their militia rolls, who incline to enlist, to act as minute-men for the defence of their own, or any of the United Colonies, and this under proper encouragements; — another Act for restraining persons inimical to us; \* \* \*

\* \* \* none to write, speak, or act against the Proceedings of Congress, or their Acts of Assembly, under penalty of being disarmed, and disqualified for holding any office, and be further punished by imprisonment; another Act for seizing and confiscating for the use of the Colony, the estates of those putting or continuing to shelter themselves under the protection of the Ministerial fleet or army, or assisting them in carrying on their measures against us; \* \* \* an Act exempting the polls of soldiers from taxes, for the last and ensuing campaigns; — another for encouraging the making of saltpetre and gunpowder. \* \* \*

‘ They have also passed an Act *empowering the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental army, or officers commanding a detachment, or outposts, to administer an oath and swear any person or persons to the truth of matters relative to the public service.* The

situation of our affairs seems to call for regulations like these, and I should think the other Colonies ought to adopt similar ones, or such of them as they have not already made. Vigorous ones, and such as at another time would appear extraordinary, are now become absolutely necessary, for preserving our country against the strides of tyranny making against it.'

Ibid. p. 227.

SAME to JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, 14 January, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — The bearer presents an opportunity to me of acknowledging the receipt of your favor of the 30th ultimo, which never came to my hands till last night, and, if I have not done it before, of your other letter of the 23d preceding.

'The hints you have communicated from time to time not only deserve, but do most sincerely and cordially meet with my thanks. You cannot render a more acceptable service, nor in my estimation give a more convincing proof of your friendship, than by a free, open, and undisguised account of every matter relative to myself or conduct.

'I can bear to hear of imputed or real errors. The man who wishes to stand well in the opinion of others, must do this; because he is thereby enabled to correct his faults, or remove the prejudices which are imbibed against him. For this reason, I shall thank you for giving me the opinions of the world, upon such points as you know me to be interested in; for, as I have but one capital object in view, I could wish to make my conduct coincide with the wishes of mankind, as far as I can consistently; I mean, without departing from that great line of duty, which, though hid under a cloud for some time, from a peculiarity of circumstances, may nevertheless bear a scrutiny.

'My constant attention to the great and perplexing objects, which continually rise to my view, absorbs all lesser considerations, and indeed scarcely allows me to reflect, that there is such a body in existence as the General Court of this Colony, but when I am reminded of it by a Committee; nor can I, upon recollection, discover in what instances (I wish they would be more explicit) I have been inattentive to, or slighted them. They could not, surely, conceive that there was a propriety in unbosoming the secrets of an army to them; that it was necessary to ask their opinion of throwing up an intrenchment, or forming a battalion. It must, therefore, be what I before hinted to you; and how to remedy it I hardly know, as I am acquainted with few of the members, never go out of my own lines, nor see any of them in them.

'I am exceedingly sorry to hear, that your little fleet has been shut in by the frost. I hope it has sailed ere this, and given you some proof of the utility of it, *and enabled the Congress to bestow a*

*little more attention to the affairs of this army, which suffers exceedingly by their overmuch business, or too little attention to it.*

*'We are now without any money in our treasury, powder in our magazines, or arms in our stores. We are without a Brigadier, (the want of whom has been twenty times urged,) Engineers, Expresses, (though a committee has been appointed these two months to establish them,\*) and by-and-by, when we shall be called upon to take the field, shall not have a tent to lie in.* \* \* \*

*'These are evils, but small in comparison of those which disturb my present repose. Our enlistments are at a stand; the fears I ever entertained are realized;* \* \* \*

*'In the two last weeks we have enlisted but about a thousand men; whereas I was confidently led to believe, by all the officers I conversed with, that we should by this time have had the regiments nearly completed. Our total number upon paper amounts to about ten thousand five hundred; but as a large portion of these are returned *not joined*, I never expect to receive them; as an ineffectual order has once issued to call them in. Another is now gone forth, peremptorily requiring all officers under pain of being cashiered, and recruits of being treated as deserters, to join their respective regiments by the 1st day of next month, that I may know my real strength; but if my fears are not imaginary, I shall have a dreadful account of the advanced month's pay. In consequence of the assurances given, and my expectation of having at least men enough enlisted to defend our lines, to which may be added my unwillingness to burthen the cause with unnecessary expense, no relief of militia has been ordered in, to supply the places of those who are released from their engagements to-morrow, and as to whom, though many have promised to continue out the month, there is no security for their stay.*

*'Thus am I situated with respect to men. With regard to arms I am yet worse off. Before the dissolution of the old army, I issued an order directing three judicious men of each brigade to attend, review, and appraise the good arms of every regiment; † and finding a very great unwillingness in the men to part with their arms, at the same time not having it in my power to pay them for the months of November and December, I threatened severely, that every soldier, who should carry away his firelock without leave, should never receive pay for those months; yet so many have been carried off, partly by stealth, but chiefly as condemned, that we have not at this time one hundred guns in the stores, of all that have been taken in the prize ship and from the soldiery, notwithstanding our regiments are not half complete. At the same time I am told, and believe it, that to restrain the enlistment to men with arms, you*

\* See that appointment, Dec. 2, p. 143.

† According to a Resolve of Congress, Nov. 4, p. 120.

will get but few of the former, and still fewer of the latter, which would be good for any thing.

‘How to get furnished I know not. I have applied to this and the neighboring Colonies, but with what success time only can tell. *The reflection on my situation, and that of this army, produces many an unhappy hour when all around me are wrapped in sleep.* Few people know the predicament we are in on a thousand accounts; and fewer still will believe, if any disaster happens to these lines, from what cause it flows. *I have often thought how much happier I should have been, if, instead of accepting the command under such circumstances, I had taken my musket on my shoulder and entered the ranks; or, if I could have justified the measure to posterity and my own conscience, had retired to the back country, and lived in a wigwam.* If I shall be able to rise superior to these and many other difficulties which might be enumerated, I shall religiously believe that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies; for surely if we get well through this month, it must be for want of their knowing the disadvantages we labor under.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘But as this letter discloses some interesting truths, I shall be somewhat uneasy until I hear it gets to your hands. \* \*

‘I despatched General Lee a few days ago,\* in order to secure the city of New York from falling into their hands, as the consequences of such a blow might prove fatal to our interests. He is also to inquire a little into the conduct of the Long-Islanders, and such others as have, by their conduct and declarations, proved themselves inimical to the common cause. \* \*

‘To effect these purposes, he is to raise volunteers in Connecticut, and call upon the troops of New Jersey, if not contrary to any order of Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘I should think the Congress will not, ought not, to adjourn at this important crisis. But it is highly necessary, when I am at the end of the second sheet of paper, that I should adjourn my account of matters to another letter.’

Ibid. p. 237.

It is probably recollected, that June 22d, Congress appointed eight Brigadier-Generals;† the first of whom, Mr. Pomroy, left the service and thereby caused a vacancy, before General Washington arrived at Cambridge. The importance of filling that vacancy is sufficiently explained and urged, in the General's letters to Congress, July 20, Aug. 4, 31, Nov. 2; to R. H. Lee, Dec. 26, and in this last; pp. 101, 104, 108, 121, 147.

Adding to these, all his communications to the Committee of Conference and other Members of Congress, in the more than six months the vacancy continued, he had urged it, probably the number of times mentioned in the above letter.

The Journals of Congress during the time, are believed to show only the following proceedings on the subject.

SECRET JOURNAL. ‘September 21. The Congress proceeded to the election of a *Brigadier-General*; and the ballots being exam-

\* General Washington's Instructions to General Lee were dated Jan. 8th.

† See page 72.



ined, it was found that Colonel Armstrong and Colonel Frye had an equal number of votes.'

PUBLIC JOURNAL. 'September 20. *Resolved*, That the appointment of a *Brigadier-General* be deferred till to-morrow.

'September 21. *Resolved*, That the appointment of a *Brigadier-General* be deferred.

'November 13. *Resolved*, That Thursday, the 23d instant, be assigned for electing a *Brigadier-General*.

'January 9, 1776. *Resolved*, That to-morrow be assigned for the choice of two *Brigadier-Generals*, viz., one for the army in Massachusetts-Bay, and the other for the army in the Northern department.

'January 10. Agreeable to the order of the day, the Congress proceeded to the election of two *Brigadier-Generals*, and the ballots being taken and examined, Joseph Frye, Esq. was elected for the army in the Massachusetts-Bay, Benedict Arnold, Esq. for the army in the Northern department.'

#### GENERAL SCHUYLER TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

———, 5 January, 1776.

'I have already informed you of the disagreeable situation I have been in during the campaign; but I would waive that, were it not that it has chiefly arisen from prejudice and jealousy; for I could point out particular persons of rank in the army, who have frequently declared, that the General commanding in this quarter, ought to be of the Colony from whence the majority of the troops came. But it is not from opinions or principles of individuals that I have drawn the following conclusion, *that troops from the Colony of Connecticut will not bear with a General from another Colony*; it is from the daily and common conversation of all ranks of people from that Colony, both in and out of the army. And I assure you, that *I sincerely lament that people of so much public virtue should be actuated by such an unbecoming jealousy, founded on such a narrow principle*; a principle extremely unfriendly to our righteous cause, as it tends to alienate the affections of numbers in this Colony, in spite of the most favorable constructions, that prudent men, and real Americans amongst us attempt to put upon it. And *although I frankly avow, that I feel a resentment, yet I shall continue to sacrifice it to a nobler object — the weal of that country in which I have drawn the breath of life, resolved ever to seek with unwearied assiduity for opportunities to fulfil my duty to it.*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, p. 243. Note.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

'CAMBRIDGE, 16 January, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 5th instant, enclosing copies of General Montgomery's and General Wooster's letters, I received; for which I return you my thanks.

‘ It was from a full conviction of your zealous attachment to the cause of our country, and abilities to serve it, that I have repeatedly pressed your continuance in command; and it is with much concern, Sir, that I find you have reason to think your holding the place you do, will be of prejudice and incompatible with its interest.

‘ As you are of this opinion, the part you are inclined to take is certainly generous and noble. But will the good consequences you intend, be derived from it? I greatly fear they will not. I shall leave the matter to yourself, in full confidence, that in whatever sphere you move, your exertions for your country’s weal will not be wanting.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I confess I am much concerned for General Montgomery and Colonel Arnold; and the consequences which will result from their miscarriage, should it happen, are very alarming; I fear, no less fatal than you mention. \* \* \*

‘ I am much pleased that the artillery was likely to be got over the river, and am in hopes that Colonel Knox will arrive with it in a few days. It is much wanted.’

Ibid. p. 243.

SAME to THE GENERAL COURT OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 16 January, 1776.

‘ GENTLEMEN, — Your several Resolves, in consequence of my letters, have been presented to me by a Committee of your honorable body. I thank you for the assurances of being zealously disposed to do every thing in your power to facilitate the recruiting of the American army; and, at the same time I assure you that I do not entertain a doubt of the truth of it, I must beg leave to add, that I conceive *you have mistaken the meaning of my letter of the tenth, if you suppose it ever was my idea, that you should offer a bounty at the separate expense of this Colony.*

‘ It was not clear to me, but that some coercive measures might be used on this as on former occasions, to draft men to complete the regiments upon the Continental establishment. But as this is thought unadvisable, I shall rely on your recommending to the Selectmen and Committees of Correspondence to exert themselves in their several towns, to promote the enlistments for the American army.

‘ *In the meanwhile, as there is no appearance of this service going on but slowly, and it is necessary to have a respectable body of troops here as soon as possible, to act as circumstances shall require, I must beg that you will order in, with as much expedition as the nature of the case will admit, seven regiments, agreeably to the establishment of this army, to continue in service till the 1st of April, if required.*

‘You will be pleased to direct, that the men come provided with good arms, blankets, kettles for cooking, and if possible with twenty rounds of powder and ball. \* \* \*

*‘I beg leave to return my thanks for the kind offer of fifty thousand pounds for the Continental use.’*

Ibid. p. 246.

SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 18 January, 1776.

‘DEAR SIR, — I received your favor of the 13th instant, with its enclosures, and am heartily sorry and most sincerely condole with you upon the fall of the brave and worthy Montgomery, and those gallant officers and men, who have experienced a like fate.

‘In the death of this gentleman, America has sustained a heavy loss, having approved himself a steady friend to her rights, and of ability to render her the most essential services. \* \* \*

‘It would give me the greatest pleasure, if I could be the happy means of relieving our fellow-citizens now in Canada, and preventing the Ministerial troops from exulting long, and availing themselves of the advantages arising from this repulse. *But it is not in my power.* Since the dissolution of the old army, the progress in raising recruits for the new has been so very slow and inconsiderable, that five thousand militia have been called in for the defence of our lines. A great part of these have gone home again, and the rest have been induced to stay with the utmost difficulty and persuasion, though their going would render the holding of the lines truly precarious and hazardous, in case of an attack. *In short, I have not a man to spare.*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘The loss of the brave Montgomery will ever be remembered. It gives me pleasure to find, that you will continue in service, and afford your assistance to relieve your country from the distresses, which at present threaten her in the North.’

Ibid, p. 248.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 19 January, 1776.

‘SIR, — Taking it for granted, that General Schuyler has not only informed you of the fall of the brave and much to be lamented General Montgomery, but of the situation of our affairs in Canada, \* \* \* I shall not take up more of your time on this subject. \* \* \*

‘It may appear strange, Sir, as I had not men to spare from these lines, that I should presume, without first sending to Congress, and obtaining an express direction, to recommend to the governments of Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire, to raise each a regiment, on the Continental account, for this ser-

vice. I wish most ardently, that the urgency of the case would have admitted of the delay. I wish, also, that the purport of General Schuyler's letter had not, unavoidably as it were, laid me under an indispensable obligation to do it; for, having informed you in his letter, a copy of which he enclosed me, of his dependence on this quarter for men, I thought you might also have some reliance on my exertions. This consideration, added to my fears of the fatal consequences of delay, to an information of your having designed three thousand men for Canada, to a belief founded chiefly on General Schuyler's letters, that few or none of them were raised, and to my apprehensions for New York, which led me to think, that no troops could be spared from that quarter, induced me to lose not a moment's time in throwing in a force there; being well assured, that General Carleton will improve to the utmost the advantages gained, leaving no artifices untried to fix in his interest the Canadians and Indians, who, we find, are too well disposed to take part with the strongest.

'If these reasons are not sufficient to justify my conduct in the opinion of Congress, if the measure contravenes any Resolution of theirs, they will please to countermand the levying and marching of the regiments as soon as possible, and do me the justice to believe, that my intentions were good if my judgment has erred.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 76.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 251.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL LEE, at New York.

'CAMBRIDGE, January 23, 1776.

'SIR, — I received your favor of the 16th instant, and am exceedingly sorry to hear, that Congress countermanded the embarkation of the two regiments intended against the Tories on Long Island. They, I doubt not, had their reasons; but to me it appears, that the period is arrived, when nothing less than the most decisive and vigorous measures should be pursued. Our enemies from the other side of the Atlantic, will be sufficiently numerous; it highly concerns us to have as few internal ones as possible.

'In consequence of the melancholy reverse of our affairs in Canada, an application was made to me for succor, and happy should I have been, if the situation of this army would have afforded it. All I could do was to lay the matter before this and the governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire. \* \* \*

'I shall be much obliged by your pressing Colonel McDougall to forward the shells mentioned in his letter of the 2d instant, as they are much wanted, and also to spare me some powder if he possibly can. \* \* \*

'The progress in raising recruits for the new army being very slow, I have applied to this Colony, Connecticut and New Hampshire, for ten regiments of militia, to continue in service till the 1st

of April next, which they have granted me. As soon as they come in, and I can get provided with proper means, I am determined to attempt something. \* \* \*

‘ Within a few days past several persons have come out of Boston. They all agree that General Clinton is gone upon some expedition. Some say he has between four and five hundred men, others, part of two regiments. \* \* His destination must be south of this, and very probably to New York. I thought it necessary to give you this information, that you may be on your guard.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 255.

SAME TO JOSEPH REED.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 23 January, 1776.

‘ DEAR SIR, — Real necessity compels me to ask you, whether I may entertain any hopes of your returning to my family. \*

\* \* Mr. Harrison \* is the only gentleman of my family, that can afford me the least assistance in writing. He and Mr. Moylen, whose time must now be solely employed in his department of Commissary, have heretofore afforded me aid. \* \*

‘ My distress and embarrassment are in a way of being considerably increased by an occurrence in Virginia, which will, I fear, compel Mr. Harrison to leave me, or suffer considerably by his stay.

\* \* If he should go, I shall really be distressed beyond measure, as I know no persons able to supply your places, in this part of the world, with whom I would choose to live in unbounded confidence.

‘ The business, as I hinted to you before, is considerably increased, by being more comprehensive, and at this time perplexed by the great changes which are happening every day; so that you would want a good writer and a methodical man, as an assistant, or copying clerk. \* \*

At present my time is so much taken up at my desk, that I am obliged to neglect many other essential parts of my duty. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to have persons that can think for me, as well as execute orders. As it may be essential that the pay of the under-secretary should be fixed, that you may, if you incline to return and should engage one, know what to promise him, I have written to Colonel Harrison and Mr. Lynch on the subject. I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 257.

SAME TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, January 24, 1776.

*‘I shall take the liberty of recommending the expediency, indeed the absolute necessity, of appointing fit and proper persons to*

\* The gentleman referred to, Mr. Robert Hanson Harrison, a lawyer of Alexandria, succeeded Colonel Reed, as Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief. He discharged faithfully and ably the duties of that station till 1781, when he relinquished that, to accept the office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court of Maryland.

*settle the accounts of this army.* To do it with precision requires time, care and attention. The longer it is left undone, the more intricate they will be, the more liable to error, and difficult to explain and rectify. \* \* \*

‘ Having met with no encouragement from the governments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, as to my application for arms, and expecting no better from Connecticut and Rhode Island, I have, as the last expedient, sent one or two officers from each regiment into the country, with money to try if they can buy. In what manner they may succeed, Congress shall be informed as soon as they return. \* \* \*

‘ Congress will think me a little remiss, I fear, when I inform them, that I have done nothing yet towards raising *the battalion of marines* ;\* but I hope to stand exculpated from blame, when they hear the reason, which was, that already having twenty-six incomplete regiments, I thought it would be adding to an expense, already great, in officers, to set two entire corps of officers on foot, when perhaps we should not add ten men a week by it to our present numbers. In this opinion the general officers have concurred, which induced me to suspend the matter a little longer. Our enlistments, for the last two weeks, have not amounted to a thousand men, and are diminishing.’

Lead. ed. vol. i. p. 78.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 258.

#### SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 27 January, 1776.

‘ I consider that the important period is now arrived, when the Canadians, and consequently their Indians, must take a side. Should any indecisive operations of ours, therefore, give the bias against us, it is much easier to foresee, than to rectify, the dreadful consequences, which must inevitably follow from it. I consider also that the reinforcement, under the command of Colonel Warner and such other spirited men as have left the western parts of the New England governments, is only temporary, and may fail when most wanted ; as we find it next to impossible to detain men, not fast bound, in service, after they get a little tired of the duties of it, and homesick.

‘ These, my dear Sir, are the great outlines which govern me in this affair. *If Congress mark them as strongly as I do, they will not wish to starve the cause at so critical a period.* If they think differently, they will direct accordingly, and I must stand corrected for the error my zeal has led me into. \* \* \*

‘ I congratulate you upon the success of your expedition into

\* In relation to the Marines, the reader may recollect the Resolves, letters, &c., pp. 126, 127, and 139.



Tryon county.\* I hope General Lee will execute a work of the same kind on Long Island. It is high time to begin with our internal foes, when we are threatened with such severity of chastisement from our kind parent without. That the Supreme Dispenser of every good may bestow health, strength, and spirit on you and your army, is the fervent wish of, dear Sir, your most affectionate and obedient servant.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 261.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMBRIDGE, 30 January, 1776.

'SIR, — Your favors of the 6th and 20th instant, I received yesterday with the several Resolves of Congress alluded to, for which I return you my thanks. Knowing the great importance Canada will be of to us, in the present interesting contest, and the relief our friends there stand in need of, I should be happy, were it in my power, to detach a battalion from this Camp; *but it cannot be done.*† On the 19th instant, I had the honor to write to you a letter, which will fully convey the resolutions of a council of war, and the sentiments of the general officers here, as to the propriety and expediency of sending troops from these lines, for the defence of which we have been and now are obliged to call in the militia; to which I beg leave to refer you. You may rest assured, that my endeavors and exertions shall not be wanting, to stimulate the governments of Connecticut and New Hampshire to raise and forward reinforcements as fast as possible; nor in any other instance that will promote the expedition.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I shall appoint officers in the places of those who are in Canada, as I am fully persuaded they will wish to continue there.

\* \* \* \* \*

'*I wish it was in my power to furnish Congress with such a General as they desire, to send to Canada.*‡ Since the unhappy reverse of our affairs in that quarter, General Schuyler has informed me, that, though he had thoughts of declining the service before, he would now act. My letter of the eleventh will inform them of General Lee's being at New York.§ He will be ready to obey their orders,

\* The expedition to Tryon county will be explained in the next Number.

† The Resolve alluded to.

'IN CONGRESS, January 19, 1776. *Resolved*, That General Washington be requested to detach from the Camp at Cambridge, one battalion, if the service there will permit him to spare one, with orders to march with the greatest expedition possible to Canada.'

‡ The Resolve here alluded to.

'January 20. *Resolved*, That General Washington be desired to despatch a general officer, if he can be spared from the service at Cambridge, to command the army in Canada.'

§ *An extract from that letter of Jan. 11th.* — 'SIR, — Every account I have out of Boston confirms the embarkation of troops mentioned in my last, which, from the season

*should they incline to send him ; but, if I am not greatly deceived, he or some other spirited, able officer will be wanted there [at New York] in the spring, if not sooner ; as we have undoubted intelligence that General Clinton has sailed with some troops.* \* \*

*' General Putnam is a most valuable man, and a fine executive officer ; but I do not know how he would conduct in a separate department. He is a younger Major-General than General Schuyler, who, as I have observed, having determined to continue in the service, will, I expect, repair into Canada. A copy of my letter to him on this and on other subjects, I enclose to you, as it will explain my motives for not stopping the regiments from these governments.*

*' When Captain Cochran arrives, I will give him every assistance in my power, in obedience to the orders of Congress ; but I fear it will be the means of laying up our own vessels, as these people will not bear the distinction. Should this be the consequence, it will be highly prejudicial to us, as we sometimes pick up their provision vessels, and may continue to distress them in this way.'*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 81.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 267.

The following extracts from the Journal somewhat explain Captain Cochran's mission, and the grounds of the General's fear.

IN CONGRESS. *' January 16, 1776. The delegates of South Carolina having informed the Congress, that their Colony, being in want of seamen, had given orders to offer high wages to such as would engage in their service, desired the advice and opinion of Congress on this matter :*

*' Resolved, That it be referred to a committee of five.*

*' January 17, The committee to whom the matter of South Carolina, respecting the engaging of seamen, was referred, brought in their Report, which was read.*

*' January 19. The Congress took into consideration the Report of the committee on the matter of South Carolina, respecting seamen, whereupon,*

*' Resolved, That it be recommended to Captain Cochran, who is arrived here for the purpose of recruiting seamen, to pursue the following plan in the enlisting service, in which he is employed by the Colony of South Carolina.*

*' That he offer to each able-bodied seaman, the wages of eight dollars per month, and that he pay to them, nine dollars BOUNTY, and upon their arrival in South Carolina, the FURTHER BOUNTY of five dollars.*

*' That Captain Cochran repair immediately to the Camp at Cam-*

*of the year and other circumstances, must be destined for some expedition to the southward of this. I have therefore thought it prudent to send Major-General Lee to New York. I have given him letters recommendatory to Governor Trumbull, and to the Committee of Safety at New York.'*

bridge, and take the advice and direction of General Washington on this affair, and proceed to enlist his seamen in such parts of the country, as will be the least prejudicial to the Continental service.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL LEE.

'CAMBRIDGE, 30 January, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you the 23d instant, and then informed you, that General Clinton had gone upon some expedition with four or five hundred men. There is good reason to believe, that Tryon has applied for some troops, and that he would join them with a great number of inhabitants; so that you will see the necessity of your being decisive and expeditious in your operations in that quarter. The Tories should be disarmed immediately.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Since writing the above, your favor of the 24th has come to hand, with the sundry enclosures, which I have with attention perused, and very much approve of your conduct. *I sincerely wish that the letter you expect to receive from Congress may empower you to act conformably to your own and my sentiments on this occasion. If they should order differently, we must submit, as they doubtless will have good reasons for what they may determine.*

'The Congress desire I should send an active General to Canada. I fancy, when they made the demand, that they did not think General Schuyler would continue in that station, which he has given me to understand, in some late letters from him, that he would. Should they not approve of the New York expedition, and think another General necessary for the Northern department, it is probable they will fix on you to take the command there.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 273.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, 31 January, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — In my last, by Mr. John Adams, I communicated my distresses to you on account of my want of your assistance.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I have now to thank you for your favors, and for the several articles of intelligence which they convey. The account given of your navy, at the same time that it is exceedingly unfavorable to our wishes, is *a little provoking to me, inasmuch as it has deprived us of necessary articles*, which otherwise would have been sent hither; but which a kind of fatality, I fear, will forever deprive us of. In the instance of New York, we are not to receive a particle of what you expected would be sent from thence.

\* \* \* \* \*

'In my last I think I informed you of my sending General Lee to New York, with the intention of securing the Tories on Long

Island, and preventing, if possible, the King's troops from making a lodgment there; but *I fear the Congress will* be duped by the representations from that government, or yield to them in such a manner as to *become marplots to the expedition*. The city seems to be entirely under the government of Tryon and the captain of the man-of-war.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 275.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMBRIDGE, 9 February, 1776.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I beg leave to recall the attention of Congress to *their appointing a Commissary* in these parts, to attend to the providing of necessities *for the prisoners*, who are dispersed in these Provinces. Complaints are made by some of them, that they are in want of bedding and many other things. \* \* \*

'It would save me much time and much trouble. \* \*

'The demands of the army were so very pressing before your last remittance came to hand, that I was under the necessity of borrowing twenty-five thousand pounds lawful money from this Province. They very cheerfully lent it, and passed a vote for as much more, if required. \* \* \*

'Your esteemed favor of the 29th ultimo is just come to hand.

'It makes me very happy to find my conduct has met the approbation of Congress.\* I am entirely of your opinion, that, should an accommodation take place, the terms will be severe or favorable in proportion to our ability to resist, and that we ought to be on a respectable footing to receive their armaments in the spring. But how far we shall be provided with the means, is a matter I profess not to know, under my present unhappy want of arms, ammunition, and, I may add, men, as our regiments are very incomplete. The recruiting goes on very slowly, and will, I apprehend, still decline, *if for other service the men receive a BOUNTY, and none is given here.* \* \* \*

'I was in great hopes *that the Expresses* resolved to be established between this place and Philadelphia, *would ere now have been fixed.* It would, in my opinion, rather save than increase expense, as many horses are destroyed by one man coming the whole way. It will certainly be more expeditious, and safer.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 90.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 282.

The Resolves communicated by the 'esteemed favor of the 29th ultimo,' were the following.

'January 29, 1776. *Resolved*, That the application made by General Washington to the governments of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, in such an exigency, to raise a regiment in each of those Colonies for the service of Canada,\*

\* See letter, Jan. 19, p. 158.

were prudent, consistent with his duty, and a farther manifestation of his commendable zeal for the good of his country; that the ready attention of the said governments to those applications, and the alacrity with which they undertook, and the expedition with which they proceeded in the business, are additional proofs of their meritorious attachment to the *common cause*.

‘That the three regiments to be raised in New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, and Connecticut, for the service in Canada, be exclusive of the thirteen intended to reinforce the army at Cambridge.’

‘*If for other service the men receive a bounty, and none is given here.*’ This allusion in the General’s preceding letter will appear plain, after perusing the Resolves below, in addition to the others of the 19th, p. 163.

‘*January 19, 1776. Resolved,* That for the more speedy raising the battalions, ordered on the 8th of January, to be raised in the Colonies of New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York and Pennsylvania, for the defence of Canada, it be recommended to the General Assemblies, Conventions, or Councils, or Committees of Safety of those Colonies respectively, to exert their utmost endeavors in raising the said battalions, upon the same pay and subsistence as the army at Cambridge, and to furnish them with provisions, ammunition, and other necessaries for expediting their march to Canada. And for farther encouraging the men more cheerfully to enter the service of their country, *to give a bounty of six dollars and two thirds*, to every able-bodied effective man properly clothed for the service, and having a good firelock with a bayonet, and other accoutrements; and four dollars to every soldier not having the like arms and accoutrements; the arms to be supplied by the Colony, and the cost to be deducted out of the soldier’s pay; and also to provide a blanket and haversack for every enlisted soldier, *and, moreover, to advance one month’s pay* to every officer and soldier before their march, that they may be able to purchase necessary clothing.’

‘*January 20. Resolved,* That exclusive of Colonel Livingston and his regiment, already determined on, there be one thousand Canadians more raised, for one year, or during the present disputes, *at six dollars and two thirds bounty and the usual pay.*’

‘*January 30. Resolved,* That Captain Nelson’s company of riflemen, now raised, be enlisted for the service of Canada, on the same terms as the other troops ordered for that service, and that they march to Canada, and join a regiment there as soon as possible; that they be allowed one quarter of a dollar per day, for their subsistence on their march to Albany.

‘That *six dollars and two thirds of a dollar bounty*, be paid to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, who is furnished with sufficient arms, accoutrements and clothing for the service, upon

their entering into the service of the Colonies, and one month's pay to the commissioned officers.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMBRIDGE, 9 February, 1776.

'SIR,— The purport of this letter will be directed to a single object. Through you I mean to lay it before Congress, and at the same time that I beg their serious attention to the subject, to ask pardon for intruding an opinion, not only unasked, but, in some measure, repugnant to their Resolves.\*

'The disadvantages attending the limited enlistment of troops are too apparent to those, who are eye-witnesses of them, to render any animadversions necessary; but to gentlemen at a distance, whose attention is engrossed by a thousand important objects, the case may be otherwise. That this cause precipitated the fate of the brave and much to be lamented General Montgomery, and brought on the defeat, which followed thereupon, I have not the most distant doubt; for, had he not been apprehensive of the troops leaving him at so important a crisis, but continued the blockade of Quebec, a capitulation, from the best accounts I have been able to collect, must inevitably have followed. And that we were not at one time obliged to dispute these lines, under disadvantageous circumstances, proceeding from the same cause, to wit, the troops disbanding of themselves before the militia could be got in, is to me a matter of wonder and astonishment, and proves that General Howe was either unacquainted with our situation, or restrained by his instructions from putting any thing to hazard, till his reinforcements should arrive.

'The instance of General Montgomery (I mention it, because it is a striking one, for a number of others might be adduced) proves, that, instead of having men to take advantage of circumstances, you are in a manner compelled, right or wrong, to make circumstances yield to a secondary consideration.

'Since the 1st of December, I have been devising every means in my power to secure these encampments; and though I am sensible that we never have, since that period, been able to act upon the offensive, and at times not in a condition to defend, yet the cost of marching home one set of men, bringing in another, the havoc and waste occasioned by the first, the repairs necessary for the second, with a thousand incidental charges and inconveniences, which have arisen, and which it is scarce possible either to recollect or describe, amount to near as much, as the keeping up a respectable body of troops the whole time, ready for any emergency, would have done. To this may be added, that you never can have a well disciplined army.

\*See that of Nov. 30; one of the Resolves alluded to, p. 169.



‘ To bring men to be well acquainted with the duties of a soldier, requires time. To bring them under proper discipline and subordination, not only requires time, but is a work of great difficulty, and, in this army, where there is so little distinction between the officers and soldiers, requires an uncommon degree of attention. To expect, then, the same service from raw and undisciplined recruits, as from veteran soldiers, is to expect what never did, and perhaps, never will happen. Men, who are familiarized to danger, meet it without shrinking; whereas troops unused to service often apprehend danger where no danger is. Three things prompt men to a regular discharge of their duty in time of action; natural bravery, hope of reward, and fear of punishment. The two first are common to the untutored and the disciplined soldier; but the last most obviously distinguishes the one from the other. A coward, when taught to believe, that, if he breaks his ranks and abandons his colors, he will be punished with death by his own party, will take his chance against the enemy; but a man, who thinks little of the one, and is fearful of the other, acts from present feelings, regardless of consequences.

‘ Again, men of a day’s standing will not look forward; and from experience we find, that, as the time approaches for their discharge, they grow careless of their arms, ammunition, and camp utensils. Nay, even the barracks themselves have felt uncommon marks of wanton depredation, and lay us under fresh and additional expense in providing for every fresh set, when we find it next to impossible to procure such articles, as are absolutely necessary in the first instance. To this may be added the seasoning, which new recruits must have to a camp, and the loss consequent thereupon. But this is not all. Men engaged for a short and limited time only, have the officers too much in their power; for, to obtain a degree of popularity in order to induce a second enlistment, a kind of familiarity takes place, which brings on a relaxation of discipline, unlicensed furloughs, and other indulgences incompatible with order and good government; by which means the latter part of the time, for which the soldier was engaged, is spent in undoing what you were aiming to inculcate in the first.

‘ To go into an enumeration of all the evils we have experienced in this late great change of the army, and the expenses incidental to it, to say nothing of the hazard we have run, and must run, between the discharging of one army and the enlistment of another, unless an enormous expense of militia is incurred, would greatly exceed the bounds of a letter. *What I have already taken the liberty of saying will serve to convey a general idea of the matter; and therefore I shall, with all due deference, take the freedom to give it as my opinion, that, if the Congress have any reason to believe, that there will be occasion for troops another year, and consequently for another enlistment, they would save money, and have infinitely better*

*troops, if they were, even at a BOUNTY of twenty, thirty, or more dollars, to engage the men already enlisted till January next, and such others as may be wanted to complete the establishment, for and during the war. I will not undertake to say, that the men can be had upon these terms; but I am satisfied, that it will never do to let the matter alone, as it was last year, till the time of service was near expiring. The hazard is too great in the first place, in the next, the trouble and perplexity of disbanding one army and raising another at the same instant, and in such a critical situation as the last was, are scarcely in the power of words to describe, and such as no man who has experienced them once, will ever undergo again.\**

*'If Congress should differ from me in sentiment upon this point, I have only to beg that they will do me the justice to believe, that I have nothing more in view, than what to me appears necessary to advance the public weal, although in the first instance it will be attended with a capital expense; and that I have the honor to be, &c.'*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 86.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 278.

*'Perceiving the difficulty of recruiting the army, the General earnestly recommended to Congress, November 30, 1775, to try the effect of a bounty.'*

Wash. Life.

Marshall, in 2 vols., i. p. 37.

*IN CONGRESS, 'November 30, 1775. Resolved, That no bounty be allowed to the army on reënlistment.'*

**BOUNTY.**—The General's letters, especially the last, together with this extract from Judge Marshall, and General Greene's letters, June 4, Dec. 20, 31, pp. 84, 145, 147, 148, disclose most clearly the views of Generals Washington and Greene upon this then important subject, and indicate strongly, as perfectly accordant with theirs, the views of the officers generally.

Through these and the many other communications naturally induced by the crisis, Congress must have been again and again informed of both the existence and character of those views.

The exigences of that crisis, in connection with the deep earnestness apparent in every line of this last letter, in parts of the one next preceding it, and of numerous others, render important all such obtainable records, as may serve to show the manner in which the above two letters of Feb. 9, were received and acted on in Congress. Those records are the following.

*'IN CONGRESS, February 22, 1776. Two letters from General Washington, both of the 9th of this month, being received and read,*

*'Resolved, That the said letters be referred to a committee of the whole Congress.*

*'Accordingly, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the letters just received from General Washington, and after some time the President resumed*

\* It will be seen, whether or not he was again subjected to a like trial.

the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the committee had taken into consideration the letters referred to them, but not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

‘*Resolved*, That this Congress will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the letters from General Washington.’

‘*February 23. Resolved*, That this Congress will, on Monday next, [26th] resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the letters from General Washington, &c.’

‘*February 29.* According to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the *letter* from General Washington of the 9th instant, and the trade of the Colonies after the 1st of March; and, after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the committee, not having come to a conclusion, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

‘*Resolved*, That this Congress will, to-morrow, resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into farther consideration the *letter* from General Washington, and the trade of the Colonies.’

‘*March 13.* The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the Memorial from the merchants, traders, and others, inhabitants of Philadelphia, the Memorial of Edmund Custis, the letters from the Committees of Accomac and Northampton, the *letters* from General Washington, and the state of the trade of the Colonies, and after some time the President resumed the chair, and Mr. Ward reported, that the committee have had under consideration the matters referred to them, but not having come to any Resolution, desired him to move for leave to sit again.

‘*Resolved*, That this Congress will to-morrow resolve itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the matters heretofore referred to them.’

Although it is quite doubtful whether the General's letters so under consideration March 13, were the two of Feb. 9, these Proceedings on that day are inserted, because it is intended to omit no record, which related possibly to any of the important objects named in either of these two letters. It seems pertinent to observe here, that the Journals do not afford a trace of any attempt whatever toward the expressly declared, graphically explained, ‘*single object*’ of the last one, to ‘*engage men for and during the war*,’ till after the battle on Long Island; that is, till September, 1776.

To understand the nature and extent of the difference relating to bounty, it is necessary to examine in reference to that subject, on the one hand, the short extract and the letters of the two Generals above referred to; and on the other, the above Resolve of Nov. 30, General Washington's letter to Governor Cooke, Dec. 5, p. 137, the Resolves of Jan. 19, 20, 30, pp. 163, 166, with the above Proceedings of Congress.

COMMISSARY OF PRISONERS.—In regard to such an appointment, it is recommended to examine likewise, in connection with the former of these two letters, Feb. 9, the General's letter, Nov. 8, and the Resolves with the remarks below it, pp. 121, 122.

EXPRESSES.—The same letter of Feb. 9, together with that to Colonel Reed, Jan. 14, p. 154, sufficiently manifest the General's views and desires concerning Expresses.

The extracts below, jointly with those showing the appointment of a committee, Dec. 2, p. 143, constitute the evidence of what was done by Congress, as far as regards the solicitations to that time, for their establishment.

'IN CONGRESS, *December 8, 1775.* The committee on establishing Expresses brought in their Report, which was read.'

'*February 1, 1776.* The Congress took into consideration the Report of the Committee on establishing Posts and Expresses, and after debate,

'*Resolved,* That the farther consideration thereof be postponed; and that, in the mean while, Dr. Franklin be directed to write to the Postmasters, and inquire *on what terms* Expresses can be procured.'

Thus ended the matter, in that direction. It will be seen, however, that Congress took up the subject anew. They established them between Philadelphia and the Camp, on being apprised by a letter from the General, dated June 29, that on that day had arrived at the Hook below New York, 'forty-five, some say more,' British ships-of-war, in addition to the number previously there; and, after the battle above mentioned, Congress established them somewhat extensively, in another direction.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, February 10, 1776.

'DEAR SIR,— If you conceive, that I took any thing wrong, or amiss, that was conveyed in any of your former letters, you are really mistaken.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I know the integrity of my own heart, but to declare it, unless to a friend, may be an argument of vanity; I know the unhappy predicament I stand in; I know that much is expected of me; I know, that without men, without arms, without ammunition, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done; and, what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause, by declaring my wants, which I am determined not to do, further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them.

'If under these disadvantages, I am able to keep above water, in the esteem of mankind, I shall feel myself happy; but if, from the unknown peculiarity of my circumstances, I suffer in the opinion of the world, I shall not think you take the freedom of a friend, if you conceal the reflections that may be cast upon my conduct. *My own situation is so irksome to me at times, that if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put every thing on the cast of a die.* So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men well armed, I have been here with less than one half of that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor

clothed as they should be.\* *In short, my situation has been such, that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers.*

\* \* \* \* \*

*'But why will not Congress forward part of the powder made in your Province? They seem to look upon this as the season for action, but will not furnish the means. I will not blame them. I dare say the demands upon them are greater than they can supply. The cause must be starved till our resources are greater, or more certain within ourselves.'*

*'With respect to myself, I have never entertained an idea of an accommodation, since I heard of the measures, which were adopted in consequence of the Bunker's Hill fight. The King's speech has confirmed the sentiments I entertained upon the news of that affair; and, if every man was of my mind, the Ministers of Great Britain should know, in a few words, upon what issue the cause should be put. I would not be deceived by artful declarations, nor specious pretences; nor would I be amused by unmeaning propositions; but in open, undisguised, and manly terms proclaim our wrongs, and our resolution to be redressed. I would tell them, that we had borne much, that we had long and ardently sought for reconciliation upon honorable terms, that it had been denied us, that all our attempts after peace had proved abortive, and had been grossly misrepresented, that we had done every thing which could be expected from the best of subjects, that the spirit of freedom rises too high in us to submit to slavery, and that, if nothing else would satisfy a tyrant and his diabolical ministry, we are determined to shake off all connexions with a State so unjust and unnatural.'*

*'This I would tell them, not under covert, but in words as clear as the sun in its meridian brightness.'*

*'I observe what you say, in respect to the ardor of the CHIMNEY-CORNER HEROES. I am glad their zeal is in some measure abated, because if circumstances will not permit us to make an attempt upon Boston, or if it should be made and fail, we shall not appear altogether so culpable.'*

*'I entertain the same opinion of the attempt now, which I have ever done.'*

\* \* \* \* \*

*'The Congress have ordered all captures to be tried in the Courts of Admiralty of the different governments† to which they are sent. Some irreconcilable difference arising between the Resolves of Congress and the law of this Colony, respecting the proceedings,*

\* By the Resolve, Nov. 4, p. 120, his army was to consist of 20,372.

† Respecting a COURT OF ADMIRALTY, see letter Dec. 14, with the remarks and the Resolutions succeeding that letter, pp. 138, 139, 140, 141.

or something which always happens to procrastinate business here, has put a total stop to the trials, to the no small injury of the public as well as the great grievance of individuals. Whenever a condemnation shall take place, I shall not be unmindful of your advice respecting the hulls. Would to heaven the plan you speak of for obtaining arms may succeed. The acquisition would be great, and give fresh life and vigor to our measures. *Our expectations are kept alive, and if we can keep ourselves so, and our spirits up another summer, I have no fears of wanting the needful after that.\**

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 284.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMBRIDGE, Feb. 18, 1776.

‘SIR,—The late freezing weather having formed some pretty strong ice from Dorchester Point to Boston Neck, and from Roxbury to the Common, thereby affording a more expanded and consequently a less dangerous approach to the town, I could not help thinking, notwithstanding the militia were not all come in, and we had little or no powder to begin our operation by a regular cannonade or bombardment, that a bold and resolute assault upon the troops in Boston with such men as we had, (for it could not take many men to guard our own lines at a time when the enemy were attacked in all quarters,) might be crowned with success; and therefore, seeing no certain prospect of a supply of powder on the one hand, and a certain dissolution of the ice on the other, I called the general officers together, for their opinion, agreeably to the Resolve of Congress of the 22d of December. †

‘The result will appear in the inclosed council of war; and, being almost unanimous, I must suppose it to be right; although, from a thorough conviction of the necessity of attempting something against the ministerial troops before a reinforcement should arrive, and while we were favored with the ice, I was not only ready, but willing, and desirous of making the assault, under a firm hope (if the men would have stood by me) of a favorable issue, notwithstanding the enemy’s advantage of ground and artillery.

‘Perhaps the irksomeness of my situation may have given different ideas to me, than those which influenced the gentlemen I consulted, and might have inclined me to put more to the hazard, than was consistent with prudence; if it did, I am not sensible of it, as I endeavored to give it all the consideration that a matter of such importance required. True it is, and I cannot help acknowledging, that I have many disagreeable sensations on account of my situation; for, to have the eyes of the whole Continent fixed with

\* It will appear in future Numbers, that in that instance at least, the General’s unbounded and unfailing charity misled his judgment greatly.

† See that Resolve, p. 143.



anxious expectation of hearing of some great event, and to be restrained in every military operation, for want of the necessary means of carrying it on, is not very pleasing, especially as the means, used to conceal my weakness from the enemy, conceal it also from our friends, and add to their wonder.

‘I do not utter this by way of complaint. \* \* \*

But as we have accounts of the arrival of powder \* \* \* I would beg to have it sent on in the most expeditious manner; otherwise we not only lose all chance of the benefit resulting from the season, but of the militia, who are brought in at a most enormous expense, upon a presumption that we should, long ere this, have been amply supplied with powder, under the contracts entered into with the Committee of Congress.

‘The militia, contrary to an express requisition, are come and coming in without ammunition. To supply them alone with twenty-four rounds, (which is less by three fifths than the regulars are served with,) will take between fifty and sixty barrels of powder; and to complete the other troops to the like quantity, will take near as much more, and leave in store not more than about sixty barrels, besides a few rounds of cannon cartridges ready filled for use. *This, Sir, Congress may be assured, is a true state of our powder, and will, I hope, bear some testimony of my incapacity for action in such a way as may do any essential service.*

‘*February 21.* — When I began this letter I proposed to have sent it by express. But recollecting that all my late letters have been as expressive of my wants of powder and arms as I could paint them, and that Mr. Hooper was to set off in a day or two, I thought it unnecessary to run the Continent to the expense of an express, merely to repeat what I had so often done before, when I am certain that Congress, knowing our necessities, will delay no time that can possibly be avoided in supplying them.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

‘P. S. Hearing of the arrival of a *small parcel of powder in Connecticut, I have been able to obtain three thousand weight of it, which is in addition to the sixty barrels before mentioned.*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 95.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘CAMBRIDGE, 26 February, 1776.

‘SIR, — I had the honor of addressing you on the 18th and 21st instant, by Mr. Hooper; since which, nothing material has occurred.

‘*We are making every necessary preparation for taking possession of Dorchester Heights, as soon as possible, with a view of drawing the enemy out.* How far our expectations may be answered,

time only can determine ; but, *I should think, if any thing will induce them to hazard an engagement, it will be our attempting to fortify these heights ; as on that event's taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the town and almost the whole harbor,*  
*\* \* \* provided we can get a sufficient supply of what we greatly want.*

*\* \* \* Since I wrote by Mr. Hooper, some small parcels of powder have arrived from Connecticut, which will give us a little assistance.\**

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 97.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to GENERAL LEE.

*\* \* \* CAMBRIDGE, 26 February, 1776.*

*\* \* \* DEAR SIR, — I received your esteemed favor of the 14th instant, which gave me great pleasure, being impatient to hear from you.*

*\* \* \* The account you give of our New York brethren is very satisfactory. I should be glad to know how many men you are likely to have, that you can depend upon remaining with you. I very much fear, that the sailing of Clinton will keep back those, whom you expected from Pennsylvania. Let me hear from you upon this and every thing else that concerns you, as soon and as often as you possibly can. With respect to the Canada expedition, I assure you, that it was not my intention to propose your going there. I only meant what I thought would happen, that the Congress would make you that proposal. I am now of opinion, that you will have work enough upon your hands where you are ; and make no doubt but your presence will be as necessary there, as it would be in Canada.\**

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 292.

[COLONEL \*] JOSEPH REED to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

*\* PHILADELPHIA, 3 March, 1776.*

*\* Notwithstanding the Act of Parliament for seizing our property, and a thousand other proofs of a bitter and irreconcilable spirit, there is a strange reluctance in the minds of many to cut the knot, which ties us to Great Britain, particularly in this Colony and to the Southward. Though no man of understanding expects any good from the Commissioners, yet they are for waiting to hear their proposals, before they declare off. However, yesterday I was informed, that letters had been sent to France, to know what encouragement we might expect from that quarter. Our coast is yet clear ; it is a golden opportunity to make provision for the war, which I hope will not be lost.\**

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 347. *Note.*

*\* Colonel Reed's title, hitherto omitted, is here prefixed, though the rank of Aid-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief remained undecided, till the succeeding June.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO [COLONEL] JOSEPH REED.

'CAMBRIDGE, 3 March, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — Your favors of the 28th January, and 1st and 8th of February, are come to hand. For the agreeable accounts, contained in one of them, of your progress in the manufacture of powder, and prospect of getting arms, I am obliged to you, as there is some consolation in knowing, that these useful articles will supply the wants of some part of the Continental troops, *although I feel too sensibly the mortification of having them withheld from me; Congress not even thinking it necessary to take the least notice of my application for these things.*

'I hope in a few nights to be in readiness to take post on Dorchester Point, as we are using every means in our power to provide materials for this purpose; the ground being so hard frozen yet, that we cannot intrench, and therefore are obliged to depend entirely upon chandeliers, fascines, and screwed hay for our redoubts. It is expected that this work will bring on an action between the King's troops and ours.

'General Lee's expedition to New York was founded upon indubitable evidence of General Clinton's being on the point of sailing. No place was so likely for his destination as New York, and no place where a more capital blow could be given to the interests of America. Common prudence, therefore, dictated the necessity of preventing an evil, which might have proved irremediable, had it happened.

\* \* \* \* \*

*'If I have done wrong, those members of Congress, who think the matter ought to have been left to them, must consider my proceedings as an error of judgment, and that a measure is not always to be judged by the event.*

'It is moreover, worthy of consideration, that in cases of extreme necessity like the present, nothing but decision can ensure success; and certain I am, that Clinton had something more in view by peeping into New York, than to gratify his curiosity, or make a friendly visit to his friend Tryon. However, I am not fond of stretching my powers; and *if the Congress will say, "Thus far and no farther you shall go," I will promise not to offend whilst I continue in their service.*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 299.

'IN CONGRESS, January 28. A letter from General Lee, dated the 22d of January, enclosing a letter from the Committee of Safety of New York, was received and read.

'Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to repair to New York, to consult and advise with the Council of Safety of that Colony, and with General Lee, respecting the immediate de-

fence of the city of New York; and *that General Lee be directed to follow the determination of the said Committee thereupon.*'

In connection with this Resolve and General Washington's letter immediately above it, read his letters to General Lee, Jan. 30, and Feb. 26, pp. 164, 175.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'CAMBRIDGE, 7 March, 1776.

'SIR,— On the 26th ultimo I had the honor of addressing you, and then mentioned that we were making preparation for taking possession of Dorchester Heights. I now beg leave to inform you, that a council of general officers having determined a previous bombardment and cannonade expedient and proper, in order to harass the enemy and divert their attention from that quarter, on Saturday, Sunday, and Monday nights last, [2d, 3d, and 4th] we carried them on from our Posts at Cobble Hill, Lechmore's Point, and Lamb's Dam.\* Whether they did the enemy any considerable and what injury, I have not yet heard, but I have the pleasure to acquaint you that they greatly facilitated our scheme, and would have been attended with success equal to our most sanguine expectations, had it not been for the unlucky bursting of two thirteen, and three ten-inch mortars, among which was the brass one taken in the ordnance brig. To what cause to attribute this misfortune, I know not; whether to any defect in them, or to the inexperience of the bombardiers. But to return, on Monday evening, as soon as our firing commenced, a considerable detachment of our men, under the command of *Brigadier-General Thomas*, crossed the Neck, and took possession of the two hills, without the least interruption or annoyance from the enemy; and by their great activity and industry, before the morning, advanced the works so far as to be secure against their shot. They are now going on with such expedition, that in a little time I hope they will be complete and enable our troops stationed there to make a vigorous and obstinate stand. During the whole cannonade, which was incessant the last two nights, we were fortunate enough to lose but two men; one, a lieutenant, by a cannon ball's taking off his thigh; the other, a private, by the explosion of a shell, which also slightly wounded four or five more.

'Our taking possession of Dorchester Heights is only preparatory to taking post on Nuke [Nook's] Hill, and the points opposite the south end of Boston. It was absolutely necessary that they should be previously fortified, in order to cover and command them. As soon as the works on the former are finished and complete, measures will be immediately adopted for securing the latter, and making them as strong and defensible as we can. Their

\* A Post in Roxbury.

contiguity to the enemy will make them of much importance, and of great service to us.

‘ As mortars are essential and indispensably necessary for carrying on our operations, and for the prosecution of our plans, I have applied to two furnaces to have some thirteen-inch ones cast with all expedition imaginable, and am encouraged to hope, from the accounts I have had, that they will be able to do it. When they are done, and a proper supply of powder obtained, I flatter myself, from the Posts we have just taken and are about to take, that it will be in our power to force the Ministerial troops to an attack, or to dispose of them in some way, that will be of advantage to us. *I think from these Posts they will be so galled and annoyed, that they must either give us battle or quit their present possessions. I am resolved that nothing on my part shall be wanting, to effect the one or the other.*

‘ It having been the general opinion, that the enemy would attempt to dislodge our people from the Hills, and force their works as soon as they were discovered, which probably might have brought on a general engagement, it was thought advisable that the Honorable Council\* should be applied to, to order in the militia from the neighboring and adjacent towns. I wrote to them on the subject, which they most readily complied with; and, in justice to the militia, I cannot but inform you that they came in at the appointed time, and manifested the greatest alertness and determined resolution \* \* \* \* \* in the cause of freedom.

‘ When the enemy first discovered our works in the morning, they seemed to be in great confusion; and, from their movements, to have intended an attack. It is much to be wished that it had been made; the event, I think, must have been fortunate, and nothing less than success and victory on our side, as our officers and men appeared impatient for the appeal, and to have possessed the most animated sentiments and determined resolution. \* \*

‘ In case the Ministerial troops had made an attempt to dislodge our men from Dorchester Hills, and the number detached upon the occasion had been so great as to have afforded a probability of a successful attack’s being made upon Boston, on a signal given from Roxbury for the purpose, agreeable to a settled and concerted plan, four thousand chosen men, who were held in readiness, were to have embarked at the mouth of Cambridge River, in two divisions; the first under the command of Brigadier-General Sullivan, the second under Brigadier-General Greene; the whole to have been commanded by Major-General Putnam. The first division was to land at the Powder-House, and gain possession of Beacon-Hill and Mount Horam; the second, at Barton’s Point or a little south

\* Of Massachusetts. .

of it, and after securing that Post, to join the other division, and force the enemy's gates and works at the Neck, for letting in the Roxbury troops. Three floating batteries were to have preceded, and gone in front of the other boats, and kept up a heavy fire on that part of the town where our men were to land.

'The plan was thought to be well digested; and, as far as I could judge from the cheerfulness and alacrity which distinguished the officers and men who were to engage in the enterprise, I had reason to hope for a favorable and happy issue.

'I beg leave to remind Congress that *three Major-Generals are essential and necessary for this army*; and that, by General Lee's being called from hence to the command in Canada, the left division is without one. I hope they will fill up the vacancy by the appointment of another. General Thomas is the first Brigadier, stands fair in point of reputation, and is esteemed a brave and good officer. If he is promoted, there will be a vacancy in the Brigadier-Generals, which it will be necessary to supply by the appointment of some other gentleman that shall be agreeable to Congress; but justice requires me to mention that *William Thompson, Esquire*, of the rifle regiment, is the first Colonel in this department, and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, is a good officer and a man of courage. What I have said of these two gentlemen, I conceived to be my duty, at the same time acknowledging, whatever promotions are made will be satisfactory to me.'

'*March 9.* — Yesterday evening a Captain Irvine, who escaped from Boston the night before with six of his crew, came to Headquarters, and gave the following intelligence; — "That our bombardment and cannonade caused a great deal of surprise and alarm in town, as many of the soldiery said they never heard or thought we had mortars or shells; that several of the officers acknowledged they were well and properly directed; that they made much distress and confusion; that the cannon-shot, for the greatest part, went through the houses; and he was told that one took off the legs and arms of six men lying in the barracks on the Neck; that, early on Tuesday morning, Admiral Shulldham, discovering the works our people were throwing up on Dorchester Heights, immediately sent an express to General Howe, to inform him that it was necessary they should be attacked and dislodged from thence, or he would be under the necessity of withdrawing the ships from the harbor, which were under his command; \* \* \* \* \* that he heard several of the privates, and one or two serjeants, say — that it would be another Bunker's Hill affair."

'He further informs — "that the army is preparing to leave Boston."'

\* \* \* \* \*

'There are other circumstances corroborating; and it seems fully confirmed by a paper signed by four of the Selectmen of the town,



(a copy of which I have the honor to inclose you,) which was brought out yesterday evening by a flag, and delivered to Colonel Learned, by Major Basset, who desired it might be delivered to me as soon as possible.

'To-night I shall have a battery thrown up on Nuke [Nook's] Hill, *Dorchester Point*, with the design of acting as circumstances may require; it being judged advisable to prosecute our plans of fortification, as we intended before this information from the Selectmen came.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I shall hold the riflemen and other parts of our troops in readiness to march at a moment's warning, and govern my movements by the events that happen, or such orders as I may receive from Congress, which I beg may be ample, and forwarded with all possible expedition.

\* \* \* \* \*

'I beg leave to mention to Congress, that money is much wanted. \* \* \* The necessity of making the earliest remittance is too obvious for me to add more.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 99.

Wash. Writ.

By his letter, Feb. 26, p. 174, General Washington had made known to Congress, that he was then strenuously preparing for the momentous enterprise against the British armaments in possession of Boston;—an enterprise, which might decide finally the issue of their opposition, and the fate of their country. As has been seen, he had forcibly represented to them, many times and often, his complicated embarrassments from various and multiplied wants. Among those wants, one of no small consequence was that of men. In his letter to General Schuyler, Jan. 18, p. 158, after expressing his condolence for the loss of General Montgomery, and his strong desire of contributing from his immediate command, to relieve the remnant army then in Canada, he said,—'But it is not in my power;' and again,—'*In short, I have not a man to spare.*'

And to Congress, Jan. 30, p. 162, referring to their Resolve that he should detach a battalion to Canada, he wrote, 'but it cannot be done,' and further, in the same letter alluding to their Resolve respecting a General—'I wish it was in my power to furnish Congress with such a General as they desire, to send to Canada.' By the preceding letter of March 7th and 9th, appear obvious the plan of that enterprise, the progress made, the part assigned to General Thomas, and the position which he at that time occupied, in its execution. By the same letter appear also, the want of a Major-General, caused by the well known absence of General Lee, and the importance of Colonel Thompson, in his command of the rifle regiment.

By the following extracts from their Journal, appear no less clearly, some of the proceedings of Congress at that juncture. On the 1st of March and prior to the first Resolve, they promoted Mr. Thompson from the rank of Colonel to that of Brigadier-General.

'IN CONGRESS, *March 1, 1776. Resolved, That Brigadier-General Thompson be directed to repair to New York.*

'*March 6.* A letter from General Washington, of the 26th of February, was read.

'*Resolved,* That it be referred to the committee to whom his other letters are referred.

'A letter from General Washington, dated 18th and 21st of February last, enclosing the proceedings of a Council of War, was read.

*'Resolved, That Brigadier-General Thomas be appointed to command the forces in Canada, and that General Washington be directed to order him immediately to repair to that Province.'*

*'Resolved, That Brigadier-General Thomas be promoted to the rank of a Major-General, and that a commission be sent to him accordingly.'*

*'Ordered, That the President acquaint General Washington by express of this arrangement.'*

*'Resolved, That the President inform General Schuyler, that the Congress judge it necessary he should remain at Albany to make the proper arrangements respecting the army destined for Canada, and therefore that he establish his Head-Quarters at Albany until further orders.\*'*

*'March 9. Resolved, That a letter be written to General Washington, desiring him to send Captain Connor, of the rifle battalion, to Philadelphia, the Congress having occasion to employ him in the Southern department.'*

What have been already given as signs of that time, may be regarded as signs likewise of much to be seen in the next Number. Their relations to cause and effect will appear more plain, as this Series advances.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

*'CAMBRIDGE, 31 March, 1776.'*

*'DEAR BROTHER, — Your letter of the 24th ultimo, was duly forwarded to this Camp by Colonel Lee, and gave me the pleasure of hearing that you, my sister, and family were well. \* \* \**

*'The want of arms and powder is not peculiar to Virginia. This country, of which, doubtless, you have heard large and flattering accounts, is more deficient in both than you can conceive. I have been here months together, with (what will scarcely be believed) not thirty rounds of musket cartridges to a man; and have been obliged to submit to all the insults of the enemies' cannon for want of powder, keeping what little we had for pistol distance. \* \* \* \* \**

*'As some account of the late manœuvres of both armies may not be unacceptable, I shall, hurried as I always am, devote a little time to it.'*

*'Having received a small supply of powder, very inadequate to our wants, I resolved to take possession of Dorchester Point, lying east of Boston, looking directly into it, and commanding the enemy's lines on Boston Neck. To do this, which I knew would force the enemy to an engagement, or subject them to be enfiladed by our cannon, it was necessary, in the first instance, to possess two heights, (those mentioned in General Burgoyne's letter to Lord Stanley, in his account of the battle of Bunker's Hill,) which had*

\* See in letter, Jan. 30, pp. 162, 163, the parts relating to Gen. Schuyler.

the entire command of the Point. The ground at this time being frozen upwards of two feet deep, and as impenetrable as a rock, nothing could be attempted with earth. We were obliged, therefore, to provide an amazing quantity of chandeliers and fascines for the work; and, on the night of the 4th, after a previous severe cannonade and bombardment for three nights together, to divert the enemy's attention from our real design, we removed every material to the spot, under cover of darkness, and took full possession of those heights, without the loss of a single man.

' Upon their discovery of the works next morning, great preparations were made for attacking them; but not being ready before the afternoon, and the weather getting very tempestuous, much blood was saved, and a very important blow, to one side or the other, was prevented. That this most remarkable interposition of Providence is for some wise purpose, I have not a doubt.

' But, as the principal design of the manœuvre was to draw the enemy to an engagement under disadvantages to them, as a premeditated plan was laid for this purpose, and seemed to be succeeding to my utmost wish, and as no men seemed better disposed to make the appeal than ours did upon that occasion, I can scarcely forbear lamenting the disappointment, unless the dispute is drawing to an accommodation, and the sword going to be sheathed. But, to return, the enemy thinking, as we have since learnt, that we had got too securely posted, before the second morning, to be much hurt by them, and apprehending great annoyance from our new works, resolved upon a retreat, and accordingly on the 17th embarked in as much hurry, precipitation, and confusion, as ever troops did, not taking time to fit their transports, but leaving the King's property in Boston, to the amount, as is supposed, of thirty or forty thousand pounds in provisions and stores. Many pieces of cannon, some mortars, and a number of shot and shells are also left; and baggage-wagons and artillery carts, which they have been eighteen months preparing to take the field with, were found destroyed, thrown into the docks, and drifted upon every shore. In short, Dunbar's destruction of stores after General Braddock's defeat, which made so much noise, affords but a faint idea of what was to be met with here.

' The enemy lay from the 17th to the 27th in Nantasket and King's Roads, about nine miles from Boston. \* \* \* \*  
Whither they are now bound, and where their tents will be next pitched, I know not; but as New York and Hudson's River are the most important objects they can have in view, \* \* \* \*  
as soon as they embarked, I detached a brigade of six regiments to that government, and, when they sailed, another brigade composed of the same number; and to-morrow another brigade of five regiments will march. In a day or two more, I shall follow myself, and be in New York ready to receive all but the first.

'The enemy left all their works standing in Boston and on Bunker's Hill; and formidable they are. The town has shared a much better fate than was expected, the damage done to the houses being nothing equal to report. But the inhabitants have suffered a good deal, in being plundered by the soldiery at their departure. All those who took upon themselves the style and title of government-men in Boston, in short, all those who have acted an unfriendly part in this contest, have shipped themselves off in the same hurry, but under still greater disadvantages than the King's troops, being obliged to man their own vessels, as seamen enough could not be had for the King's transports, and submit to every hardship that can be conceived. One or two have done, what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide. By all accounts, there never existed a more miserable set of beings, than these wretched creatures now are. Taught to believe, that the power of Great Britain was superior to all opposition, and, if not, that foreign aid was at hand, they were even higher and more insulting in their opposition than the regulars. When the order issued therefore for embarking the troops in Boston, no electric shock, no sudden explosion of thunder, in a word, not the last trump would have struck them with greater consternation. They were at their wits' end, and, conscious of their black ingratitude, they chose to commit themselves, in the manner I have above described, to the mercy of the waves at a tempestuous season, rather than meet their offended countrymen.

'I believe I may with great truth affirm, that no man perhaps since the first institution of armies, ever commanded one under more difficult circumstances, than I have done. To enumerate the particulars would fill a volume. Many of my difficulties and distresses were of so peculiar a cast, that in order to conceal them from the enemy, I was obliged to conceal them from my friends, and, indeed, from my own army; thereby subjecting my conduct to interpretations unfavorable to my character, especially by those at a distance, who could not in the smallest degree be acquainted with the springs that governed it. \* \* \*

'The share you have taken in the public disputes is commendable and praiseworthy. It is a duty we owe our country; *a claim which posterity has upon us*. It is not sufficient for a man to be a passive friend and well wisher to the cause. This, and every other cause of such a nature, must inevitably perish under such an opposition. Every person should be active in some department or other, without paying too much attention to private interest. It is a great stake we are playing for, and sure we are of winning, if the cards are well managed. Inactivity in some, disaffection in others, and timidity in many, may hurt the cause. Nothing else can; for *unanimity will carry us through triumphantly*, in spite of

every exertion of Great Britain, if we are linked together in one indissoluble bond. This the leaders know, and they are practising every stratagem to divide us, and unite their own people. Upon this principle it is, that the restraining bill is passed, and Commissioners are coming over. The device, to be sure, is shallow, the covering thin, but they will hold out to their own people, that the Acts complained of are repealed, and Commissioners sent to each Colony to treat with us, and that we will attend to neither of them. This, upon weak minds among us, will have its effect. They wish for reconciliation; or, in other words, they wish for peace without attending to the conditions.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I shall only add my affectionate regards to my sister and the children, and compliments to friends; and that I am, with every sentiment of true affection, your loving brother and faithful friend.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 339.

[COLONEL] JOSEPH REED TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

‘ PHILADELPHIA, 15 March, 1776.

‘ It is said the Virginians are so alarmed with the idea of independence, that they have sent Mr. Braxton on purpose to turn the vote of that Colony, if any question on that subject should come before Congress. To tell you the truth, my dear Sir, I am infinitely more afraid of these Commissioners, than of their generals and armies. If their propositions are plausible, and behavior artful, I am apprehensive they will divide us. There is so much suspicion in Congress, and so much party on this subject, that very little more fuel is required to kindle the flame. It is high time for the Colonies to begin a gradual change of delegates. Private pique, prejudice and suspicion will make their way into the breasts of even good men sitting long in such a Council as ours; and whenever that is the case, their deliberations will be disturbed, and the public interest of course will suffer.’

Ibid. p. 347. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO [COLONEL] JOSEPH REED.

‘ CAMBRIDGE, 1 April, 1776.

‘ DEAR SIR, — Your letter of the 15th ultimo contained a very unfavorable account of the Carolinas, but I am glad to find by the subsequent one that the prospect brightens, and that Mr. Martin’s \* first attempt has met with its deserved success. The old proverb of “the first blow being half the battle,” cannot better apply than in these instances, the spirits of the vanquished being depressed in proportion as the victors get elated. I am glad to find my camp equipage in such forwardness. I shall expect to meet it, and I hope

\* Mr. Martin was Governor of North Carolina.

you, at New York, for which place I am preparing to set out on Thursday or Friday next.'

'The accounts brought by Mr. Temple of the favorable disposition in the Ministry, to accommodate matters, does not correspond with their speeches in Parliament. How, then, does he account for their inconsistency? If the Commissioners do not come over with full and ample powers to treat with Congress, I sincerely wish they may never put their feet on American ground, as it must be self-evident, in the other case, that they will come over with insidious intentions to distract, divide, and create as much confusion as possible. How, then, can any man, let his passion for reconciliation be ever so strong, be so blinded and misled, as to embrace a measure evidently designed for his destruction? No man does, no man can, wish the restoration of peace more fervently than I do; but I hope, whenever made, it will be upon such terms, as will reflect honor upon the councils and wisdom of America. With you, I think a change in the American representation necessary. \* \* \* My countrymen,\* I know, from their form of government, and steady attachment heretofore to royalty, will come reluctantly into the idea of independence, but time and persecution bring many wonderful things to pass; and by private letters, which I have lately received from Virginia, I find 'Common Sense'† is working a powerful change there in the minds of many men.'

Ibid. p. 346.

RALPH IZARD to a FRIEND IN BATH, [Eng.]

'LONDON, May 3, 1776.

'I wrote you last night, as I thought it would give you pleasure to hear of the Evacuation of Boston. \* \* \*

'The Ministry keep this transaction as secret as they can; but there are some private letters, that will make it impossible for them to prevent its being known.

'The enclosed is an extract of one, from an officer's wife to her sister, and can be depended on as genuine.'

"*Nantasket Road, March 25th.*— We were cannonaded and bombarded by the Provincials, fourteen days, and at last, after many losses, are got on board one hundred and forty sail of vessels. The Provincials fired eighteen pounders, and threw a vast number of shells into the town.

"We know not where we are to go. We are in great distress. The spectacle is truly terrible. The Provincials entered the town, with their colors flying, and drums beating, the instant we left it. I wish to God, I was with you. It is said, General Robertson is gone to Halifax to provide quarters."

\* The people of Virginia.

† A Pamphlet written by Thomas Paine.



*May 4th.* — General Howe, and his army, are in the greatest distress, and know not where to go.

‘When he found himself cannonaded from one side, and a prodigious battery erected against him on the other, he desired the Selectmen to write to General Washington, and inform him that he would leave the town; and if the firing would cease, and his men were suffered to embark, unmolested, he would not burn the town; otherwise, he should be obliged to lay it in ashes. Washington consented, and that is the reason of Mr. Howe’s embarking, without losing any of his men. This may be depended on, as it comes from Governor Hutchinson, whose son has written him a full account of the whole affair.’

Cor. of R. Izard, vol. i. pp. 210, 212.

## MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 15 April, 1776.

'SIR, — I am now to inform you, that on the 4th instant I set out from Cambridge, and arrived here on Saturday last, [13th.] I came through Providence, Norwich, and New London, in order to see and expedite the embarkation of the troops. The third brigade, under the command of General Greene, was at New London when I left it, where there was a sufficient number of transports to embark them. \* \* \* General Spencer, with the last brigade, marched from Roxbury the day I left Cambridge, and would be at New London, ready to embark in the return transports, which brought General Sullivan's division to this place. The whole of the troops may be reasonably expected here in the course of this week. \* \* I have not had time since I came, to look fully about me; but I find many works of defence begun, and some finished. The troops are much dispersed, some on Long Island, others on Staten Island.

'I have ordered four battalions from hence to Canada,\* and am taking measures to have them forwarded to Albany by water, with all possible expedition.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 120.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 354.

SAME to JOSEPH REED.

NEW YORK, 15 April, 1776.

'MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 13th was this instant put into my hands. \* \* I am exceedingly concerned to hear of the divisions and parties, which prevail with you, and in the Southern Colonies, on the score of independence. These are the shelves we have to avoid, or our bark will split and tumble to pieces. Here

\* According to a Resolution of Congress, March 25, p. 210.

lies our great danger, and I almost tremble when I think of this rock. *Nothing but disunion can hurt our cause.* This will ruin it, if great prudence, temper, and moderation are not mixed in our counsels, and made the governing principles of the contending parties. When, my good Sir, will you be with me? I fear I shall have a difficult card to play in this government, [New York,] and could wish for your assistance and advice to manage it.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 357.

SAME to the COMMITTEE OF SAFETY of the Colony of New York.

HEAD QUARTERS, 17 April, 1776.

GENTLEMEN, — There is nothing that could add more to my happiness, than to go hand in hand with the civil authority of this, or any other government, to which it may be my lot to be ordered; and, if in the prosecution of such measures as shall appear to me to have a manifest tendency to promote the interest of *the great American cause*, I shall encounter *the local inconvenience of individuals, or even of a whole Colony*, I beg it may be believed, that I shall do it with reluctance and pain; but, in the present important contest, the least of two evils must be preferred. That a continuance of the intercourse which has hitherto subsisted between the inhabitants of this Colony, and the enemy on board their ships of war, is injurious *to the common cause*, requires no extraordinary abilities to prove. A moment's reflection not only evinces this truth, but points out the glaring absurdity of such a procedure. \* \* \*

'It would, Gentlemen, be taking up too much of your time, to use further arguments in proof of the necessity of putting an immediate and total stop to all further correspondence with the enemy. It is my incumbent duty to effect this, convinced as I am of the disadvantages resulting from it. \* \* \*

'In effecting the salutary purposes above mentioned, I could wish for the concurrence and support of your honorable body. \* \*

'It is therefore, Gentlemen, that I have taken the liberty to address you on this important subject, relying on your zeal and attachment to *the cause of American liberty*, for your assistance in putting a stop to this evil, and that you will coöperate with me in such measures as shall be effectual.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 357.

THE COMMITTEE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

25 April.

'The polite sensibility with which you have been pleased to treat our attention to your requisition of the 17th instant, affords us singular pleasure. Convinced with you, that there can be little doubt that things will go well under a harmonious co-operation of the civil

and military powers, permit us once more, Sir, to assure you of our most vigorous exertions, in seconding your efforts in *the common cause.*'

Ibid. p. 360. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

18 April, 1776.

'SIR, — Permit me, through you to convey to the Honorable Congress, the sentiments of gratitude I feel, for the high honor they have done me in the public mark of approbation contained in your favor of the 2d instant, which came to hand last night. I beg you to assure them, that it will ever be my highest ambition to approve myself a faithful servant of the public; and that to be in any degree instrumental in procuring to my *American brethren* a restitution of their rights and privileges, will constitute my chief happiness.

'Agreeably to your request, I have communicated in general orders, to the officers and soldiers under my command, the thanks of Congress for their good behavior in the service; and I am happy in having such an opportunity of doing justice to their merit. They were indeed, at first, "*a band of undisciplined husbandmen*," but it is, under God, to their bravery and attention to their duty, that I am indebted for that success, which has procured me the only reward I wish to receive, the affection and esteem of my countrymen. The Medal, intended to be presented to me by your honorable body, I shall carefully preserve as a memorial of their regard. I beg leave to return you, Sir, my warmest thanks for the polite manner in which you have been pleased to express their sentiments of my conduct; and am, with sincere esteem and respect, Sir, your and their most obedient and most humble servant.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 122.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 360.

The Proceedings which induced this letter.

IN CONGRESS, 'March 25, 1776. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Congress, in their own name, and in the name of the *thirteen United Colonies, whom they represent*, be presented to his Excellency General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, for their wise and spirited conduct in the siege and acquisition of Boston; and that a Medal of gold be struck in commemoration of this great event, and presented to his Excellency; and that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a letter of thanks, and a proper device for the Medal.

'April 2. The committee appointed to prepare a letter of thanks to General Washington, and the officers and soldiers under his command, brought in a draught, which was read and agreed to.

'*Ordered*, That it be transcribed, signed by the President, and forwarded.'

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the COMMITTEE OF SAFETY of New York.

NEW YORK, 27 April, 1776.

‘If the four battalions are placed under the immediate care of the Committee of Safety for this Colony, *by Congress*, I should be glad to know how far it is conceived, that my power over them extends, or whether I have any at all. Sure I am, that they cannot be subjected to the direction of both, and I shall have no small reluctance in assuming an authority, which I am not vested with powers to execute. Nor will my solicitude (further than as a well-wisher to the cause) on account of arms for these regiments, and returns of them, continue, if they are not considered as within the line of my command. It becomes, therefore, my indispensable duty to ascertain the matter, and to know whether these regiments cannot be ordered out of the Colony, for instance, to New Jersey, if necessity should require it.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 377. *Note.*

Those battalions were raised and supported ‘at the expense of the Continent,’ in obedience to a special Resolve of Congress, passed Jan. 19, p. 202. Was the command of them nevertheless doubtful between the Executive power of a Colony, and him, whom the same Congress had ‘chosen, appointed [and repeatedly declared,] to be General and Commander-in-Chief of *all* the forces raised, or to be raised for the defence of America!’\*

If the reader is disposed to inquire, by what process affairs were conducted to the state indicated by that occurrence, — by many occurrences after as well as by several before it, his attention may be directed to the course of measures adopted and pursued by Congress ‘for the defence of America,’ from the time when, according to their appointment, the General left that memorable Council in June, 1775.

IN CONGRESS, ‘June 22, 1775. Upon motion made,

‘*Resolved*, That the Colony of Pennsylvania raise two more companies of riflemen, and that these, with the six before ordered [on the 14th,] to be by them raised, making eight companies, be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such field officers, captains and lieutenants, *as shall be recommended by the Assembly or Convention of said Colony.*’

‘June 23. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Convention of New York, that they, consulting with General Schuyler, employ in the army to be raised *for the defence of America*, those called Green Mountain Boys, under such officers as the said Green Mountain Boys shall choose.’

‘June 24. On a motion made,

‘*Resolved*, That a Committee of seven be appointed, to devise ways and means to put *the militia of America* in a proper state *for the defence of America.*

\* See their Resolves, pp. 68, 70, and their Order, p. 73.

*'June 26.* The state of North Carolina, being taken into consideration, the Congress came to the following Resolutions:

*'Whereas,* It is represented to this Congress, that the enemies of the *liberties of America*, are pursuing measures to divide the good people of the Colony of North Carolina, and to defeat the *American Association*:

*'Resolved,* That it be recommended to all in that Colony, who wish well to the *liberties of America*, to associate *for the defence of American liberty*, and to embody themselves as militia under proper officers.

*'Resolved,* That in case the Assembly or Convention of that Colony shall think it absolutely necessary for the support of the American Association and safety of the Colony, to raise a body of forces not exceeding one thousand men, this Congress will consider them as *an American army*, and provide for their pay.

*'July 18.* The Congress resumed the consideration of the Report of the Committee, *for putting the militia into a proper state, for the defence of America*, and the same being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to as follows:

*'Resolved,* That it be recommended *to the inhabitants* of all the United English Colonies in North America, that all able-bodied effective men, between sixteen and fifty years of age, in each Colony, immediately form themselves into regular companies of militia, to consist of one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, four sergeants, four corporals, one clerk, one drummer, one fifer, and about sixty-eight privates.

*'That* the officers of each company be chosen by the respective companies.

*'That* the companies be formed into regiments or battalions, officered with a colonel, lieutenant-colonel, two majors, an adjutant or quarter-master.

*'That* all officers above the rank of a captain, be appointed by the respective Provincial Assemblies or Conventions, or in their recess by the Committees of Safety appointed by said Assemblies or Conventions.

*'That* one-fourth part of the militia in every Colony be selected for minute-men, of such persons as are willing to enter into this necessary service, formed into companies and battalions, and their officers chosen and commissioned as aforesaid, to be ready on the shortest notice, to march to any place where their assistance may be required, *for the defence of their own or a neighboring Colony*.

*'That* such of the minute-men as desire it, be relieved by new draughts as aforesaid, from the whole body of the militia, once in four months.

*'That each Colony, at their own expense, make such provision by armed vessels or otherwise, as their respective Assemblies, Conventions, or Committees of Safety shall judge expedient and suitable*



to their circumstances and situations, *for the protection of their harbors and navigation on their sea-coasts*, against all unlawful invasions, attacks and depredations, from cutters and ships of war.

'July 21. *Resolved, That such a body of troops* be kept up in the Massachusetts Bay, as General Washington shall think necessary, *provided they do not exceed twenty-two thousand men.*

'July 25. *Resolved, That a body of forces, not exceeding five thousand*, be kept up in the New York department, *for the purpose of defending that part of America*, and for securing the Lakes, and protecting the Frontiers from incursions or invasions.\*

'September 27. *Resolved, That the expense of kettles, canteens, and spoons, supplied to the soldiers, be charged to the Continent.*

'October 9. *Resolved, That it be recommended to the Convention of New Jersey, that they immediately raise, at the expense of the Continent, two battalions*, consisting of eight companies each, and each company of sixty-eight privates, officered with one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, four sergeants, and four corporals.

'That the *privates be enlisted* for one year, *at the rate of five dollars per calender month*, liable to be discharged at any time, on allowing them one month's pay extraordinary.

'That each of the privates be allowed, *instead of a bounty*, one felt hat, a pair of yarn stockings, and a pair of shoes; the men to find their own arms.

'That the *pay of the officers*, for the present, *be the same as that of the officers in the present Continental army*, and in case the pay of the officers in the army is augmented, the pay of the officers in these battalions shall, in like manner, be augmented from the time of their engaging in the service.

'October 10. *A motion being made relative to the appointment of officers in the Continental army, and the same being largely debated, the determination thereon was deferred till to-morrow.*

'October 11. The Congress resumed the consideration of the motion made yesterday, *respecting the appointment of officers, and after debate, the same was postponed.*

'October 12. *Resolved, That the President transmit to the Convention of New Jersey, blank commissions, to be filled up by the said Convention, to the captains and subaltern officers in the two battalions to be raised in that Colony; and that the appointment of the field officers be for the present suspended, until the Congress come to a determination on that matter.*

It has been stated, p. 68, that the riflemen there mentioned were the first troops raised by order of the General Congress; and the Resolve. June 22, pp. 108-190, shows the mode adopted by Congress for the appointment of officers to command them. To that mode General Washington particularly referred, in his letter to R. H. Lee, Aug. 29, p. 108, saying, (and somewhat explaining his reasons,) '*to me it appears improper.*'

\* August 1st, Congress adjourned to September 5th.

The two battalions above *recommended*, Oct. 9, were the next troops raised, of such number and character as produced a second occasion like that of the riflemen. On account of the increased prospect of a severe and greatly prolonged conflict, this, much more than the former occasion, required deliberation with cautious reference to the consequences of their 'determination.' It was to be regarded as a precedent, of after influence, extending beyond the reach of human foresight. The above records of Oct. 10, 11, 12, sufficiently manifest, that it was so regarded by both parties in Congress. It will be found, soon, that the suspension declared on the 12th, was not of long continuance; and, in the sequel, that the consequences of their 'determination' on this occasion, probably surpassed all then existing conjecture.

' *October 12. Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Assembly or Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, to raise one battalion, *on the same terms* as those ordered to be raised in New Jersey, *and to be officered in like manner*.

' *Resolved*, That the men to be enlisted, be furnished at the Continental expense, with a hunting shirt, not exceeding in value 1½ dollar, and a blanket, if to be procured, but not to be made part of the terms of enlistment.

' *October 13. Resolved*, That a swift sailing vessel, to carry ten carriage guns, and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men, be fitted, with all possible dispatch, for a cruise of three months, and that the Commander be instructed to cruise eastward, for intercepting such transports as may be laden with warlike stores and other supplies for our enemies, and for such other purposes *as the Congress shall direct*.

' *Resolved*, That another vessel be fitted out for the same purposes, and that the committee report their opinion of a proper vessel, and also an estimate of the expense.

' *October 28. Resolved*, That a company of matrosses, to consist of a captain, a captain-lieutenant, a first and second lieutenant, a lieutenant fire-worker, four sergeants, four corporals, eight bombardiers, sixty-eight matrosses, one drummer, and one fifer, be immediately raised in New York, *for the defence of Hudson's River, and to occupy the fortifications now erecting in the Highlands*, and that it be *recommended to the Convention* of said Colony, immediately to raise said company, and *to appoint the proper officers*.

' *October 30. Resolved*, That the second vessel ordered to be fitted out on the 13th instant, be of such a size as to carry fourteen guns, and a proportionate number of swivels and men.

' *Resolved*, That two more vessels be fitted out with all expedition; the one to carry not exceeding twenty guns, and the other not exceeding thirty-six guns, with a proportionable number of swivels and men, *to be employed in such manner, for the protection and defence of the United Colonies, as the Congress shall direct*.

' *November 4. Resolved*, That *for the defence of South Carolina*, there be kept up in that Colony, at the Continental expense, three battalions of foot, each battalion to consist of the same number of

men and officers, and be upon the same pay, and under the same regulations, as the Continental army.

*Resolved*, That for the defence of the Colony of Georgia, there be one battalion kept up there at the Continental expense, to be composed as the battalions of South Carolina.

*Resolved*, That the said troops be enlisted to the 31st of December, 1776, subject however, to be discharged sooner, if the Continental Congress shall think proper.

*Resolved*, That the President sign blank commissions, and that the Conventions, or, in their recess, the Councils of Safety for South Carolina and Georgia, respectively, fill them up with the names of such Officers as they may think proper, and return a list thereof to the Congress.

*Resolved*, That in case of a vacancy, occasioned by the death or removal of a Colonel, or inferior Officer, the said Conventions, or in their recess, the said Councils of Safety, appoint another person to fill up such vacancy, until a commission shall issue from the Congress, and that they return to the Congress a list of the names of the persons appointed.

*Resolved*, That the Officers on the Continental establishment, shall, when acting in conjunction with Officers of equal rank, on the Provincial establishment, take command of the latter, and also of the militia; and the Officers of the troops on the Provincial establishment, shall, when acting in conjunction with officers of the militia, take command and precedence of the latter of equal rank, notwithstanding prior dates of commissions.

*Resolved*, That if the Convention, or, in their recess, the Council of Safety of South Carolina, shall think it expedient for the security of that Colony, to seize or destroy, and shall seize or destroy, any ship or vessel of war, this Congress will approve of such proceeding.

*Resolved*, That the town of Charleston ought to be defended against any attempts that may be made to take possession thereof, by the enemies of America, and that the Convention or Council of Safety of the Colony of South Carolina, ought to pursue such measures, as to them shall seem most efficacious for that purpose, and that they proceed immediately to erect such fortifications and batteries in or near Charleston, as will best conduce to promote its security, the expense to be paid by the said Colony.

*November 7.* The Congress taking into consideration, the recommendation for field officers of the New Jersey battalions,

*Resolved*, That the Congress will proceed by ballot to the election of the said field officers. The ballots being taken and examined, Lord Sterling, \* \* \* \* \* [were] elected.

Thus, the appointment 'suspended [Oct. 12.] until the Congress come to a determination on that matter,' was made Nov. 7. Their 'determination' was, however, dis-

closed, the mode of appointment fixed, and the precedent established, by their Resolves relating to the battalions of South Carolina and Georgia, as on the preceding page.

An examination of these, in connection with General Washington's remarks upon the before mentioned Resolve, p. 108, and a comparison, in the same connection, of these Resolves with that, may enable the reader to judge, whether the opinions of the General greatly influenced at that time, the most important proceedings of Congress. It may here be remarked generally, that the following records, through several months at least, should be perused with no little regard and attention to many of those in the previous Numbers.

'*November 8. Resolved*, That a commander with the rank of a colonel, be appointed to take the command of the fortifications or fortresses, on Hudson's River, in the Highlands.

'*Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Convention of New York, to empower the said commander to call together and command two hundred men of the militia of Dutchess, Orange, and Ulster Counties, and one company of artillery from the city of New York, who shall be stationed in the Highlands, until relieved by the company of artillery directed by this Congress to be raised in the city of New York, and such other Continental troops as may hereafter be directed to take possession of the same.

'*Resolved*, That the minute-men or militia, while on service, be maintained and paid at the same rate as the rest of the Continental forces.

'*Resolved*, That a number of the militia of the counties of Dutchess, Orange, and Ulster, be formed into independent companies, under the direction of the commander of the said fortresses, and in case of alarm, be directed to repair to the several stations in the Highlands, which, in order to prevent confusion, should be immediately assigned them.

'*Resolved*, That the Deputy Commissary-General be *directed* to provide sufficient provision for one thousand men, for one month, and keep that quantity in stock.

'*Resolved*, That the powder sent from this place to General Schuyler, be remanded, if it can be any way spared, and left in the fortresses in the Highlands.

'*Resolved*, That the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, be *requested* to furnish the Colony of New York with 500 lbs. of powder, and forward the same immediately to Dobb's Ferry; that the Convention of New York give order to receive it there, and send it as soon as possible to the fortresses in the Highlands.

'*Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Convention of New York, if they have not already sent forward a sufficient number of cannon for the defence of the fortresses erecting in the Highlands, that they immediately send forward to those fortresses so many of the cannon at Kingsbridge, of the best quality and largest bore, as they may think necessary for that purpose.

'*November 9. Resolved*, That the appointment of a commander of the fortresses on Hudson's River, be postponed to Wednes-

day next, and that Captain John Hanson take and keep the command of said fortresses and the troops there, until the Congress shall appoint a commander.

‘*November 10. Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the state of the Colony of Virginia, *to consider* whether any, and *what provisions may be necessary for its defence*, and to report the same to Congress.

‘*Resolved*, That the Commander of the New Jersey battalions be *directed* to march six companies of said battalions, as soon as they are completed, to garrison the fort on Hudson’s River, in the Highlands, in the Colony of New York.

‘*Resolved*, That the President write to Governor Cooke, and *request* him to send to the Committee of Safety of New York, one ton of powder, *for the defence of that city and Colony*.

‘*November 16. Resolved*, That two small, swift sailing vessels be provided for packets, to be under the direction of Congress.

‘*Ordered*, That Mr. Morris\* be appointed to provide said vessels, and that he be directed to get one ready to sail as soon as possible, and the other in a month hence.

‘*November 24. Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to take into consideration the state of North Carolina, and report to Congress what in their opinion is necessary to be done *for its safety and security*.

‘*November 27. Resolved*, That *orders issue* to Lord Sterling, to collect the troops which were raised in New Jersey, (except the six companies which have been ordered to the fortresses on Hudson’s River,) and to place them in barracks in the eastern division of New Jersey, as contiguous to New York as can be, there to remain *till further orders from Congress*.

‘*Resolved*, That a letter be written to the Convention of New York, *requesting* them to use their utmost endeavors to furnish the troops raised in New Jersey *for the defence of New York*, with as many arms as they can spare.

‘*November 28.* The Congress took into consideration the Report of the committee on North Carolina, whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That the two battalions, which the Congress directed to be raised in the Colony of North Carolina,† be increased to the Continental establishment, and kept in pay at the expense of the United Colonies, *for one year from this time, or until the farther order of Congress, as well for the purpose of defending the good people of that Colony against the attacks of ministerial oppression as assisting the adjacent Colonies*.

‘That application be made to the Councils of Safety of the Colonies of Pennsylvania and South Carolina, for so much gun-powder as can be spared, for the immediate supply of North Carolina.

\* Mr. Robert Morris.

† June 26, p. 191.

*'Resolved, That the delegates of the Colony of North Carolina be directed to purchase a number of drums, fifes and colors, suitable for the said battalions, and that the President be directed to draw on the Continental treasurers for a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars, for the payment thereof.*

*'That two ministers of the gospel be applied to, to go immediately amongst the regulators and highlanders in the Colony of North Carolina, for the purpose of informing them of the nature of the present dispute between Great Britain and the Colonies; that the gentlemen to be employed, be allowed forty dollars a month for their services; and that the delegates of the said Colony be empowered to apply to and procure persons proper for this business.*

*'That it be recommended to the Convention or Committee of Safety of North Carolina, in case the method of defending the said Colony by minute-men be inadequate to the purpose, to substitute such other mode as to them shall appear most likely to effect the security of that Colony.*

*'December 2. Resolved, That the colonel or commanding officer of the battalion now in the barracks at Philadelphia, be ordered to keep a regular guard over the ships and stores belonging to the United Colonies, at or on the wharves, or in the stores on the wharves of Messrs. Willing and Morris, and Mr. Cuthbert.*

*'That the Congress approve the General's fitting out armed vessels to intercept the enemy's supplies.*

*'That when the army receives such supplies of powder as to be enabled to spare some to the country, that it be sold to them at a reasonable price.*

*'December 4. The committee on the state of Virginia, to whom was referred the letters received on Saturday last, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,*

*'Resolved, That three companies of the battalion raised in the Colony of Pennsylvania, immediately march, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Irvine, into Northampton county, in Virginia, for the protection of the Association in those parts, and for the defence thereof against the designs of the enemies of America.*

*'December 5. Resolved; That the naval committee be instructed to engage the seamen and marines to the first of January, 1777, unless sooner discharged by Congress.*

*'December 8. Resolved, That the companies of the two battalions raised in New Jersey, not already ordered to the fort on Hudson's River, in the Highlands, in the Colony of New York, be, and they are hereby, ordered to march, as soon as they can be furnished with barrack necessities and arms, to the city of New York, and there remain till further orders; and that four of the companies ordered to the fort in the Highlands, be likewise stationed in the city of New York, till barracks can be fitted up for them in that fort.*



' *December 9. Resolved*, That an order issue for raising four battalions more in the Colony of Pennsylvania, *on the same terms* as the one already raised.

' *Resolved*, That a like order issue for raising one battalion in the lower counties on Delaware, *on the same terms* as those ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania.

' *December 12.* The committee appointed to prepare letters of thanks to the three general officers in the Northern army, reported draughts, which being read and approved,

' *Ordered*, That they be signed by the President and transmitted.

' *December 13.* The committee appointed to devise ways and means for fitting out a naval armament, brought in their Report, which being read and debated, was agreed to, as follows:

' That five ships of 32 guns, five of 28 guns, three of 24 guns, making in the whole thirteen, can be fitted for the sea probably by the last of March next.

' That the cost of these ships, so fitted, will not be more than 66,666 $\frac{2}{3}$  dollars each, on an average, allowing two complete suits of sails for each ship, — equal in the whole to 866,666 $\frac{2}{3}$  dollars.

' *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed, with full powers to carry the said Report into execution, with all possible expedition, (except what relates to canvas and powder,) at the expense of the United Colonies.

' *December 15. Resolved*, That the Committee of Safety for the Colony of Pennsylvania, be *requested to recommend* proper persons for field officers of the four battalions to be raised in the said Colony.\*

' *Resolved*, That the said Committee appoint proper persons for officers in the said battalions, under the rank of majors.

' *Resolved*, That similar orders be given to the Committee of Safety of the lower counties on Delaware, for recommending field officers, and appointing inferior officers, for the battalion to be raised in that Colony.\*

' *December 21. Resolved*, That forty iron pots be provided for the soldiers while in the barracks near Philadelphia.

' *Resolved*, That the commissioned officers of each company be allowed, every week, a quarter of a cord of hickory, or other wood in proportion.

' *Resolved*, That a coat of uniform be provided for each soldier, and that what the coat costs more than the hunting-shirt, which was to have been given them, be deducted from their wages.

' *Resolved*, That the battalions raised in Pennsylvania, be sup-

\* Here appears again, the mode established for the appointment of officers. See pp. 194, 195. A recommendation by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, of officers for the first battalion, p. 109, was acknowledged in Congress, Nov. 16. They were appointed, Nov. 25.

plied with gun-brushes, pickers, double-worms, screw-drivers, and oil; and that it be *recommended* to the Committee of Safety of the said Colony to provide the same.

‘ *December 28. Resolved*, That six battalions are necessary to be immediately raised in Virginia, and that they be raised accordingly, *upon the same terms, and paid as the Continental forces in the Camp at Cambridge*, unless the Convention of that Colony can raise them on better terms.

‘ *January 1, 1776. Resolved*, That the President of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, and of Georgia, be requested *to procure committees* of their several bodies to repair immediately to Charleston, and there *to confer with a committee of the Council of Safety of South Carolina*, upon weighty and important matters relative to the defence and security of these Colonies.

‘ *Resolved*, That it appears, the British Ministry and their agents have meditated and are preparing to make attacks upon Charleston, in South Carolina, and several places in Virginia, and probably in North Carolina; and that it be recommended to the Conventions or Committees of Safety, of the two former Colonies, and to the Provincial Council of the other, by all possible means, to make a vigorous defence and opposition; and that it be farther recommended to the Committee of Safety of Virginia, and the Provincial Council of North Carolina, *to meet together and confer and conclude upon such operations, as they may think most for their mutual interest*.

‘ *January 2.* Whereas it has been represented to this Congress that divers honest and well-meaning, but uninformed people in these Colonies, have, by the art and address of Ministerial Agents, been deceived and drawn into erroneous opinions respecting the American cause,

‘ *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the different Assemblies, Conventions and Committees or Councils of Safety in the United Colonies, by the most speedy and effectual measures, to frustrate the mischievous machinations, and restrain the wicked practices of these men;

‘ And, in order that the said Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, may be enabled, with greater ease and facility, to carry this Resolution into execution,

‘ *Resolved*, That they be authorized to call to their aid whatever Continental troops, stationed in or near their respective Colonies, may be conveniently spared from their more immediate duty; and the commanding officers of such troops are hereby *directed* to afford the said Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, all such assistance in executing this Resolution, as they may require, and which, consistent with the good of the service, may be supplied.

‘ *Resolved*, That all detachments of Continental troops, which may be ordered on the business in the foregoing Resolution men-

tioned, be, while so employed, under the direction and control of the Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, aforesaid.

‘ *Resolved*, That it be recommended to all the United Colonies, to aid each other (on request from their respective Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, and County Committees) on every emergency, and to cultivate, cherish and increase the present happy and necessary union, by a continual interchange of mutual good offices.

‘ *January 4. Resolved*, That an additional battalion be raised in the county of Cumberland, in the Colony of Pennsylvania, to consist of the same number of men and officers, and to have the same pay and allowance as others raised in said Colony.

‘ *Resolved*, That one company of each of the five battalions last ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, consist of expert riflemen.

‘ *January 5. Resolved*, That the President write to General Washington, and desire him to inform Congress what rank the Aids-de-camp of the general officers should have in the army of the United Colonies.

‘ *Resolved*, That no farther fortifications be erected at Martler’s Rock, on Hudson’s River, and that a point of land at Pooplopen’s Kill, on the said river, be, without delay, effectually fortified.

‘ *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Convention, or in their recess, to the Committee of Safety of New York, to carry into execution the above Resolution.

‘ *January 6. Resolved*, That the Commander-in-Chief have one-twentieth part of the allotted prize-money, taken in any ship or ships, armed vessel or vessels, under his orders and command.

‘ *Resolved*, That the memorial from the inhabitants of Newport, with the papers accompanying it, be referred to the consideration of the Colony of Rhode Island.

‘ *January 8. Resolved*, That shipwrights be immediately sent, from New York and Philadelphia, to General Schuyler, or the Commander in Chief of the forces of Ticonderoga.

‘ That General Schuyler be desired to have the River St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, well explored.

‘ *Resolved*, That nine battalions, including that of Canadians under Colonel Livingston, be kept up and maintained the present year, for the defence of Canada.

‘ *Resolved*, That the first Pennsylvania battalion, under Colonel Bull, and the second New Jersey battalion, under Colonel Maxwell, be ordered to march immediately to Albany, and there put themselves under the command of General Schuyler.

‘ And, to make up the rest of the battalions voted for the defence of Canada, that one battalion be raised in New Hampshire, one in Connecticut, and one in New York; that two battalions be formed out of the troops now in Canada.

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*' Resolved, That the Convention or Committee of Safety of Maryland, be requested to order three companies of the minute-men in the service of that Colony, to march immediately from thence to the Counties of Accomack and Northampton, in Virginia, \**

*\* \* \* and to lay before Congress the accounts of their subsistence and pay, which shall be paid out of the Continental Treasury.*

*' Resolved, That the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania be desired to send five hundred pounds weight of powder to the Colony of Virginia.*

*' January 9. Resolved, That the militia raised in the Counties of Orange and Ulster, in the Colony of New York, by order of the Congress, for the support of the fort lately erected on Hudson's River, be discharged.*

*' Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, to inquire into the conduct of the officers who are prisoners, and the manner in which they are at present subsisted, and report thereon.*

*' January 10. Resolved, That another battalion be raised in New Jersey, on the same terms as the other two raised in that Colony.*

*' Resolved, That Lord Stirling be desired to furnish Colonel Heard with three companies under his command, who are to join Colonel Heard with the minute-men by him raised, and proceed, as soon as may be, on the expedition into Queen's County, for which Colonel Heard and Colonel Waterbury were appointed.\**

*' Resolved, That the Colony of North Carolina be supplied with one ton of powder, by the Secret Committee.*

*' January 15. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, to make an estimate of the number of cannon that may be wanted for the defence of the United Colonies.*

*' January 16. Resolved, That another battalion be raised in the Colony of North Carolina, in order to defeat any attempt which may be made in opposition to the measures recommended by the Continental Congress.*

*' January 17. The Committee appointed to prepare instructions for the officers in the recruiting service, brought in their Report, which being taken into consideration, the Congress, thereupon, came to the following Resolutions.*

*' Resolved, That the Colonels of the several battalions ordered to be raised, do immediately order their officers on recruiting service.*

*' That the Colonels of the several battalions aforesaid, appoint some place or places of rendezvous, to which the recruits may be sent, and where the battalions may be quartered.*

*\* Colonels Heard and Waterbury had been appointed, Jan. 3. The object of their expedition was, to suppress or restrain the Tories in Queen's County.*

• That an allowance of one dollar and a third of a dollar, per man be made to the recruiting officers, in lieu of their expenses in recruiting, exclusive of the subsistence money allowed them.

• That the Colonels of the several battalions to be raised in Pennsylvania be supplied with money for the recruiting service, by the Council of Safety of said Colony, and disburse the same to the several recruiting officers; the Colonels and other officers to be accountable for what they shall receive.

• That the sum of one dollar and one third of a dollar per man, be paid to the officers of the first Pennsylvania battalion, for each man by them enlisted, who shall have passed muster.

• January 19. *Resolved*, That four battalions be raised in the Colony of New York, for the defence of that Colony, upon the same pay with those directed to be raised in the Colony of Pennsylvania; and that they be stationed as the commanding officer of the New York department shall think best, to garrison the several forts in that Colony, from Crown Point to the southward, and to prevent depredations upon Long Island, and to promote the safety of the whole.

• *Ordered*, That a copy of the foregoing Resolution be transmitted to the Council of Safety of New York; and that they be requested, with all possible expedition, to transmit to Congress the names of a number of gentlemen, at least two for each command, out of whom the Congress may elect field officers for said battalions.\*

• January 24. *Resolved*, That a committee of seven be appointed, to consider the propriety of establishing a War-Office.

• *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to prepare an address to the United Colonies.

• January 25. *Resolved*, That the fortification at Crown Point be not repaired; and that the fortress at Ticonderoga be repaired and made defensible.

• January 26. *Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to repair to New York, to consult and advise with the Council of Safety of that Colony, and with General Lee, respecting the immediate defence of the City of New York; and that General Lee be directed to follow the determination of the said Committee thereupon.†

• January 30. *Resolved*, That Captain Nelson's company of riflemen now raised, \* \* be enlisted for the service of Canada, on the same terms as the other troops ordered for that service.

• February 2. *Resolved*, That Colonel Wayne be directed to

\* These were the four battalions referred to in the General's letters to the Committee of New York, April 27, 30, pp. 190, 212.

† See p. 176.

quarter his battalion in and near Chester, *until the farther orders of Congress*, or of a committee of Congress for that purpose appointed.

‘*Resolved*, that a committee of three be appointed, *to take an account of the prisoners*, the names of the officers, and their places of residence, and report the same to Congress.\*

‘*February 5. Resolved*, That General Schuyler has proceeded in disarming such inhabitants of the County of Tryon, in the Colony of New York, as were disaffected, and providing for the future tranquillity of those parts, with fidelity, prudence, and dispatch, and at the same time with a proper temper towards that deluded people, and thereby performed a meritorious service.†

‘That the cheerfulness and ready assistance of those who accompanied General Schuyler in his march to the County of Tryon, and their useful services in that expedition, discovered such a patriotic spirit, that it is hoped none of them will allow their countrymen to entertain a suspicion that any ignoble motive actuated them, *by requiring a pecuniary reward*; especially when they were employed in suppressing a mischief in their own neighborhood.

‘*Ordered*, That General Schuyler’s narrative of his march into Tryon County be published in the newspapers.

‘*February 6. Resolved*, That the sum of *one dollar and one-third of a dollar*, be allowed to the officers of the two first New Jersey battalions, for every recruit by them raised, and that has passed muster.

‘A letter from the Committee of Reading, in Berks county, was read, mentioning the arrival of a number of prisoners, and desiring to know how they are to be supported;

‘*Resolved*, That the same be referred to the committee appointed to contract for supplying the prisoners.\*

‘*February 8. Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, to contract with a proper person to supply Colonel Wayne’s battalion with the rations allowed them.

‘Also with a proper person to supply the Pennsylvania troops on the west side of the Susquehannah, and with a proper person to supply the battalions ordered to be raised in the Counties on Delaware, while in that government.

‘*February 12. Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Convention or Committee of Safety of New Jersey, immediately to send detachments of their minute-men equal to a battalion, under proper officers, to New York, there to be under the command of Major-General Lee :

‘That it be *recommended* to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, immediately to send detachments of the four battalions of Associators in Philadelphia, to New York, there to put themselves under General Lee.

\* Relating to prisoners, see pp. 121, 122, 165, 170.

† The expedition mentioned p. 162.



‘ *Resolved*, That the Colonels of the battalions ordered to be raised in Pennsylvania, be directed to make an immediate return to Congress of the men enlisted, the places where they now are, and the places in which they are appointed.

‘ *February 12. Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, in case the barracks near Philadelphia cannot contain all the troops raised in that Colony, that they permit some of them to be quartered in the Pest-House and old Gaol in the city.

‘ *Resolved*, That the pay and subsistence of two of the battalions ordered to be raised in the Colony of Virginia, commence from the first day of November last; from which time they have been in actual service.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Deputy Muster Master General be directed to muster the battalions raised in the three Lower Counties on Delaware, and also those raised in Pennsylvania, and make return to Congress.

‘ The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the inhabitants of the United Colonies, brought in a draught, which was read.

‘ *February 14. Resolved*, That two of the brass six-pounders at New York, belonging to the United Colonies, be sent to Virginia, for the use of the forces there.

‘ *February 15. Resolved*, That the Secret Committee deliver one hundred and fifty stand of arms to Colonel Maxwell, for the use of such of the companies of his battalion as may want them.

‘ *Resolved*, That two tons of the powder, belonging to the Continent, be delivered to the delegates of Virginia, for the use of the forces of that Colony.

‘ *Resolved*, That eight tons of powder be immediately sent to Canada, for the use of the forces there.

‘ *Resolved*, That no further works be erected on Martler’s Rock, but that those already erected there, be supported and garrisoned.

‘ That a fascine battery, to mount heavy cannon, not exceeding eighteen in number, be thrown up on the Gravel Hill, eastward of Martler’s Rock, marked in the draught LL, so as to command the West Point, the reach down the river from the West Point, and part of the reach up the river; and that a convenient road be opened from this battery to the barracks on Martler’s Rock.

‘ That a redoubt of earth and fascines be built on the eminence on the east side of the river, opposite to the West Point marked in the draught A, to mount thirty guns:

‘ That it be recommended to the Convention or Committee of Safety of New York, to forward the battery at Pooplopen’s Kill; and that the battery be made of earth and fascines, and to mount a number of guns not exceeding forty:

‘ That such of the Continental troops as are or may be stationed at the aforesaid places, be employed in erecting these works and batteries, under the direction of the engineer.

‘ *February 17. Resolved*, That the sum of thirty-five thousand dollars be advanced to the Convention or Committee of Safety of New York, for the support of the troops employed *in the defence of that Colony*; the said Convention or Committee of Safety to be accountable for the expenditure thereof.

‘ That it be *recommended* to the Convention or Committee of Safety of New York, to contract with proper persons for supplying the said troops with the rations allowed by Congress, and with fuel and bedding and other necessaries, on the most reasonable terms in their power.

‘ *Resolved*, That Major-General Lee be *directed* immediately to repair to Canada, and take command of the army of the United Colonies in that Province.

‘ That Major-General Schuyler be *directed* to repair, as soon as his health will permit, to New York, and take the command of the forces, and conduct the military operations there.

‘ That it be *recommended* to the Convention or Committee of Safety of New York, to supply General Lee with a quantity of suitable cannon, not exceeding twelve; and one or more mortars, if to be had, with balls, shells, and other necessaries, for the siege or assault of Quebec; and that they assist him in forwarding the same with all possible expedition.

‘ That Major-General Schuyler be *directed* to have provision stored in proper places near Hudson’s River, between Albany and the Highlands, to supply such troops as it may be necessary to call out of the country.’

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO GENERAL CHARLES LEE.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 19, 1776.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—The Congress have seen such a necessity of an able commander in Canada, as to destine you to that most arduous service. I tremble for your health, yet I hope the campaign will rather promote it than otherwise. We want you at New York; *we want you at Cambridge*; we want you in Virginia; but Canada seems of more importance than any of those places, and therefore you are sent there. I wish you as many laurels as Wolfe and Montgomery reaped there, with an happier fate. Health and long life after a glorious return.

‘ But I am ashamed to go on in such a strain when writing to you, whose time is so much better employed than in reading it, since I took up my pen only to introduce to your acquaintance a countryman of yours, and a citizen of the world, to whom a certain heretical pamphlet, called *Common Sense*, is imputed. His

name is PAINE.\* He is travelling to New York for his curiosity, and wishes to see a gentleman whose character he so highly respects.

‘A luckier, a happier expedition than yours to New York, never was projected. The whole Whig world are blessing you for it, and none of them more than,  
Your friend and servant.’

Memoirs of General Charles Lee, p. 242.

‘February 20. *Resolved*, That two hundred and fifty twelve pounders, sixty nine pounders, and sixty-two four pounders, be purchased for the use of these Colonies.

‘*Resolved*, That Colonel Wayne be *directed* to march with his battalion to New York, and put himself under the command of General Lee, or the commanding officer there.

‘Congress being informed that a quantity of powder, belonging to the United Colonies, was arrived at Brunswick, in New Jersey,

‘*Resolved*, That Mr. Lewis, Mr. Alsop, and Mr. P. Livingston, be directed to forward the said powder, under a guard, with all possible expedition, to General Washington, for the use of *the army under his command*.

‘February 22. *Resolved*, That the President be directed to write to the Convention of New York, and *desire* them to inform Congress, what progress they have made in raising the four battalions *recommended* to be raised in that Colony, *for the defence of the same*.

‘February 23. *Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, that they immediately establish public works in each and every county in their respective Colonies, *at the expense of such Colonies*, for the manufacture of salt-petre, and appoint committees of their own members immediately to set up such manufactures :

‘That it be *recommended* to the Assemblies and Conventions, Councils, or Committees of Safety, of every Colony, forthwith to erect powder-mills in their respective Colonies, and appoint committees to build such mills, and procure persons well skilled in the manufacture of powder, *at the expense of such Colonies*.

‘February 27. *Resolved*, That New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Lower Counties on Delaware and Maryland, be put into one Department, under the command of the Major-General,† and two Brigadier-Generals with proper Staff :

‘That Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, be put into one other Department, under the command of one Major-General, and three Brigadier-Generals with proper Staff.

\* Both General Lee and Mr. Paine were Englishmen.

† Then under the command of Gen. Lee.

‘ That Friday next be assigned for the election of major-generals, brigadier-generals, and staff officers, in the foregoing Departments.

‘ *February 28. Resolved*, That General Lee be *directed not* to proceed to Canada, until he receive further *orders from Congress*.

‘ *February 29. Resolved*, That an addition of 34 dollars a month, be added to the pay of Joseph Reed, Esq., Secretary to General Washington, on account of the extraordinary services at present attending that office, by reason of the *General's direction of the Naval Department*.

‘ *March 1. Resolved*, That General Lee be appointed to take the command of the Continental forces in the Southern Department.

‘ The Congress proceeded to the election of six Brigadier-Generals, and the ballots being delivered in and examined, the following gentlemen were chosen :

‘ John Armstrong, William Thompson, Andrew Lewis, James Moore, Robert Howe, Esqrs., the Right Honorable William, Earl of Stirling.

‘ *Resolved*, That Brigadier-General Armstrong be *directed* to repair to South Carolina, Brigadiers Lewis and Howe to Virginia, and Brigadier Moore to North Carolina, and to take the command of the forces in those respective Colonies, *until they receive further orders from Congress, or a superior officer*.

‘ *Resolved*, That Brigadier-General Thompson be *directed to repair to New York.\**

‘ *March 4. Resolved*, That the Secret Committee be directed, with all possible expedition, to send under guard, ten tons of powder to Cambridge, *for the use of the army under the command of General Washington*.

‘ *March 6. Resolved*, That Brigadier General Thomas, be appointed to command the forces in Canada, and that General Washington be *directed to order him immediately to repair to that Province.†*

‘ *Resolved*, That Brigadier General Thomas, be promoted to the rank of Major-General.

‘ *Resolved*, That the President inform General Schuyler, that the Congress judge it necessary he should remain at Albany, to make the proper arrangements respecting the army destined for Canada, and therefore, *that he should establish his Head-Quarters at Albany, until further orders.‡*

‘ *March 8.* The Congress proceeded to the election of field officers of the four battalions, ordered to be raised in the Colony of New York, *for the defence of the said Colony.‡*

\* See p. 180.

† See p. 181.

‡ See Resolve for raising them, Jan. 19, p. 202.

*'Resolved, That General Schuyler be directed to provide such a number of batteaus, for the service in Canada, as shall be sufficient for it.*

*'March 9. Resolved, That a letter be written to General Washington, desiring him to send Captain Conner, of the rifle battalion, to Philadelphia, the Congress having occasion to employ him in the Southern Department.\**

*'Resolved, That no oath by way of test be imposed upon, exacted, or required of any of the inhabitants of these Colonies by any military officers.*

*'March 11. Resolved, That the Committee on Qualifications, be directed to provide six medicine chests, for the six Virginia battalions.*

*'March 12. Resolved, That if any of the gentlemen appointed field officers, in the four battalions raising in New York, for the defence of that Colony, are provided for in Canada, they be directed to continue there.*

*'March 13. Resolved, That the Marine Committee, be empowered to purchase the armed vessel now in the River Delaware, on the most reasonable terms, for the service of the Continent.*

*'March 14. Resolved, That eight thousand men be ordered for the defence of the Colony of New York.*

*'Resolved, That orders issue to Colonel Irvine, Colonel Shee, and Colonel Magaw, of the Pennsylvania troops, and to Colonel Dayton of the New Jersey troops, to march immediately with their respective battalions to New York, and to put themselves under the direction of the commanding officer there.*

*'March 15. Ordered, That Mr. R. H. Lee and Mr. Franklin, call on General Lee, and direct him immediately to repair to the Southern Department, and take the command of the forces there.*

*'Resolved, That four muskets and bayonets be lent to the delegates of Virginia, for the use of the guards that accompany the powder sent to that Colony.*

*'Resolved, That Captain Nelson, with his rifle company be directed immediately to repair to New York.*

*'Resolved, That the Governor of Connecticut, the Conventions or Councils, or Committees of Safety of New York, and New Jersey, be requested to hold their militia in readiness, to march in such numbers, and at such times, for the defence of New York, as the Continental commander at New York shall desire; and, that the pay of the militias, called to the defence of New York, be the same as that of the Continental troops, raised and employed in the Middle Department, to commence from the time they begin their march.*

*'Resolved, That Lord Stirling be directed to order the troops destined for Canada, to proceed on their march, agreeable to their orders.*

\* See p. 181.

'*March 16. Resolved*, That Frederick William, Baron de Woedtke, appointed Brigadier-General in the armies of the United Colonies, be *ordered* immediately to repair to New York, there to remain until the Commissioners appointed to go into Canada, shall reach that Colony: and that he be *directed* to join and accompany them into Canada, and there serve under the command of the Continental troops in that Province.

'*March 19.* A letter from —, a Canadian prisoner, and sundry letters from —, were read:

'*Resolved*, That they be referred to the Committee on Prisoners.

'*Resolved*, That Monsieur Dohicky Arundel, be appointed a Captain of artillery, in the Continental service.

'That General Lee, be *directed* to set on foot the raising a company of artillery, and that it be *recommended* to the Convention or Committee of Safety, of Virginia, to appoint the other officers of the said company of artillery.

'*Resolved*, That Captain Woolverton, with his company, be taken into the service of the United Colonies; and that he be *directed* to repair with his company, as soon as properly armed and accoutred, to New York, and put himself under the commanding officer there.

'*Resolved*, That the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars be sent to the Paymaster General, *for the use of the army under the immediate command of General Washington*.

'That the sum of fifty thousand dollars be sent to General Schuyler, *for the use of the army under his command*.

'*March 20. Resolved*, That three members be elected for the Committee, appointed to consider the propriety of a War-Office, in the room of three who are necessarily absent.

'*March 21. Resolved*, That General Washington be *directed* to send an account of the troops in his camp, who are deficient in arms, to the several Assemblies or Conventions of the Colonies, to which those men belong, and *request* them to send a sufficient number of arms for the men coming from the respective Colonies, and that, if arms cannot be procured, such as have not arms *be dismissed the service*.

'*March 22.* A petition from Thorowgood Smith and others, was presented to Congress, and read, setting forth, that they have procured a vessel, and raised money to fit her out as a privateer, in order to cruise and guard the coast of Virginia, and praying that a commission be granted to William Shippen, to whom they propose to give the command of said vessel; and further, that the Congress will grant them a small quantity of powder, upon their making satisfaction for the same:

'*Resolved*, That a commission be granted to William Shippen, as Captain of the above mentioned vessel, for the purposes aforesaid.

'That the Secret Committee be directed to sell Captain William Shippen, three hundred pounds of powder, for the use of his vessel.



'*March 25.* The committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the Colonies, in the Southern Department, brought in their Report, which was read as follows :

' " That it appears highly probable that a very considerable force will be exerted in that Department by our enemies, early this spring ; that the Continental forces employed in South Carolina and Virginia, respectively, can not prudently be *solely* relied on, *for the defence of those Colonies* ; that South Carolina and Virginia, are at a very great separate expense in armed vessels, rendered absolutely necessary, by the situation and circumstances of those countries ; that the militia of South Carolina, are obliged to perform a very laborious duty, which from the smallness of their number, and the consequent quick rotation, is excessively burdensome ; and that the Colony of Virginia, in addition to the six Continental battalions already there, have resolved to raise, and are now embodying three other battalions." Whereupon,

'*Resolved*, That the Convention or Council of Safety, of South Carolina, be permitted to raise and embody two other battalions, and that they be on the pay and at the expense of the Continent, as soon as they shall be armed for the service, and accordingly mustered :

' That the three *Colonial* battalions of Virginia, be also on the pay and at the expense of the Continent, as soon as they shall be armed, fit for service, and accordingly mustered.

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be *directed* to detach four battalions into Canada, *from the army under his command*, as soon as he shall be of opinion that the safety of New York, and the Eastern service will permit.

'*March 26.* *Resolved*, That the privates of the companies, ordered from Maryland, to Accomac and Northampton, be allowed the *pay of the Southern Department, which is six dollars and sixty-seven cents*, per calendar month.

'*Resolved*, That if the Convention or Council of Safety, of North Carolina, shall judge it necessary for the common safety, to raise one or two more battalions, the same when armed, fit for service and mustered, be taken into the pay of the Continent.

'*March 28.* *Resolved*, That the Marine Committee, be empowered to purchase on the most reasonable terms they can, the ship Molly, for the use of the Continent, \* \* \* to join Captain Barry, on his cruise along the coast, between New York and Virginia.

'*March 30.* *Resolved*, That the minute-men, employed by Congress, under the command of Colonel Heard, in the expedition to Long Island, be allowed, while on that service, the same *pay and rations as the Continental troops in the Middle Department*.

'*April 3.* *Resolved*, That the commanding officer of the battalion raised in Delaware government, be *directed* to send two com-

panies of said battalion to Lewistown, there to remain in the service of the Continent *till farther orders*.

*'Resolved*, That the Marine Committee be directed and empowered to fit out, with all expedition, two armed cutters, for the service of the Continent.

*'April 11. Resolved*, That the commanding officer at New York, be *directed* to discharge the militia of New Jersey, who are in the pay of the Continent:

*'That* the commanding officer at New York, be *directed* to discharge the whole, or such parts of the militia of New York and Connecticut, now in the pay of the Continent, as the public service will permit.

*'April 13. Resolved*, That the Marine Committee be empowered to build two galleys, capable of carrying each, two thirty-six or forty-two pounders, to oppose the enemy's vessels in bays and harbors.

*'April 15. Resolved*, That the officers of the rifle battalion, and independent rifle companies, be authorized and directed to recruit the said battalion and companies, and enlist the men as speedily as possible; and that their re-enlistment be for two years from the expiration of their present term, liable to be discharged sooner, if Congress shall think proper, upon receiving a month's pay in advance.

*'April 17. Resolved*, That the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, be *requested* to permit John Young, Jr. and Johnston Smith, to carry to Virginia, all such arms as they have already purchased, or shall purchase in Pennsylvania, for the use of the Continental army in the said Colony of Virginia, before the first of May next; not to exceed one thousand stand in the whole.

*'Resolved*, That the commanding officer in New York, be *directed* to order two companies of Colonel Dayton's battalion to march to Cape May, and there remain *till farther orders*.\*

*'April 18.* The Committee appointed to consider the propriety of establishing a War-Office, brought in their Report, which was read.

*'April 19. Resolved*, That three tons of powder be immediately forwarded to Virginia, for the use of the army in the Southern Department.

*'Resolved*, That General Washington be made acquainted with General Lee's request of a company of artillery, and be *desired* to furnish him with such a company, if it may be done consistent with the general good of the service.

*'Resolved*, That an immediate supply of arms, shoes, and blankets, be furnished for the troops in Virginia, and that proper persons

\* General Washington arrived at New York on the 13th, and therefore, on the 17th was that 'commanding officer in New York.'

be appointed to procure them, subject to the orders of Congress already entered into.

'April 23. *Resolved*, That the resignation of Major-General Ward, and of Colonel Frye, be accepted, and that the President inform them thereof by letter.

'*Resolved*. That the commanding officer in Canada, be *directed* to be very attentive to military discipline, and inflict exemplary punishment on all those who violate the military regulations established by Congress.

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be *directed* to send six battalions into Canada, *from the army of New York*.

'*Resolved*, That a letter be written by the President to General Washington, *requesting* his opinion whether any farther additional troops are necessary to be sent for the reduction of Quebec, and for the security of Canada; and, if he shall think more troops necessary, whether they can, with safety, be spared from the army now in New York.

'*Resolved*, That *if any of the troops* from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which were *raised at five dollars a month*, be sent to Canada, they shall be allowed at the rate of *six dollars and two thirds* of a dollar a month, from the time they begin their march.

'April 26. *Resolved*, That *none* of the troops already raised, be for the present *disbanded for want of arms*.\*

'April 27. *Resolved*, That Mr. Rodney and Mr. Read, be added to the Committee appointed to supply the troops in Philadelphia, and the battalion in the Lower Counties on Delaware.

'May 2. *Resolved*, That the commanding officer of the Delaware battalion, be *directed* to station thirty-five men with an officer, at the False Cape, *till farther orders*.

'May 8. *Resolved*, That whenever it shall appear to this Congress, that any officer or officers, bearing Continental commissions, shall have departed from orders, *an inquiry shall be made*.'

The following letter may serve now to explain to the reader, as it did then to the Committee it was addressed to, the grounds of that anxious doubt, expressed in the General's letter to the same Committee, April 27, p. 190, in regard to the command of those four New York battalions.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the COMMITTEE OF SAFETY of New York.

NEW YORK, 30 April, 1776.

'GENTLEMEN, — I perceive by the tenor of your favor of yesterday, that my letter of the 27th † has given umbrage, which I am sorry for, as I had not the most distant idea of giving any. *Three things* led me to suspect that the New York battalions were not upon the same establishment as the other Continental troops; cur-

\* See Resolve, March 21, p. 209.

† See that letter, p. 190.

*rent report, an implied exception in the Order for detaching six more battalions to Canada,\* and that part of your letter signifying that four of these battalions were to be raised under your immediate direction, which intimation, coming in corroboration of the two first reasons, for I never had any information of this matter from Congress, led me to believe, that you intended it as a gentle hint, that I was not to consider them in the same light as I did the others. It was not to be wondered at, therefore, that I should wish to know the extent of my authority over them, that my conduct might be regulated thereby, or that I should not be so solicitous in arming regiments, raised for local purposes, as those for the general service, when the latter also are very deficient in this essential point. These were the ideas that filled my mind at the time of writing. If the extreme hurry, occasioned by a variety of business, which is continually pressing upon me, clouded the meaning I wished to convey, I can only add that it never was, and I hope never will be, my intention to give unprovoked offence. Of this your Committee may be once for all assured, that it is my earnest wish to coöperate with them in every measure which can conduce to the general good, and that, if I should at any time differ from them in the means, I shall feel my share of the concern ; being, with respect &c.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 376.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 22 April, 1776.

'SIR, — I was this day honored with the receipt of your favor of the 20th instant. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that the four regiments designed for Canada, embarked yesterday,† with a fair wind, for Albany, under the command of Colonels Groaton, Patterson, Bond, and Poor ; besides which there was a company of riflemen, a company of artificers, and two engineers, the whole commanded by Brigadier-General Thompson. I have repeatedly mentioned to the honorable Congress the distressful situation we are in for want of arms. With much pains and difficulty, I got most of the regiments from the eastward tolerably well furnished ; but I find the New York regiments very badly provided. Colonel Ritzema's has scarcely any. \* \* \*

'The militia, who, on my application, were ordered to this place to keep possession, until I should arrive with the Continental forces, were obliged to return home without their pay, as there was not then money sufficient in the Treasury for that purpose, and to answer the exigences of the army. \* \* \*

I therefore beg the Congress would make provision for their pay, and point out particularly whether it is to be done by the Com-

\* See that Order above, April 23.

† Those ordered March 25, p. 210.

mander of the Continental forces, or by the Provincial Assemblies or Conventions from whom they are sent.

‘As the time for which the riflemen enlisted will expire on the 1st of July next,\* and as the loss of such a valuable and brave body of men will be of great injury to the service, I would submit to the consideration of Congress, whether it would not be best to adopt *some method to induce* them to continue. They are indeed a very useful corps; but, I need not mention this, as their importance is already well known to the Congress. It is necessary they should pay an early attention to this matter, as we know from past experience that men are very slow in reënlisting.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘I wish it was in my power at present to furnish General Lee with the companies of artillery he desires.† I have already sent two companies to Quebec, and I have not yet been able to procure returns of those that are here. I expect Colonel Knox every moment, and shall then be able to determine whether any can be spared from hence. Blankets we are in great want of ourselves; and it was with great difficulty a few could be procured for the riflemen that were ordered for Canada.

‘On my arrival here, I found that Mr. Livingston had been appointed by the Provincial Congress a Commissary, to furnish the Continental troops stationed in this city with provisions. I suppose this was done because there was no Continental Commissary then on the spot. Mr. Livingston still claims a right of furnishing all the troops but those lately arrived from Cambridge. Mr. Trumbull is now here; and, as I consider him as the principal in that office, I should be glad to know whether any part of the Continental troops is to be furnished by any other than their Commissary-General. *I must needs say, that to me it appears very inconsistent*, and must create great confusion in the accounts as well as in the contracts. I intended to have laid before Congress the amount of the rations, as supplied by Colonel Trumbull and Mr. Livingston; and called upon those gentlemen to furnish me with a separate estimate for that purpose. Colonel Trumbull has given me his, by which it appears he supplies the troops at eight-pence and one third per ration. I have not yet received any from Mr. Livingston; but am informed his contract is at ten-pence half-penny. The difference is immense, as it will amount to no less than two hundred pounds per day, for twenty thousand men. It is indeed to be considered, that Mr. Livingston’s contract is, including every other charge; and that to Mr. Trumbull’s must be added store-hire, clerks, and every other contingent expense. But even then it will not amount to so much as Mr. Livingston’s, by a

\* Those rifle companies ordered by Congress, June 14, 22, 1775, pp. 67, 68, 108.

† See Resolve referred to, April 19, p. 211.

penny per ration, which, in the gross, will be something very considerable.

‘I thought it my duty, without prejudice or partiality, to state the matter fairly to Congress, that they might take such order upon it as to them shall seem necessary. I cannot, however, in justice to Mr. Trumbull, help adding, that he has been indefatigable in supplying the army; and I believe, from his connexions in New England, is able to do it on as good terms as any person in America.

‘The several matters contained in the foregoing, I must beg the early attention of Congress to; and that I may be favored with an answer as soon as possible.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Load. ed. vol. i. p. 125.

Wash. Writ.

It appears from a part of this letter, that the General was not at that time fully informed relative to the artillery in New York. There was one company which had been ordered by the Convention of that Colony early in January, and which was commanded by a young man, then but nineteen years of age. The following anecdote respecting him while in that command, is from the pen of Judge Johnson, the biographer of General Greene.

‘It was soon after Greene’s arrival on Long Island, and during the time of his command at that Post, that he became acquainted with the late General [Alexander] Hamilton, afterwards so conspicuous in the councils of this country. It was his [Gen. Greene’s] custom, when summoned to attend the Commander-in-Chief, to walk, accompanied by one or more of his Aids, from the ferry landing to Headquarters. On one of these occasions, when passing by the place then called the Park, now enclosed in the railing of the City-Hall, and which was then the parade-ground of the militia corps, Hamilton was observed disciplining a juvenile corps of artillerists, who, like himself, aspired to future usefulness. Greene knew not who he was, but his attention was riveted by the vivacity of his motion, the ardor of his countenance, and not less by the proficiency and precision of movement of his little corps. Halting behind the crowd, until an interval of rest afforded an opportunity, an Aid was dispatched to Hamilton with a compliment from General Greene upon the proficiency of his corps, and the military manner of their Commander, with a request to favor him with his company to dinner on a specified day. Those who are acquainted with the ardent character and grateful feelings of Hamilton, will judge how the message was received. The attention never was forgotten, and not many years elapsed before an opportunity occurred, and was joyfully embraced by Hamilton, of exhibiting his gratitude and esteem for the man whose discerning eye had at so early a period done justice to his talents and pretensions.

‘Greene soon made an opportunity of introducing his young



acquaintance to the Commander-in-Chief, and from his first introduction Washington "marked him for his own."'

Life of Greene, vol. 1, p. 57.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 23 April, 1776.

'In a letter which I had the honor to receive from Congress some considerable time ago, they were pleased to ask what rank Aids-de-camp bore in the army,\* from whence I concluded, that they had adverted to the extraordinary trouble and confinement of those gentlemen, with a view to make them an adequate allowance.† But nothing having been since done or said of the matter, I take the liberty, unsolicited by, and unknown to, my Aids-de-camp, to inform your honorable body, that their pay is not by any means equal to their trouble and confinement. No person wishes more to save money to the public, than I do; and no person has aimed more at it. But there are some cases in which parsimony may be ill-placed; and this I take to be one. Aids-de-camp are persons in whom entire confidence must be placed; it requires men of abilities to execute the duties with propriety and despatch, where there is such a multiplicity of business, as must attend the Commander-in-Chief of such an army as ours; and persuaded I am, that nothing but the zeal of those gentlemen, who live with me and act in this capacity, for the *great American cause*, and personal attachment to me, have induced them to undergo the trouble and confinement they have experienced, since they have become members of my family.

'I give in to no kind of amusement myself; and consequently those about me can have none, but are confined from morning till evening, hearing and answering the applications and letters of one and another, which will now, I expect, receive a considerable addition, as the business of the Northern and Eastern Departments, if I continue here, must, I suppose, pass through my hands. If these gentlemen had the same relaxation from duty as other officers have in their common routine, there would not be so much in it. But, to have the mind always upon the stretch, scarce ever unbent, and no hours for recreation, makes a material odds. Knowing this, and at the same time how inadequate the pay is, I can scarce find inclination to impose the necessary duties of their office upon them. To what I have here said, this further remark may be added, and it is a matter of no small concernment to me, and, in its consequences, to the public; namely, that while the duty is hard and the pay small, it is not to be wondered at, if there should be found a

\* According to their Resolve, Jan. 5, p. 200.

† The allowance was thirty-three dollars a month. Soon after the receipt of this letter, Congress raised it from thirty-three to forty.

promptness in them to seek preferment, or in me to do justice to them by facilitating their views; by which means I must lose their aid, when they have it most in their power to assist me. Influenced by these motives, I have taken the liberty of laying the matter before your honorable body, not doubting its meeting with a patient hearing.

I am, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 128.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 368.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 25 April, 1776.

'SIR, — I have not yet heard, that there has been any *trial of the prizes* carried into Massachusetts Bay. This procrastination is attended with very bad consequences. Some of the vessels I had fitted out are now laid up, the crews being dissatisfied that they cannot get their prize money. I have tired the Congress upon this subject; but the importance of it makes me again mention, that, if a summary way of proceeding is not resolved on, it will be impossible to get our vessels manned. I must also mention to you, Sir, that Captain Manly and his crew are desirous to know when they may expect their part of the value of the ordnance stores taken last fall. They are anxious to know what the amount may be. As the inventory of that cargo is in the hands of Congress, I would humbly submit it to them, whether a valuation thereof should not be made, and the captor's dividend be remitted to them as soon as possible. It will give them spirit, and encourage them to be alert in looking out for other prizes.

'Several officers belonging to the regiments raised in these *Middle Colonies* inform me, that their men, notwithstanding their agreement, begin to murmur *at the distinction of pay made* between them and the regiments from the Eastward. I should be glad that the Congress would attend to this in time, lest it may get to such a pitch as will make it difficult to suppress. They argue that they perform the same duty, undergo the same fatigue, and receive *five dollars*, when the Eastern regiments receive *six dollars and two-thirds* per month. *For my own part I wish they were all upon the same footing.* \* \* \* *I should for many reasons be sorry there should be any distinctions of regiments, that are all in the pay of the United Colonies.'*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 132.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 370.

In the former part of this letter is again brought to view, the practical operation of that plan of Admiralty jurisdiction which was resolved on by Congress a few months before. The reader is referred to what has been presented upon this subject, pp. 138, 139, 140, 141, 147, 172, 173.

Concerning the fact to which the attention of Congress was requested in the latter part, see Resolves, March 15, 26, 30, April 23, pp. 208, 210, 212.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 26 April, 1776.

‘I have been honored with your favor of the 23d instant. In obedience to the order \* therein contained, I have directed six regiments more for Canada, which will embark as soon as vessels and other necessaries can be provided. These regiments will be commanded by General Sullivan. I shall give him my instructions to join the forces in that country under General Thomas as soon as possible. With respect to sending more troops to that country,\* I am really at a loss what to advise, as it is impossible at present to know the designs of the enemy. \* \* \*

‘I could wish, indeed, that the army in Canada should be more powerfully reinforced; at the same time I am conscious, that the trusting of this important Post, which is now become the grand magazine of America, to the handful of men remaining here, is running too great a risk. The securing of this Post and Hudson’s River is to us also of so great importance, that I can not at present advise the sending any more troops from hence; on the contrary, the general officers now here, whom I thought it my duty to consult, think it absolutely necessary to increase the army at this place with at least ten thousand men, especially when it is considered, that, from this place only, the army in Canada must draw its supplies of ammunition, provisions, and, most probably, of men; and that all reinforcements can be sent from hence much easier than from any other place. By the enclosed return, you will see the state of the army here, and that the number of effective men is far short of what the Congress must have expected.

‘I have found it necessary to order Colonel Dayton’s regiment from New Jersey, to march as one of the six to Canada; wherefore I must recommend it to Congress to order two companies of one of the regiments still in Pennsylvania to march to Cape May, which can be done much sooner; for, had this destination of that regiment not taken place, it would have been very inconvenient to detach two companies from it to that place, as the march would, according to Lord Stirling’s and other accounts, have been at least two hundred miles from Amboy, and they must have passed within twenty miles of Philadelphia, there being no practicable road along the seacoast of New Jersey for the baggage to have passed.†

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 134.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 371.

By an official return, within two days of that date, the whole number of troops under General Washington’s command, present, and excepting wants, fit for duty, was 8,101.

\* See the two Resolves referred to, April 23, p. 212.

† The General wrote the above with reference to their order, April 17, p. 211, to send two companies of Colonel Dayton’s battalion to Cape May.

The following table shows the number of troops then on a footing similar to that of the four New York battalions, all raised in pursuance of special Resolves of Congress. The rates of pay, kinds of service, principles of regulation, and the principle of command, of those thirty-seven battalions and two companies, were somewhat indicated not only by the several Resolves for raising them, but by many others; the former of which are referred to in the table, a portion of the latter, in a note, p. 217.

In relation to these matters, see also pp. 220, 221, 222, 223.

|                 | Date.     | Page. |                     |       |
|-----------------|-----------|-------|---------------------|-------|
| In New Jersey,  | Oct. 9,   | 192   | 2 Battalions,       | 1,456 |
| Pennsylvania,   | " 12,     | 193   | 1 "                 | 728   |
| New York,       | " 28,     | "     | 1 Company,          | 91    |
| South Carolina, | Nov. 4,   | 194   | 3 Battalions,       | 2,184 |
| Georgia,        | " "       | "     | 1 "                 | 728   |
| North Carolina, | " 26,     | 196   | 2 "                 | 1,456 |
| Pennsylvania,   | Dec. 9,   | 198   | 4 "                 | 2,912 |
| Delaware,       | " "       | "     | 1 "                 | 728   |
| Virginia,       | " 28,     | 199   | 6 "                 | 4,368 |
| Pennsylvania,   | Jan. 4,   | 200   | 1 "                 | 728   |
| New Jersey      | " 10,     | 201   | 1 "                 | 728   |
| North Carolina, | " 16,     | "     | 1 "                 | 728   |
| New York,       | " 19,     | 202   | 4 "                 | 2,912 |
| Virginia,       | March 19, | 209   | 1 Company,*         | 117   |
| "               | " 25,     | 210   | 3 Battalions,       | 2,184 |
| South Carolina, | " "       | "     | 2 "                 | 1,456 |
| North Carolina, | " 26,     | "     | 2 "                 | 1,456 |
| "               | May, 7,   | 220   | 1 "                 | 728   |
| Virginia,       | " 18,     | 221   | 1 Batt'n. Cavalry,  | 500   |
| "               | " "       | "     | 1 Batt'n. Riflemen, | 728   |

|   |                        |
|---|------------------------|
| Accordingly, the whole number in Virginia was | 7,897                  |
| " " " North Carolina,                         | 4,368                  |
| " " " South Carolina,                         | 3,640                  |
| " " " Georgia,                                | 728                    |
| In the whole Southern Department,             | 16,633, at 63 dollars. |
| " " " New Jersey,                             | 2,184                  |
| " " " Pennsylvania,                           | 4,368                  |
| " " " Delaware,                               | 728                    |
| " " " New York,                               | 3,003                  |
| In the whole Middle Department,               | 10,283, " 5 dollars.   |
| Total,  | 26,916                 |

HON. JOHN ADAMS to MRS. ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, 19th March 1776.

' Virginia will be well defended. So will New York. So will South Carolina. America will, ere long, raise her voice aloud and assume a bolder air.'

*March 29th.* — ' We are taking precautions to defend every place that is in danger, — the Carolinas, Virginia, New York, Canada.'

*April 14th.* — ' You ask, what sort of defence Virginia can make? I believe they will make an able defence. Their militia and minute-men have been some time employed in training themselves, and they have nine battalions of regulars, as they

\* Augmented May 18. p. 221.

call them, maintained among them, under good officers, at the Continental expense. They have set up a number of manufactories of fire-arms, which are busily employed. They are tolerably supplied with powder, and are successful and assiduous in making saltpetre. Their neighboring sister, or rather daughter, Colony of North Carolina, which is a warlike Colony, and has several battalions at the Continental expense, as well as a pretty good militia, are ready to assist them, and they are in very good spirits, and seem determined to make a brave resistance.'

Letters of J. Adams, vol. i. pp. 91, 92, 94.

This is deemed one of the several occasions which occur, especially in this Number, to interrupt chronological arrangement, in order to give a sufficiently extended and connected view of records having in common some interesting purport and tendency.

IN CONGRESS. '*May 7. Resolved*, That another battalion raised in North Carolina, in addition to the five battalions already ordered *for the defence of that Colony*, be taken into the pay and service of the United Colonies.

'*May 14, 1776. Resolved*, That the five battalions, now in Massachusetts Bay, be recruited to their full complements, and that three additional battalions be raised in the Eastern Department, *for the service of the Continent*, the recruits to be taken into Continental pay, so soon as they shall be armed and mustered.

'*Resolved*, That one battalion be raised in New Hampshire, *for the service of the United Colonies*, and paid and subsisted on the same terms as the Continental troops in the Eastern Department; the said battalion to be taken into Continental pay, so soon as they shall be armed and mustered.

'*May 16. Resolved*, That two of the additional battalions, ordered on the 14th to be raised in the Eastern Department, be raised, one in Massachusetts Bay and the other in Connecticut:

'*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the General Assemblies of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut, to endeavor to have the battalions enlisted for two years, unless sooner discharged by Congress; in which case, the men to be allowed one month's pay on their discharge; but, if the men cannot be prevailed on to enlist for two years, that they be enlisted for one; and *that they be ordered*, as soon as raised and armed, *to march immediately to Boston*.

'*May 18. Resolved*, That, as the Colony of Virginia is intersected with many navigable rivers, six galleys be built for the protection of the troops, in their transportation across the said rivers, *at the Continental expense*, on as cheap terms as the business for which they are intended will admit of; that such *other defence* of the rivers and bays, as shall be requisite *for the Colony*, be at the particular charge thereof: And, that General Lee, or the Commanding officer in Virginia, transmit to Congress, as early as

possible, an account of the expense which shall be incurred in consequence of this Resolution.

‘ That General Lee, or the commanding officer in Virginia, be directed to set on foot the raising of two companies of carpenters, to consist of house and ship builders : \*

‘ That General Lee be permitted to order rations and forage for such volunteers of horse, not exceeding five hundred, as shall think proper to attend the service of their country in the Continental army, agreeable to General Lee’s request and proposal :

‘ That the scheme of adding two subalterns and forty privates to the company of artillery, be adopted.

‘ *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Convention of Virginia, to raise a battalion of riflemen, *on the same terms* as the other battalions raised in that Colony ; to be taken into the pay of the Continent, when armed and mustered.

‘ *June 17. Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Governor and Assembly of Connecticut, to send the two battalions mentioned in the said letter as raised, one for Boston, and one for New York, into Canada forthwith, as proposed in the said letter ; and that a battalion of militia be sent to Boston, instead of the one intended for that place :

‘ That blank commissions be sent to Governor Trumbull, for the officers of the battalion intended for New York ; the present exigency requiring this measure, *the same not to be drawn into precedent*.

‘ *June 18.* Whereas the Congress, on the 4th day of November last, *Resolved*, that for the defence of South Carolina, there be kept up in that Colony, at the Continental expense, three battalions of foot ; each battalion to consist of the same number of men and officers, to be upon the same pay, and under the same regulations as the Continental army ; and on the 25th day of March last, resolved that the Convention or Council of Safety of South Carolina be permitted to raise and embody two other battalions, and that they be on the pay and at the expense of the Continent, as soon as they shall be armed and fit for service, and accordingly mustered ; and whereas the Convention of South Carolina, on the 22d day of February last, ordered that their *Council of Safety return the thanks of that Colony to the Congress for their attention to its security* ; that they state the peculiar circumstances and the heavy expenses which have been and will be incurred by that Colony in the measures necessary for its defence, and that they request the Congress to allow that Colony so much money as the expenses of three battalions, upon the Continental establishment, would amount to for one year, and to give Continental rank to the officers of the three regiments raised in June, and of the regiment of artillery raised in November, from the

\* Not included in the foregoing table .



dates of their respective commissions, or at least from the fourth day of November, *when they resolved to allow that Colony three battalions*; and whereas, the delegates from that Colony in Congress have represented the peculiar circumstances and heavy expenses of that Colony; and that the troops raised in it were enlisted for three years, upon a different establishment of pay, and under different articles of war, so as to render it inconvenient to place them, in all respects, upon the Continental establishment; therefore,

*'Resolved, That the battalion of artillery, and the two battalions of foot, raised in South Carolina, and kept up in that Colony for the defence of the same, be considered as Continental forces, and allowed the same pay, rations, and disbursements as other forces on the Continental establishment:*

*'That the two battalions under the command of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie, be allowed all the advantages of the Continental establishment, from the 4th of November last, and the regiment of artillery, from the time when the same was ordered to be raised by the Convention of South Carolina:*

*'That the two battalions of riflemen, raised in and for the defence of the said Colony, be considered as Continental troops from the 25th day of March last, and be entitled to all the advantages of the same:*

*'That all the above-mentioned troops be liable to the articles for the government of the forces in the said Colony:*

*'That the said forces be continued on the Continental establishment until the expiration of their enlistment, unless they shall be sooner disbanded by Congress:*

*'That not more than one-third of the effective men of the above-mentioned forces be ordered out of the said Colony, without the express order of Congress, or the consent of the President of that Colony.\**

*'July 5. Resolved, That, for the defence of Georgia, there be an addition of two battalions, (one of them to consist of riflemen,) to be raised on the same terms on which other Continental battalions are now ordered to be raised:*

*'That blank commissions for the field-officers be sent to the Convention of Georgia, to be filled up with the names of such persons as the said Convention shall judge proper:*

*'That four galleys be built at the expense of the United States, under the direction of the Convention of Georgia, for the farther defence of the said State.\**

*'And whereas the delegates of Georgia have represented the necessity of erecting two forts, one at Savannah, and the other at Sunbury:*

*'Resolved, That two companies of artillery be raised, consisting of fifty men each, officers included, for the purpose of garrisoning*

\* Here may be observed the change of name by the Declaration of Independence.

such forts, *in case they shall be erected by and at the expense of Georgia*; and that blank commissions be delivered to the delegates for the officers, to be filled up by the Assembly or Convention of the said State.

*'July 18. Resolved,* That the Convention of Pennsylvania be informed, that the Congress have agreed to the raising of a battalion in the counties of Westmoreland and Bedford, *for the defence of the western frontiers, and that they be requested immediately to recommend* proper persons to Congress for field-officers for said battalion.

*'July 24. Resolved,* That the regiment of rangers, now in the pay of the State of South Carolina, be placed upon Continental establishment:

*'That the said rangers be liable to act on horseback, or foot, as occasion may require:*

*'That the like number of rangers be raised in the State of Georgia, and put upon Continental establishment:*

*'That these be entitled to the same pay, and subject to the same duties, as the Carolina rangers:*

*'That the rangers raised in the State of South Carolina, be subject to the articles formed by the Convention of that State, for the government of the forces raised therein.*

*'July 31.* The committee appointed to take into consideration the state of North Carolina, brought in their Report; whereupon

*'Resolved,* That the three independent companies of rangers, in that State, be taken upon the Continental pay and establishment, and that their pay and appointment be as already resolved *by the Convention of that State*, and that they rank as the rangers raised in South Carolina and Georgia.'

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

NEW YORK, 26 April, 1776.

*'SIR, —* When you did me the honor of a visit at Norwich, on my way to this place, I communicated to you the *recommendation I had received from Congress for sending four battalions from hence to reinforce the troops in Canada.* I now beg leave to inform you, that, in compliance therewith, on Saturday and Sunday last, I detached four regiments thither, under the command of Brigadier General Thompson; and, by an express received last night, *I am ordered by Congress*, in addition to those already gone, *to send six more immediately.* Our regiments being incomplete and much wanting in numbers, I need not add, that the army here felt a sensible diminution by this detachment; and, when the second is gone, it will be weak indeed, considering the importance of this place, and the many extensive posts which must be guarded for its defence. Added to this, almost the whole of our valuable ordnance, stores, and magazines will be deposited here. For these reasons, it

appears to me expedient, that some mode should be adopted, without loss of time, by this government, yours, and that of Jersey, for throwing in immediate succors, upon the appearance of the enemy, or any case of emergency. I have written to the Congress of New Jersey upon the subject, praying them to form such regulations respecting their militia, *they being the only resource we have*, that assistance may be had on the earliest notice of an approach by the enemy, for preventing the *alarming and fatal consequences*, which might result from the common, tedious, and slow methods generally used for obtaining their aid. And I would take the liberty of mentioning, that, if the same should be done by you and your honorable Council, respecting your militia, or such part of them as are nearest to this place, the most salutary ends might result therefrom.

'The benefits flowing from a timely succor being too obvious for repetition, I shall, with all possible deference, propose for your consideration, whether it would not be advisable to have some select corps of men appointed, under proper officers, in the western parts of your government, to repair to this place on the earliest notice from the General, or officer commanding here, of the appearance of an enemy. *If it should be thought necessary upon an emergency, in the first instance, to resort to you, and for all the ordinary forms to be gone through* \* before any succors can be ordered in, it is to be feared, that the *relief would be too late* to answer any good purpose. This, however, I shall submit to you, in full confidence of your most ready assistance on every occasion, and that such measures as appear to you most likely to advance the public good, in this and every instance, will be most cheerfully adopted. I am, Sir, with great esteem, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 373.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 5 May, 1776.

'SIR,—I am honored with your favor of the 30th ultimo, and observe what Congress have done respecting the settlement of the Paymaster's accounts. This seems expedient, as he is out of office, and, I am certain, will be attended with but little if any difficulty; nothing more being necessary, than to compare the warrants with his debits, and the receipts he has given, with his credits. I wish every other settlement as easy, and that a committee were appointed to examine and audit the accounts upon which the warrants are founded, particularly those of the Quarter-Master and Commissary-Generals. They are long and of high amount, consisting of a variety of charges; of course more intricate, and will require time and an extraordinary degree of attention to adjust and liquidate in a proper manner. Upon this subject, I did myself the honor to write you a considerable time ago.†

\* See the 'explanatory Resolve,' Dec. 7, p. 130.

† Jan. 24, p. 160.

‘Having had several complaints from the officers in the Eastern regiments, who have been and are recruiting, about the expense attending it, and for which they have never yet been allowed any thing, though the officers in these governments have, as I am informed, I shall be glad to know whether the allowance  
 \* \* \* granted to the officers for every man enlisted, by the Resolve of Congress, is general and indiscriminate, or confined to the Middle districts. If general, must I have a retrospect to the time of the Resolve, or only for future enlistments?’

Load. ed. vol. i. p. 137.

Wash. Writ.

IN CONGRESS. ‘*May 10th. Resolved*, That the Resolution of Congress, passed the 17th of January last, [p. 202,] allowing one dollar and one-third of a dollar to the officers, in lieu of expenses, for enlisting each soldier, *being a general regulation*, extends to the troops raised in the Eastern Department; and that the General be directed to make that allowance for all the troops enlisted *since the time* of passing the said Resolution.’ \*

It is easily perceived, that this Resolve was intended to answer the General's above inquiry. But, if that Resolve of Jan. 17 was *general*, as represented in this, it may be asked, why those two *special* Resolves; one, on the same day and embraced in the same Report of their Committee, to extend it to the officers of the first Pennsylvania battalion, this battalion having been ordered by Congress, Oct. 12; the other, Feb. 6, to extend it likewise to the officers of the two New Jersey battalions, ordered Oct. 9, — why its existence and force had not been earlier made known to the General and the Eastern officers, — and finally, as the business of recruiting in the Eastern Department was begun more than a month subsequent to these *orders* in Oct., why its retrospective operation was not extended to the officers of the Eastern enlistments prior to the time of its passage, Jan. 17, as well as to those three battalions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

See those Resolves, Jan. 17 and Feb. 6, pp. 202, 203.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 5 May, 1776.

‘SIR, — I have so often and so fully communicated my want of arms to Congress, that I should not have given them the trouble of receiving another letter upon the subject at this time, but for the particular application of Colonel Wayne, of Pennsylvania, who has pointed out a method by which he thinks they may be obtained.

‘In the hands of the Committee of Safety of Philadelphia, there are, according to Colonel Wayne's account, not less than two or three thousand stand of arms for Provincial use. \* \* \*

At a crisis so important as this, such a loan might be attended with the most signal advantages, — while the defenceless state of the regiments, if no relief can be had, may be productive of fatal consequences.

\* In this, as well as the preceding Numbers, are necessarily omitted many important records, which will be found in the fifth or last one of the volume.

‘To give Congress some idea of our situation with respect to arms — (and justice to my own character requires that it should be known to them, although the world at large will form their opinion of our strength from numbers, without attending to circumstances,)

\* \* \* by a report from Colonel Ritzema’s regiment, of the 29th ultimo, there appeared to be only ninety-seven firelocks and seven bayonets belonging thereto; and all the regiments from the eastward are deficient from twenty to fifty of the former. In what condition the residue are on account of arms, and how Colonel Wynkoop’s men are provided, I cannot undertake to say; but am told, most miserably, as Colonel Dayton’s of New Jersey and Colonel Wayne’s of Pennsylvania also are. This, Sir, is a true though melancholy description of our situation. The propriety therefore of keeping arms in store when men in actual pay are in want of them, and who (it is to be presumed) will, as they ought, bear the heat and burden of the day, is submitted with all due deference to the superior judgment of others.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 141.

Wash. Writ.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 11 May, 1776.

‘SIR, — I would take occasion to suggest to Congress (not wishing or meaning of myself to assume the smallest degree of power in any instance) the propriety and necessity of having their sentiments respecting the filling up the vacancies and issuing commissions to officers, especially to those under the rank of field officers. Had I literally complied with the direction given upon this subject, when I first engaged in the service, and which I conceived to be superseded by a subsequent Resolve for forming the army upon the present establishment, I must have employed one clerk for no other business than issuing warrants of appointment, and giving information to Congress for their confirmation or refusal. It being evident from the necessity of the thing, that there will be frequent changes and vacancies in office, from death and a variety of other causes, I now submit it to them, and pray their direction, whether I am to pursue that mode, and all the ceremonies attending it, or to be at liberty to fill up and grant commissions at once to such as may be fit and proper persons to succeed, without these previous steps.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 144.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 386.

Whether or not a knowledge of its contents preceded the letter written with such modesty and caution, Congress passed the following Resolve one day previous to its date.

IN CONGRESS. ‘May 10, 1776. *Resolved*, That this Congress has hitherto exercised and ought to retain, the power of promoting the officers in the Continental service according to their merit; and

that no promotion or succession shall take place upon any vacancy, without the authority of a Continental commission.'

In the postscript of a letter dated June 7, the General again solicited direction on the subject, and referred to this letter, thus, — 'I am in need of commissions, and beg Congress to point out precisely the line I am to pursue in filling them up. This I mentioned in my letter of the 11th ultimo.'

Another extract from the same letter of May 11th.

'With the utmost deference and respect, I would beg leave to remind Congress of my former letters and applications, respecting the appointment of *proper persons to superintend* and take direction of such *prisoners* as have already fallen and will fall into our hands in the course of the war, being fully convinced, that, if there were persons appointed, who would take the whole management of them under their care, the Continent would save a considerable sum of money by it, and the prisoners be better treated than they now are; and I shall take the liberty to add, that it appears to me a matter of much importance, and worthy of consideration, that particular and proper places of security should be fixed on and established in the interior parts of the different governments for their reception.

'The advantages which will arise from them are obvious and many. I shall mention only two or three. They will tend much to prevent escapes, \* \* \* \* \* and the more ingenious among them from disseminating and spreading their artful and pernicious intrigues and opinions throughout the country, \* \* \* . Further, it will be less in their power to join and assist our enemies in cases of invasions, and will give us an opportunity always to know, from the returns of those appointed to superintend them, what number we have in possession, the force sufficient to check their hostile views in times of emergency, and the expenses necessary for their maintenance. Many other reasons might be adduced to prove the necessity and expediency of the measure.'

The following Resolves upon the subject of this part of the letter, should be regarded in connection with the above application not only, but also with those, Nov. 8, Feb. 9, pp. 121, 122, 165, here alluded to by the General.

IN CONGRESS. 'May 21, 1776. *Resolved*, That all prisoners taken in arms on board any prize, be deemed prisoners; to be taken care of by the *supreme executive power, in each Colony* to which they are brought \* \* \* :

'That such as are officers supply themselves, and be allowed to draw bills to pay for their subsistence and clothing:

'That officers made prisoners, in the land service, be allowed the same indulgence:

'That David Franks, Esq., agent to the contractors for victualling



the troops of the King of Great Britain, be permitted to supply the prisoners with provisions and other necessaries, \* \* \* :

‘ That such of the prisoners as are not supplied by Mr. Franks, be furnished with provisions not exceeding the rations allowed to privates in the service of the Continent :

‘ That the Committees of Inspection and Observation, for the counties, districts or towns, assigned for the residence of prisoners, be empowered to superintend their conduct ; and, in cases of gross misbehaviour, to confine them, and report to their respective Assemblies, Conventions, or Committees or Councils of Safety, the proceedings had on such persons :

‘ That a list of the prisoners, in each Colony, be made out by the committees of the counties, towns, or districts where they reside, and transmitted to the Assembly, Convention, or Council, or Committee of Safety of such Colony, respectively, who shall send a copy thereof to Congress :

‘ That the said Assemblies, Conventions, and Committees or Councils of Safety, be empowered to contract with proper persons [on] the most reasonable terms for supplying such of the prisoners, their wives and children, in their respective Colonies, as are not supplied by Mr. Franks :

‘ That the said Assemblies, Conventions, and Committees or Councils of Safety, be authorized and requested to take the paroles of the officers, and to cause a strict observance of the terms on which they are enlarged, and also to take especial care, that none of those confined by order of the Congress, be suffered to escape ; also, to advance the allowance of two dollars a week to each of the officers who cannot draw or sell their bills, and to draw for the same on the President of Congress :

‘ That the said Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety of the Colonies, respectively, in which prisoners are or shall choose or be appointed to reside, be empowered to remove such prisoners from place to place, within the same Colonies, as often as to such Assemblies, Conventions, Committees or Councils of Safety, it shall seem proper, having regard to the former Resolutions of Congress concerning prisoners.’

A third extract from the same letter of May 11th.

‘ Having received a letter from General Ward, advising that Congress have accepted his resignation, and praying to be relieved, and it being necessary that a general officer should be sent to take the command of the troops at Boston, \* \* \* I must beg leave to recommend to Congress the appointment of some Brigadier Generals, not having more here, but fewer at this time, than are essential to the government of the forces, and the conducting of the works that are carrying on. *Generals Sullivan and Thompson*

*being ordered to Canada, I cannot spare one more general officer from hence, without injuring the service greatly, and leaving the army here without a sufficient number.'*

At the commencement of business in Congress on the 14th, this letter was read and referred to a Committee of three. Near the close, the following Resolve was passed.

*'May 14, 1776. Resolved, That General Washington be directed to order a Major-General forthwith, to take the command in the Eastern Department, and also that he order a Brigadier-General on that service.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK, 17 May, 1776.

*'DEAR SIR, — I this morning received your favor of the 13th instant, with its enclosures, conveying intelligence of the melancholy situation of our affairs in Canada; and I am not without my fears, I confess, that the prospect we had of possessing that country, of so much importance in the present controversy, is almost over, or at least that it will be effected with much more difficulty and effusion of blood, than were necessary, had our exertions been timely applied. However, we must not despair. A manly and spirited opposition only can ensure success, and prevent the enemy from improving the advantage they have obtained. I have forwarded the letter to Congress; and their answer to you and the Commissioners I will transmit to you, as soon as they come to hand. I am fully sensible, that this unfortunate event has greatly deranged your schemes, and will involve you in difficulties to be obviated only by your zeal and assiduity, which I am well satisfied will not be wanting in this or any other instance, where the good of your country requires them. I am, Sir, with sentiments of much esteem and regard, your most obedient, humble servant.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 392.

IN CONGRESS. *'May 14, 1776. Resolved, That an additional Major-General and Brigadier-General be appointed in the Continental army.*

*'Resolved, That the election of the Major-General and Brigadier-General be postponed till to-morrow.*

*'May 16. Congress proceeded to the election of a Major-General and Brigadier-General in the Continental army; and, the ballots being taken and examined,*

*'Horatio Gates, Esq., was elected Major-General, and*

*'Thomas Mifflin, Esq., Brigadier-General.\**

\* It will shortly be seen that these promotions contributed little to relieve that want of officers, to which the General solicited the attention of Congress in the preceding letter, May 11.

*'Resolved, That the President write to General Washington, requesting him to repair to Philadelphia as soon as he can conveniently, in order to consult with Congress upon such measures as may be necessary for the carrying on the ensuing campaign.*

*'May 18. Resolved, That General Washington be directed, if the service will permit, to station a battalion at Amboy.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 20 May, 1776.

*'SIR, — Your favor of the 16th, with several Resolutions of Congress therein enclosed, I had not the honor to receive till last night. Before the receipt of it, I did not think myself at liberty to wait on Congress, although I wished to do it, and therefore, I the more readily consented to General Gates's attendance, as I knew there were many matters which could be better explained in a personal interview, than by whole volumes of letters. He accordingly set out for Philadelphia yesterday morning, and must be too far advanced on his journey (as he proposed expedition) to be overtaken.*

*'I shall, if I can settle some matters which are in agitation in the Provincial Congress here, follow to-morrow or next day; and, therefore, with every sentiment of regard, attachment, and gratitude to Congress for their attention to the means which they think may be conducive to my health, and with particular thanks to you for the politeness of your invitation to your house, I conclude, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.'*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 151.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 395.

IN CONGRESS. *'May 22. Resolved, That General Washington, or the Commanding officer at New York, be directed to send from thence to Ticonderoga, so many light cannon as will be sufficient to arm the vessels now on Lake Champlain.*

*'Resolved, That General Washington be empowered to appoint an Assistant clerk to his Secretary, with the pay of forty dollars per month.*

*'May 23. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to confer with General Washington, Major-General Gates and Brigadier-General Mifflin, upon the most speedy and effectual means for supporting the American cause in Canada.*

*'Ordered, That General Washington attend in Congress to-morrow.*

*'May 24. The committee appointed to confer with his Excellency General Washington, Major-General Gates, and Brigadier-General Mifflin, brought in their Report, which being taken into consideration was agreed to; whereupon,*

*'Resolved, That the commanding officer in Canada, be informed, that Congress are fully convinced of the absolute necessity of keeping possession of that country, and that they expect the forces*

in that department will contest every foot of the ground with the enemies of these Colonies; and, as Congress have in view the cutting off all communication between the upper country and the enemy, they judge it highly necessary that the exertions of the forces be particularly made on the St. Lawrence, below the mouth of the Sorelle.

‘Agreeable to order, General Washington attended in Congress, and after some conference with him,

‘*Resolved*, That he be *directed* to attend again to-morrow.

‘*May 25.* Agreeable to order, General Washington attended, and, after some conference with him,

‘*Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to confer with his Excellency General Washington, Major-General Gates, and Brigadier-General Mifflin, and to concert a plan of military operations for the ensuing campaign.

‘The Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, to whom were referred the letter from the Convention of North Carolina, and the list of the prisoners sent from thence, having appointed Colonel Roberdeau to wait upon Congress and inform them that the prisoners are arrived,

‘*Resolved*, That the disposition of the prisoners, made by the Committee of Safety, is approved, and that they have the allowance granted to other officers who are prisoners.

‘That one battalion of Germans be raised for the service of the United Colonies.

‘*SECRET JOURNAL, May 28.* The committee appointed to confer with the Generals, brought in a further Report, which was read; Whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That an animated address be published, to impress the minds of the people with the necessity of now stepping forward to save their country, their freedom, and property:

‘That a committee of four be appointed to prepare the said address.

‘*PUBLIC JOURNAL, May 30.* Congress then took into consideration the Report of the committee appointed to confer with his Excellency, General Washington, Major-General Gates and Brigadier-General Mifflin, and after some debate,

‘*Resolved*, That it be referred to a committee of the whole Congress.

‘The Resolution reported from the committee of the whole Congress being read, was agreed to as follows:

‘*Resolved*, That the General be authorized to direct the building of as many fire crafts, row-galleys, armed boats, and floating batteries as may be necessary, and suitable for the immediate defence of the port of New York, and Hudson’s River.

‘*Resolved*, That this Congress will to-morrow, again  
\* take into their farther consideration the Report,’ &c. \*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 31 May, 1776.

‘DEAR BROTHER,— Since my arrival at this place, where I came at the request of Congress to settle some matters relative to the ensuing campaign, I have received your letter of the 18th, from Williamsburg, and I think I stand indebted to you for another, which came to hand some time ago in New York. I am very glad to hear that the Virginia Convention have passed so noble a vote, and with so much unanimity. Things have come to such a pass now, as to convince us, that we have nothing more to expect from the justice of Great Britain; also, that she is capable of the most delusive arts; for I am satisfied, that no Commissioners ever were designed, except Hessians and other foreigners; and that the idea was only to deceive and throw us off our guard. The first has been too effectually accomplished, as many members of Congress, in short, the Representatives of the whole Provinces, are still feeding themselves upon the dainty food of reconciliation; and though they will not allow, that the expectation of it has any influence upon their judgment, with respect to their preparations for defence, it is but too obvious that it has an operation upon every part of their conduct, and is a clog to their proceedings. It is not in the nature of things to be otherwise; for no man that entertains a hope of seeing this dispute speedily and equitably adjusted by Commissioners, will go to the same expense and run the same hazards to prepare for the worst event, as he who believes that he must conquer, or submit to unconditional terms, and the concomitants, such as confiscation, hanging, and the like.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘We expect a very bloody summer at New York and Canada, as it is there,\* I presume, the grand efforts of the enemy will be aimed; and I am sorry to say that we are not, either in men or arms, prepared for it. However it is to be hoped, that if our cause is just, as I most religiously believe it to be, the same Providence, which has in many instances appeared for us, will still go on to afford us aid.

‘Mrs. Washington is now under inoculation in this city; and will, I expect, have the small pox favorably. This is the thirteenth day, and she has very few pustules.’ She would have written to my sister, but thought it prudent not to do so. She joins me in love to you and all the little ones. I am, with every sentiment of regard, dear Sir, your most affectionate brother.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 403.

IN CONGRESS. ‘June 1. The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration, the Report of the committee of conference.

\* It should be noticed, the General was writing from Philadelphia.

' The Report of the committee of the whole Congress was read ; whereupon,

' *Resolved*, That six thousand militia be employed to reinforce the army in Canada, and to keep up the communication with that Province, to make up which number,

' *Resolved*, That the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, be requested to supply, of their militia

|                                 |       |               |
|---------------------------------|-------|---------------|
|                                 | 3,000 | 4 battalions. |
| Connecticut, of their militia   | 1,500 | 2 battalions. |
| New Hampshire, of their militia | 750   | 1 battalion.  |
| New York, of their militia      | 750   | 1 battalion.  |

' *June 3.* The committee of conference brought in a farther Report, which was read :

' *Resolved*. That the same be referred to the committee of the whole Congress.

' The Report of the committee of the whole Congress being read, was agreed to ; whereupon,

' *Resolved*, That 13,800 militia be employed to reinforce the army at New York ; to complete which number,

' *Resolved*, That the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, be requested to furnish, of their militia

|                               |       |
|-------------------------------|-------|
|                               | 2,000 |
| Connecticut, of their militia | 5,500 |
| New York, of their militia    | 3,000 |
| New Jersey, of their militia  | 3,300 |

' *Resolved*, That a Flying Camp be immediately established in the Middle Colonies ; and that it consist of 10,000 men ; to complete which number,

' *Resolved*, That the Colony of Pennsylvania be requested to furnish, of their militia

|                            |       |
|----------------------------|-------|
|                            | 6,000 |
| Maryland, of their militia | 3,400 |
| Delaware, of their militia | 600   |

' *Resolved*, That the militias be engaged to the *first day of December* next, unless sooner discharged by Congress.

' *Resolved*, That three Major-Generals, and two Brigadier-Generals be added to the Continental establishment of general officers, and that the vacancies in the offices of Adjutant-General, and Quarter Master-General, be filled up.

' That two Provincial Brigadier-Generals be employed in the Canada Department ; one from Massachusetts Bay and one from Connecticut :

' That four Provincial Brigadier-Generals be employed in the New York Department ; one from Massachusetts Bay, one from Connecticut, one from New York and one from New Jersey :

' That three Provincial Brigadier-Generals be employed for the Flying Camp ; two from Pennsylvania and one from Maryland :

' That the said Brigadier-Generals be appointed by the respective Colonies above mentioned :

' That the Commander-in-Chief be authorized to form and fix



such magazines of provisions and military stores, as he may judge necessary.

‘ *June 4. Resolved*, That it be *recommended* to the Assemblies and Conventions of the Colonies, *requested* to supply or furnish militia by the Resolutions of yesterday, to take particular care that the militia come provided with arms, accoutrements, and camp-kettles.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Deputy Commissary-General, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, Deputy Adjutant-General, and Deputy Muster-Master-General, make regular returns and reports to Congress, and to the respective officers to whom they are deputies, at least once a month, and that the principals also make returns to Congress at the same periods :

‘ That the Paymaster-General, and the Deputy Paymaster-General, make monthly returns to Congress of their expenditures, and the state of the military chests in their several departments :

‘ That the Flying Camp be under the command of such Continental general officers as the Commander-in-Chief shall direct :

‘ That *Expresses* be established between the several Continental Posts :

‘ That the militia, when in service, be regularly paid and victualled, in the same manner as the Continental troops :

‘ That the Aids-de-camp of the Commander-in-Chief rank as Lieutenant-Colonels :

‘ That the Aids-de-camp of Major-Generals, rank as Majors :

‘ That Robert Hanson Harrison, Esq., have the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Continental army.

‘ The ballots being taken and examined,

‘ Joseph Reed, Esq., was elected Adjutant-General, and

‘ Stephen Moylen, Esq. was elected Quarter-Master-General.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

‘ NEW YORK, 8 June, 1776.

‘ In perusing the several Resolves you honored me with when at Philadelphia and since my return, I find one allowing a chief engineer for the army in a separate department. The service requiring many of them, I wish Congress, if they know any persons skilled in this business, would appoint them. General Schuyler has frequently applied, and suggested the necessity of having some in Canada. I myself know of none.

‘ In respect to establishing *Expresses* between the several Continental Posts, — who is to do it? — the Resolve does not say. Is it expected by Congress that I should? Whoever the work is assigned to, I think, should execute it with the utmost despatch.\*

‘ When I had the honor of being in Congress, if I mistake not,

\* See pp. 170, 171.

I heard a Resolve read, or was told of one, allowing the New York troops the same pay as others in the Continental service. This, if any such, I do not find; and if there is not such a one, I shall be under some embarrassment, how to pay the militia to be provided by this Province. The Resolve providing them says, they are to be paid, while in service, as other troops are. But if those enlisted heretofore in this Province are to receive *according to the first establishment*, it is a matter of doubt, what the militia are to have. I have the honor to be, &c.

‘P. S. If Congress have come to any Resolution about *an allowance to induce men to re-enlist*,\* you will please to favor me with it, as the time the rifle regiment is engaged for, is just expired.

‘As the militia will be coming in, and they will be in much need of covering, please to have all the tents, and cloth proper for making them, that can be procured, forwarded as soon as possible.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 154.

Wash. Writ.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 9 June, 1776.

‘The situation of our affairs in Canada, as reported by the honorable Commissioners, is truly alarming; and I am sorry, that my opinion of the ill consequences resulting from the *short enlistments* of the army, should be but too well confirmed by the experience they have had of the want of discipline and order in our soldiery there. *This induces me again to wish* Congress to determine on a *liberal allowance, to engage the troops* already in service to re-enlist for a longer period, or *during the* continuance of the *war*,\* nor can I forbear expressing my opinion of the propriety of keeping the military chest always supplied with money, as evils of the most interesting nature are often produced for want of a regular payment of troops. The neglect makes them impatient and uneasy.’

‘June 10th. Since I did myself the honor of writing to you yesterday, I have had the satisfaction of seeing, and for a few minutes conversing with Mr. Chase and Mr. Carroll, from Canada. \*

\* I need not touch upon a subject, which you will be so well informed of from the fountain-head; nor should I have given you the trouble of a letter by this day’s post, but for the distraction which seems to prevail in the *Commissary’s department*, as well as others in that quarter; the *necessity* of having it under *one general direction*; and the dissatisfaction of Colonel Trumbull, at the allowance made to him by Congress, as an equivalent for his trouble. With respect to this particular matter I can only say, that I think he is a man well suited for the business, and that where *a shilling is saved* in the pay, *a pound may be lost* by mismanagement in the office; and that his resignation at this time, I mean this

\* See the General’s letter, Feb. 9. p. 167, the writings referred to, p. 169, and his suggestion of ‘*some method*,’ &c. p. 214.

campaign, may possibly be attended with fatal consequences. I therefore humbly submit to Congress the propriety of handsomely rewarding those gentlemen, who hold such very important, troublesome, and hazardous offices, as those of Commissary and Quarter-Master.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘To Congress I also submit the propriety of keeping the two Continental battalions,\* under the command of Colonels Shee and Magaw, at Philadelphia, when there is the greatest probability of a speedy attack upon this place by the King’s troops. The encouragements given by Governor Tryon to the disaffected, which are circulated, no one can tell how; the movements of this kind of people, which are more easy to perceive than describe; the confident report, which is said to have come immediately from Governor Tryon, and brought by a frigate from Halifax, that the troops at that place were embarking for this; \* \* \* leave not a doubt upon my mind, that troops are hourly expected at the Hook. I had no doubt when I left this city for Philadelphia, that some measures would have been taken to secure the suspected and dangerous persons of this government before now, and I left orders for the military to give every aid to the civil power. But the subject is delicate, and nothing is done in it. We may therefore have internal as well as external enemies to contend with.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 155, 158.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. pp. 411, 413.

#### SAME TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

NEW YORK, 10 June, 1776.

‘SIR, — Before this, I presume you have received the Resolve of Congress for augmenting our army here and in Canada, with their requisition for the quota of men to be furnished by your Colony. I must beg leave to add, that, from intelligence I have received, and a variety of circumstances combining to confirm it, General Howe, with the fleet from Halifax, or some other armament, is hourly expected at the Hook, with designs doubtless to make an impression here, and possess themselves of this Colony, which is of the last importance to us in the present controversy. Our works are extensive and many, and the troops here but few for their defence, being greatly reduced by the regiments detached on the Canada expedition.

‘In this critical conjuncture of affairs, the experience I have had of your zeal and readiness to assist the *common cause*, induces me to request the most speedy and early succour that can be obtained from your Colony, and that the militia may be forwarded, one battalion after another, as fast as they can possibly be raised, without waiting to make up the whole complement to be furnished for this

\* Two of the four battalions directed, March 14, p. 208, to march to New York.

place, before any of them march. I would advise, that they come properly provided with field and other officers, and that the person appointed by the Colony to command the whole, be here a day or two before them, to receive his orders, and to be in readiness to take the command on their arrival. It will be proper, too, that notice be sent a day or two before their coming, that provision may be made for furnishing them, and disposing of them in proper places. I have written a similar letter to the Jersey Convention, praying aid from them. I am, Sir, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 416.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 13 June, 1776.

'SIR,—I have the honor of transmitting to Congress a letter which came by express last night from General Schuyler, enclosing a copy of a letter to him from Colonel Kirkland. \* \*

The representations contained in these letters have induced me, without waiting the determination of Congress, to direct General Schuyler immediately to commence a treaty with the Six Nations, and to engage them in our interest, upon the best terms he and his colleagues in commission can procure; and I trust the urgency of the occasion will justify my proceeding, to the Congress. The necessity for decision and despatch in all our measures, in my opinion, becomes every day more and more apparent. The express, Mr. Bennet, was overtaken at Albany by General Schuyler, who had received intelligence from Fort George, that a considerable body of Mohawk Indians were coming down the Mohawk River, under the conduct of Sir John Johnson. The General's extreme hurry would not allow him to write; but it seems his intention is to collect at Albany a sufficient force to oppose Sir John.

\* \* \* \* \*

'In consequence of information, that several merchants were exporting salt pork and beef from this place, I requested the Commissary to make application to the Provincial Congress, for a restraint to be laid on the exportation of those articles, as I apprehended, not only the enemy might receive supplies by the capture of our vessels, but that our people might shortly experience a scarcity. The Provincial Congress have accordingly made a Resolution to stop the exportation for fourteen days. They expect Congress will, in the mean time, frame some *general* regulations on this head. They are unwilling, they say, to subject their constituents to *partial* restraints. \*

'I once mentioned to Congress, that I thought a War-Office extremely necessary, and they seemed inclined to institute one for our

\* Congress passed a Resolve the next day, that no salted beef or pork, more than necessary for vessel's use, should be exported from any of the United Colonies, until their further order.

army: but the affair seems to have been since dropped. Give me leave again to insist on the utility and importance of such an establishment. The more I reflect upon the subject, the more I am convinced of its necessity, and that affairs can never be properly conducted without it.

It is with pleasure that I receive the Resolve enclosed in your favor of the 11th instant. One considerable ground of dissatisfaction in the army is thereby removed.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 160.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 419.

In Congress. June 10, 1776. *Resolved, That the pay of the troops in the Middle Department, be hereafter the same as the troops in the Eastern.'*

The Resolve explains the General's reference in the closing paragraph of the above letter. He might say that one ground of dissatisfaction was removed, when we are told that distinction which first appeared in the Resolves, Oct. 9, 1775, and was continued till June 10, 1776. Respecting its existence and its mischiefs, it is not pertinent in this place, to refer to pp. 217, 219, 234, 235.

Fortunate for the General and fortunate for his countrymen would it have been, if the artificial causes of distressing embarrassment to him and appalling danger to them, had been removed at the same time.

## CORRESPONDENCE AND PROCEEDINGS RELATIVE TO THE NORTHERN DEPARTMENT, IN 1776.

The affairs of the Northern Department were of such moment and interest, as well in after stages as in that particular stage of the Revolution, that some of the evidences of important events and measures which speedily succeeded the death of General Thomas, are presented in a few pages under a distinct head.

On being informed of that event, General Washington hastened to convey the information to Congress, as follows.

To the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

June 14th.

'I herewith transmit to you copies of a letter from General Schuyler and its several enclosures, which I have received since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday. From these you will learn that General Thomas died the 2d instant; and the apprehensions of our frontier friends in this Colony, that our savage foes are meditating an attack against them. I am, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 161.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 420.

Of the correspondence and proceedings consequent upon the death of General Montgomery, portions deemed pertinent have been given, pp. 162, 163, 164, 175, 180, 181, excepting that General Wooster, originally the third Brigadier-General, was superseded by the appointment of General Thomas.

Remarkable, however, as were some circumstances of General Thomas's appointment to the Canada command, no less so were many, connected with that of his successor.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SULLIVAN, in Canada.

NEW YORK, 13 June, 1776.

‘DEAR SIR, — Intelligence having been received of the unfortunate death of General Thomas, occasioned by the small-pox, the command of the army in Canada devolves on you. I am therefore to request your most strenuous exertions to retrieve our circumstances in that quarter from the melancholy situation which they are now in, and to perform the arduous task of bringing order out of confusion. I confess there is more room for enterprise and activity than I could wish; but then you will remember, that you and your colleagues will be entitled to the grateful thanks of your country, in proportion to the services you render.

‘Being extremely hurried in sending despatches to Congress and General Schuyler, I have not time to write to you so fully as I could wish; and therefore shall only add my request, that you from time to time make me regular returns of the strength of the army, military stores, and any material occurrence. Wishing that you and your associates, under the direction of a gracious Providence, may lead your army to conquest and victory, I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 421.

A number of letters from the Generals and Commissioners in the Northern or Canada Department, were read in Congress and referred to a committee, June 6. Others from the same quarter, with two from General Washington, were read and referred to the same committee, June 10; and on the next day two more from General Washington were likewise referred to the same committee. That committee, appointed on the 6th, brought in their Report on the 12th; and on the same day the Commissioners who had arrived from Canada, also brought in a Report. The two Reports were then referred to a committee of the whole Congress, and were some time under consideration on that, and again on the following day. The subsequent proceedings are given from their Journal.

IN CONGRESS. ‘June 15. The Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their farther consideration the Reports referred to them; and, after some time spent thereon,

‘The Report from the committee of the whole being delivered in,

‘*Resolved*, That a committee of four be appointed to digest and arrange the several Resolutions agreed on in the committee of the whole, in order to be laid before Congress, \* \* \* and that the same be referred to the committee now to be appointed. \* \* \*

‘June 17. The committee appointed to digest and methodize the Resolutions entered into by the committee of the whole, having performed that service, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That an experienced General be immediately sent into Canada, *with power to appoint* a deputy adjutant-general, a



deputy muster-master-general, and such other officers as he shall find necessary for the good of the service, and to fill up vacancies in the army in Canada, and notify the same to Congress for their approbation; that he also have *power to suspend* any officer there, till the pleasure of Congress be known, he giving his reasons for so doing in the orders of suspension, and transmitting to Congress, as soon as possible, the charge against such officer; provided, that this power of suspending officers and filling up vacancies, shall not be continued beyond the first day of October next:

‘ That General Washington be *directed* to send Major-General Gates into Canada, to take the command of the forces in that Province :

‘ That General Washington be *directed* to send into Canada, such small brass or iron field-pieces as he can spare :

‘ That the committee appointed to provide medicines, be directed to send a proper assortment of medicines to Canada :

‘ That the committee appointed to prepare stockings and shoes for the troops in Canada, be directed to purchase such other articles as may be wanted for the use of the soldiers in Canada, and send the same to Albany, that they may be forwarded to the army in Canada, and that they be particularly attentive to provide, in time, a sufficient number of leathern breeches and under-waist-coats, and such other winter clothing as may be necessary for them :

‘ That the said committee be directed to forward, with all expedition, to the Quarter-Master in Canada, such shoes as are already provided :

‘ *June 18. Resolved*, That General Washington be empowered and *directed* to nominate and send a deputy muster-master-general to Canada.

‘ *June 19. Resolved*, That the commissions granted by Brigadier-General Sullivan, to sundry officers in Canada, mentioned in General Washington’s letter, be approved and confirmed; provided, General Gates and the general officers in Canada, on consultation, shall think the measure will conduce to the public service.

‘ *June 21.* The Congress then resumed the consideration of the Report from the committee of the whole; whereupon,

‘ *Resolved*, That General Washington be *directed to order an inquiry* to be made into the conduct of the officers heretofore employed in the Canada Department: that the said inquiry be made at such times and places, as, in his judgment, shall be most likely to do justice, as well to the public as to the individuals; and that the result of the said inquiry, together with the testimonies upon the subject, be transmitted to Congress: that, moreover, all officers accused of cowardice, plundering, embezzlement of public moneys, and other misdemeanors, be immediately brought to trial: And

whereas, Congress is informed that an opinion has prevailed, that officers resigning their commissions are not subject to trial by a court-martial for offences committed previous to such resignation, whereby some have evaded the punishments to which they were liable, it is hereby declared that such opinion is not just.

*'June 24. Resolved,* That a committee to consist of a member from each Colony, be appointed to inquire into the causes of the miscarriages in Canada :

*'That the said committee have power to send for persons and papers.'*

\* \* \* \* \*

HON. RICHARD HENRY LEE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

[PHILADELPHIA,] 13 June, 1776.

*'It is more than probable, that Congress will order our friend Gates to Canada. His great ability and virtue will be absolutely necessary to restore things there, and his recommendations will always be readily complied with. You will find, that great powers are given to the Commander in that distant Department. The system for Canada, adopted since the arrival of the Commissioners here, will, I hope, be of essential service to our officers.'*

*'All good men pray most heartily for your health, happiness, and success, and none more than your affectionate friend.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 436. *Note.*

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO GENERAL GATES.

[PHILADELPHIA,] 18 June, 1776.

*'MY DEAR GENERAL, — We have ordered you to the post of honor, and made you a Dictator in Canada for six months, or at least until the first of October. We do not choose to trust you, Generals, with too much power for too long a time.'*

Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 61.

HON. ELBRIDGE GERRY TO GENERAL GATES.

———, 24 August, 1776.

*'We want very much to see you with the sole command in the Northern Department, but hope you will not relinquish your exertions until a favorable opportunity shall effect it.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 463. *Note.*

HON. JOHN ADAMS TO MRS. ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, 16 June, 1776.

*'The rumor you heard of General Gates will prove premature. I endeavored both here and with the General to have it so,\* and should have succeeded, if it had not been for the loss of General*

\* *'That he should have the command of Boston.'*

Thomas. Cruel small pox ! worse than the sword ! But now, I fear we must part with Gates for the sake of Canada.'

Letters of J. Adams, vol. i. p. 119.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 23 June, 1776.

'In Canada, the situation of our affairs is truly alarming. The enclosed copies of Generals Schuyler's, Sullivan's, and Arnold's letters will inform you, that General Thompson has met with a repulse at Three Rivers, and is now a prisoner in the hands of General Burgoyne, who, these accounts say, is arrived with a considerable army. Nor do they seem to promise an end of our misfortunes there; it is greatly to be feared, that the next advices from them will be, that our shattered, divided, and broken army, as you will see by the return, have been obliged to abandon the country, and retreat, to avoid a greater calamity, that of being cut off or becoming prisoners. I shall have done upon the subject, and leave you to draw such conclusions as you conceive, from the state of facts, are most likely to result; only adding my apprehensions, that one of the latter events, either that they are cut off, or become prisoners, has already happened, if they did not retreat while they had an opportunity.

At least our utmost exertions will be necessary, to prevent the advantages they have gained from being turned to our greater misfortunes.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 168.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 432.

IN CONGRESS. *June 25.* A letter [the above] of the 23d from General Washington, with sundry letters from Major-General Schuyler, Brigadier-General Sullivan, Brigadier-General Arnold, and others, were laid before Congress, and read :

'*Resolved*, That the same be referred to the Board of War and Ordnance; who are desired to sit immediately, and report thereon as soon as possible.

*Eodem die*, P. M.

'The Board of War and Ordnance, brought in their Report, whereupon,

'*Resolved*, That the number of men destined for the Northern Department, be augmented to four thousand :

'That it be earnestly recommended to the Colony of New Hampshire, to send immediately one regiment of their militia to Massachusetts-Bay, two regiments of their militia to Connecticut, one regiment of their militia to augment the troops destined for the Northern Department.'

'*Resolved*, That letters be sent to the General Assemblies of the Colonies, from whence the several regiments of militia are and have been requested, earnestly pressing them to be expeditious in raising and equipping their troops, and requesting the

several Assemblies to take upon themselves the care of providing the said troops with clothes, tents, and all necessary camp equipage, and assuring them that the United Colonies will be answerable for the expenses of the same.

*June 26.* 'Resolved, That a BOUNTY of ten dollars be given to every non-commissioned officer and soldier, who will enlist to serve for the term of three years.

'Ordered, That the Resolutions passed yesterday be sent to General Washington, and that he be *desired* to afford such assistance to the Northern or Canada Department, as he shall be enabled to do consistently with the safety of New York; and, from time to time, to give such directions as he may think expedient for the public service.'

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 29 June, 1776.

'SIR,—I was last night honored with your favor of the 26th instant, and, agreeable to your request, shall pay proper attention to the Resolves it enclosed.

'I observe the augmentation Congress have resolved to make to the forces destined for the Northern Department, and the *bounty* to be allowed such soldiers as will enlist for three years. I *hope* many good consequences will result from these measures; and that, from the latter, a considerable number of men may be induced to engage in the service.

'I should esteem myself extremely happy to afford the least assistance to the Canada Department, in compliance with the desire of Congress and your requisition, were it in my power; *but it is not*. The return which I transmitted yesterday will but too well convince Congress of my incapacity in this instance, and point out to them that the force I now have is trifling, considering the many and important posts that are necessary, and must be supported, if possible.

'But few militia have yet come in, the whole being about twelve hundred, including the two battalions of this city, and one company from the Jerseys. I wish the delay may not be attended with disagreeable consequences, and their aid may not come too late, or when it may not be wanted. I have written, — I have done every thing I could, to call them in; but they have not come, though I am told that they are generally willing.

'The accounts communicated yesterday through Lieutenant Davidson's letter, are partly confirmed, and, I dare say, will turn out to be true on the whole. For two or three days past, three or four ships have been dropping in; and I just now received an express from an officer appointed to keep a look-out on Staten Island, that forty-five arrived at the Hook to-day; some say more; and I

suppose the whole fleet will be in, within a day or two. I am hopeful, before they are prepared to attack, that I shall get some reinforcements. Be that as it may, I shall attempt to make the best disposition I can of our troops, in order to give them a proper reception, and to prevent the ruin and destruction they are meditating against us.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 175.

Wash. Writ.

SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK, 24 June, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — The accounts transmitted by General Sullivan are truly alarming, and I confess I am not without apprehension lest the next advices should be, that the unfortunate defeat and capture of General Thompson have been succeeded by an event still more unfortunate, the destruction of a large part if not the whole of our army in that quarter. \* \* \* \* \* From the whole of the accounts, supposing the facts all true, there was nothing left to prevent their ruin, but a retreat. That, I hope, has been made, as the only means of saving themselves, and rendering their country the least service.

'By reason of the succession of ills, that has attended us there of late, and this last one, I fear we must give up all hopes of possessing that country, of such importance in the present controversy, and that our views and utmost exertions must be turned to prevent the incursions of the enemy into our Colonies. To this end, I must pray your strictest attention, and request that you will use all the means in your power to fortify and secure every important post and place on the communication. You are as much impressed with the necessity of the measure, as any man can be; and with confidence I trust that nothing you can do will be wanting to effect it. \* \* \* \* \*

'Major-General Gates, whom Congress had appointed to command after General Thomas's death, will set out to-morrow.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 436.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 27 June, 1776.

'SIR, — I this morning received, by express, letters from Generals Schuyler and Arnold, with a copy of one from General Sullivan to the former, and also of others to General Sullivan; of all which I do myself the honor to transmit to you copies. They will give you a further account of the melancholy situation of our affairs in Canada, and show that there is nothing left to save our army there but evacuating the country.

'June 30th. — Canada, it is certain, would have been an important acquisition, and well worth the expenses incurred in the pursuit

of it. But as we could not reduce it to our possession, the retreat of our army with so little loss, under such a variety of distresses, must be esteemed a most fortunate event. It is true, the accounts we have received do not fully authorize us to say, that we have sustained no loss; but they hold forth a probable ground for such conclusion. I am anxious to hear it confirmed.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 169, 177.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. pp. 438, 444.

PRESIDENT HANCOCK TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

———, June, 1776.

'The loss of Canada is, undoubtedly, on some accounts to be viewed in the light of a misfortune. The Continent has been put to a great expense in endeavoring to get possession of it. That our army should make so prudent a retreat, as to be able to save their baggage, cannon, ammunition, and sick from falling into the hands of the enemy, is a circumstance that will afford a partial consolation, and reflect honor upon the officers, who conducted it. Considering the superior force of the British troops, and a retreat unavoidable, everything has been done, which in such a situation could be expected. In short, Sir, I am extremely glad, that our army is likely to get safe out of Canada.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 445. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 14 July, 1776.

'SIR, — General Sullivan, in a letter of the 2d instant, informs me of his arrival with the army at Crown Point, where he is fortifying and throwing up works. He adds, that he has secured all the stores except three cannon left at Chamblee, which in part is made up by taking a fine twelve-pounder out of the Lake. The army is sickly, many with the small-pox; and he is apprehensive the militia ordered to join them, will not escape the infection. An officer he had sent to reconnoitre had reported, that he saw at St. John's about a hundred and fifty tents, twenty at St. Roy's, and fifteen at Chamblee; and works at the first were busily carrying on.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 194.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 472.

'*July 17th.* — I was apprehensive the appointment of General Gates over General Sullivan would give the latter disgust. His letter, which I transmitted to Congress, seemed to warrant the suspicion. He is not arrived yet; when he does, I shall try to settle the affair and prevail on him to continue, as I think his resignation will take from the service a useful and good officer.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 4.



## GENERAL SULLIVAN TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

CROWN POINT, 6 July, 1776.

‘I ever was desirous, that some officer superior in rank should relieve me from this disagreeable command, and should with pleasure have remained in the army and served under him; but, Congress having thought proper to supersede me by appointing General Gates, who had not, by the rank they were pleased formerly to confer upon us, the same pretensions as myself, I can construe this in no other light, than to suppose Congress were apprehensive that I was not equal to the trust they were pleased to repose in me. If this be the case, I am bound in justice to my country to relinquish a command to which I am not equal. If this was not the foundation, and they had not such an opinion of me, surely my honor calls upon me to leave the service, after a person is put over me without any impeachment of my conduct.’ \*

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 4. *Note.*

IN CONGRESS. *July 30, 1776.* Congress took into consideration the Report of the committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the miscarriages in Canada, wherein they represent, as their opinion,

‘That the short enlistments of the Continental troops in Canada, have been one great cause of the miscarriages there, by rendering unstable the number of men engaged in military enterprises, by making them disorderly and disobedient to their officers, and by precipitating the commanding officers into measures, which their prudence might have postponed, could they have relied on a longer continuance of their troops in service :

‘That a want of hard money has been one other great source of the miscarriages in Canada, rendering the supplies of necessities difficult and precarious, the establishment of proper magazines absolutely impracticable, and the pay of the troops of little use to them :

‘That a still greater, and more fatal, source of misfortunes has been, the prevalence of the small-pox in that army; a great proportion whereof has thereby been usually kept unfit for duty.’

‘With this Congress concurred.’

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 5 July, 1776.

‘A letter from General Schuyler, with sundry enclosures, has this moment come to hand, and will no doubt claim, as it ought to do, the immediate attention of Congress. The evils, which must inevitably follow a disputed command, are too obvious and alarm-

\* By their appointments, the rank of General Sullivan was considered superior to that of General Gates. See pp. 70, 72.

ing to admit a moment's delay in your decision thereupon; and although I do not presume to advise in a matter now of this delicacy, yet as it appears evident, that the Northern army has returned to Crown Point, and means to act upon the defensive only, *I cannot help giving it as my opinion, that one of the Major-Generals in that quarter would be more usefully employed here, or in the Flying Camp, than there*; for it becomes my duty to observe, if another experienced officer is taken from hence, in order to command the Flying Camp, that your grand army will be entirely stripped of Generals who have seen service, being in a manner already destitute of such. My distress on this account, the appointment of General Whitcomb to the Eastern regiments, a conviction in my own breast that no troops [British] will be sent to Boston, and the certainty of a number coming to this place, occasioned my postponing, from time to time, the sending of any general officer from hence to the Eastward heretofore.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 183.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 450.

This letter was read in Congress and referred to the Board of War, July 6. The significant proceedings upon it were the following.

IN CONGRESS. 'July 8, 1776. *Resolved*, That Major-General Gates be informed, that it was the intention of Congress to give him the command of the troops whilst in Canada, but that they had no design to vest him with a superior command to General Schuyler, whilst the troops should be on this side Canada; and that the President write to Major-General Schuyler and Major-General Gates, stating this matter, and recommending to them to carry on the military operations with harmony, and in such manner as shall best promote the public service:

'That a copy of the foregoing Resolution be transmitted to General Washington.'

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

NEW YORK, 11 July, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — I received your favor of the 1st and 2d instant, and agreeably to your request transmitted to Congress a copy of the former and of its several enclosures. The important subjects referred to them have met with their attention, and the letter accompanying this will inform you and General Gates of the result of their deliberations. I hope that harmony and a good agreement will subsist between you, as the most likely means of advancing the interest of the cause, which you both wish to promote.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 462.

SAME to the SAME.

NEW YORK, 31 July, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — I am extremely happy to find that you have discovered and apprehended some of the ringleaders of a dangerous

plot, which you say was forming in the neighborhood of Albany; *nor do I hear with little pleasure* of the harmony and good agreement between you and General Gates, knowing how essential they are to the service.'

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 24.

IN CONGRESS. 'August 21. *Resolved*, That the Cannon-Committee be directed to contract for the immediate casting of six six-pounders, six twelve-pounders, four eight-inch howitzers, four six-inch howitzers, and six cohorn mortars, \* \* \* \* \* to be cast, and sent, as soon as possible, *to General Gates*, for the use of the Northern army.'

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## GENERAL PROCEEDINGS AND CORRESPONDENCE RESUMED.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the COMMITTEE OF SAFETY of Pennsylvania.

NEW YORK, 17 June, 1776.

'GENTLEMEN,—It is with no small degree of pain, that I am under the necessity of informing you, that it is out of my power at this time to comply with the request made [*for an engineer*] by your honorable body. The many important works carrying on for the defence of this place, against which there is the highest probability of an attack being made in a little time, will not allow me to spare from hence any person having the least skill in the business of an engineer. I have but one on whose judgment I should wish to depend in laying out any work of the least consequence. Congress well know my wants in this instance, and several of my letters to them have pressed the appointment of gentlemen qualified for the business.

'On account of this deficiency, I have not been able to secure or improve two Posts in the Highlands, esteemed of the utmost importance. \* \* \* But I beg you to be assured, that as soon as it is in my power, I shall with infinite pleasure direct a person to attend the Committee for two or three days, if the service will not admit of longer absence, in order to trace out such works, and plans for carrying them on, as shall appear necessary; and wishing you to ascribe my non-compliance to want of ability, and not of inclination to comply with your request, I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 427.

IN CONGRESS. *June 11. Resolved*, That Colonel Shee and Colonel Magaw, be ordered immediately to march with their regiments to New York.

*Resolved*, That letters be sent, by express, to the several Colonies who are to furnish militia for the defence of New York, acquainting them of the necessity of forwarding the supplies with all possible despatch.

*June 12. Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to order the rifles of such men belonging to the rifle regiment as will not reënlist, to be purchased, and that the General order the payment out of the military chest:

‘That the rifle regiment be allowed a drummer and fifer to each company:

‘That nine hundred dollars be allowed to Colonel Hand, to purchase a uniform for the rifle regiment, the said sum to be stopped out of the pay of the said regiments:

‘That the Secret Committee be directed to deliver to Colonel Magaw, for the use of his battalion, the one hundred and ninety-one muskets sent up by Captain Barry.

*June 13. Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Assembly of Pennsylvania immediately to order a battalion of the Provincial riflemen to march to the assistance of the militia in the Delaware government.

*June 14. Resolved*, That the commanding officer in the barracks be directed to deliver the prisoner in his custody to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, who are desired to treat him agreeable to former Resolutions of Congress.

‘Thomas Bales, blacksmith, proposing to supply the Continental troops with a quantity of camp kettles of sheet-iron, at one and one third dollar each, provided he can have credit for five tons of sheet-iron:

*Resolved*, That Timothy Matlack, Esq. be directed to write to Thomas Mayberry, of Mount Holly, the manufacturer of sheet-iron, to send down to him five tons of sheet-iron, for which he will be paid on the delivery; and that Mr. Matlack be directed to receive the said iron, and deliver it out, as it may be wanted, to Thomas Bales, and receive the kettles as fast as made.

*June 17. Resolved*, That it be referred to the delegates of Maryland, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, to devise the mode of raising the battalion of Germans voted the 25th of May last.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 20 June, 1776.

‘SIR, — I am now to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 14th and 18th instants, and the interesting Resolves contained in them, with which I have been honored. The several matters

recommended to my attention shall be particularly regarded, and the directions of Congress and your requests complied with in every instance, as far as in my power.

'The instituting a War-Office is certainly an event of great importance, and, in all probability, will be recorded as such in the historic page. The benefits derived from it, I flatter myself, will be considerable, though the plan upon which it is first formed may not be entirely perfect. This, like other great works, in its first edition, may not be free from error; time will discover its defects, and experience suggest the remedy, and such farther improvements as may be necessary; but it was right to give it a beginning, in my opinion.

\* \* \* \* \*

'The kind attention Congress have shown to afford the Commander-in-Chief here every assistance, by resolving that recommendatory letters be written to the Conventions of New Jersey and New York, and the Assembly of Connecticut, to authorize him to call in the militia in case of exigency, claims my thankful acknowledgments, \* \* \* *The delays incident to the ordinary mode* may frequently render their aid too late, and prove exceedingly injurious.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 164.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 428.

Some of the Resolves which the General promised in the first paragraph of this letter should be particularly regarded, were the following.

'June 17. *Resolved*, That prisoners, taken by *Continental forces*, be not exchanged by any authority *but the Continental Congress*:

'That the Continental agents in the respective Colonies, where *no Courts* have been established *for the trial of captures*, have power, and be directed, to dispose, at public sale, of such articles of a perishable nature, as shall be taken from the enemies of America, and that the money arising from such sale, be liable to the decree of such Court whenever established:

'That the inventory of the ordnance stores, taken by Captain Manly, be sent to General Washington, and that he be requested to appoint a person on the part of the Colonies, to join one on the part of Captain Manly and his crew, who, having first taken an oath for that purpose, shall proceed to value the same, and if they cannot agree in the value, they shall call in a third person to determine the same; that the Report of such persons be returned to Congress so soon as may be, and the value of the stores belonging to Captain Manly and his crew, be thereupon transmitted to them.'

The following were the proceedings referred to in the second paragraph of the above letter.

'June 12. Congress took into consideration the Report of the committee on a War-Office; whereupon,

*'Resolved, That a Committee of Congress be appointed, by the name of the Board of War and Ordnance, to consist of five members:*

*'That a Secretary, and one or more clerks be appointed by Congress, with competent salaries, to assist the said Board in executing the business of their Department.* \* \* \*

*'June 13. Congress having proceeded to the election of a Committee to form the Board of War and Ordnance, the following members were chosen:*

*'Mr. J. Adams, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Wilson, and Mr. E. Rutledge:*

*'Richard Peters, Esq. was elected Secretary of the said Board.'*

In respect to the institution of this Board, see Resolves, Jan. 24, March 20, April 18, pp. 202, 209, 211, and the General's letter June 13, p. 237.

Below is the Resolve which the General said in the closing paragraph of the same letter, claimed his thankful acknowledgments.

*'June 17. Resolved, That letters be written to the Conventions of New Jersey and New York, and to the Assembly of Connecticut, recommending to them to authorize the Commander-in-Chief in the Colony of New York, to call to the assistance of that Colony, when necessity shall require it, such of the militia of those Colonies as may be necessary; and to afford him such other assistance as the situation of affairs may require; and, that it be further recommended to the Convention of New York, to empower the said Commander-in-Chief to impress carriages and water-craft, when necessary for the public service, and also to remove ships and other vessels in Hudson's and the East Rivers, for the purpose of securing them from the enemy.'*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 23 June, 1776.

*'SIR, — I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter from General Ward, which came to hand by last night's post, containing the agreeable intelligence of their having obliged the King's ships to leave Nantasket Road, and of two transports more being taken by our armed vessels, with two hundred and ten Highland troops on board.'* \*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 167.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 431.

\* A fleet of thirteen armed ships, which had kept possession of Nantasket Road from the evacuation of Boston. By order of General Ward, Colonel Whitcomb, with a detachment of five hundred men and a train of artillery, moved in the evening of June 13th, and took post on Long Island. Having thrown up preparatory works in the night, they opened a brisk fire the next morning. The ships soon put to sea, blowing up the light-house as they went off.

General Ward stated in his letter, — 'The Colonel taken in the transports, is Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, commander of one of Gen. Frazer's battalions of Highlanders. He is a member of Parliament, and a gentleman of fortune.'



SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 28 June, 1776.

‘SIR, — In compliance with the request of Congress contained in your favor of the 25th instant, \* \* I do myself the honor to inform you that the cost of a ration, according to the Commissary-General’s estimate, from the first of July to the first of December, will be from eight-pence to eight-pence half-penny, York currency.

‘Having discharged the obligation I was under in this instance, and finding that many applications have been made for victualling the Flying Camp, I would, with all possible deference, wish Congress to consider the matter well before they come to any determination upon it. Who the gentlemen are that have made offers upon this occasion, I know not; consequently my objections to their appointment cannot proceed from personal dislike; nor have I it in view to serve Mr. Trumbull, the Commissary-General, by wishing him to have the direction of the whole supplies for his emolument; \* \* \* but what influences me is a regard to the public good. I am morally certain, if the business is taken out of Mr. Trumbull’s hands and put into another’s, that it may, and will in all probability, be attended with great and many inconveniences. It is likely, \* \* that the army here, or part of it, and the troops composing the Flying Camp, will be frequently joined, and under the necessity of affording each other mutual aid. If this event is probable, (and most certainly it is,) the same confusion and disorder will result from having two Commissaries, or one Commissary and one Contractor in the same army in the same department, as did between Mr. Trumbull and Mr. Livingston on the coming of the former to New York. I cannot discriminate the two cases; and not foreseeing that any good consequences will flow from the measure, but that many bad ones will, \* \* I confess I cannot perceive the propriety of appointing a different person, or any but the Commissary.

‘I would add, that few armies, if any, have been better supplied than the troops under Mr. Trumbull’s care in this instance; which, I should suppose, ought to have considerable weight. \* \* Mr. Trumbull, too, I am informed, has already made provision in Jersey for the Flying Camp which will be stationed there, \* \* in obedience to my orders, and in full confidence that it was to come under his management.

‘My great desire to see the affairs of this important Post, on which so much depends, go on in an easy, smooth and uninterrupted course, has led me to say thus much upon the subject, and will, I hope, (if I am unhappy enough to differ in opinion with Congress,) plead my excuse for the liberty I have taken.

‘I would also beg leave to mention to Congress the necessity there is of some new regulations being entered into, respecting the chaplains of this army. \* \* \* \* \* What that alteration shall be, Congress will please to determine.

‘Congress, I doubt not, will have heard of the plot, that was forming among many disaffected persons in this city and government for aiding the King’s troops upon their arrival. No regular plan seems to have been digested; but several persons have been enlisted, and sworn to join them. The matter, I am in hopes, by a timely discovery, will be suppressed and put a stop to. Many citizens and others, among whom is the Mayor, are now in confinement. The matter has been traced up to Governor Tryon; and the Mayor appears to have been a principal agent between him and the persons concerned in it. The plot had been communicated to some of the army, and part of my guard engaged in it. T. H., one of them, has been tried, and, by the unanimous opinion of a court-martial, is sentenced to die. \* \* \* The others are not tried. I am hopeful this example will produce many salutary consequences, and deter others from entering into the like traitorous practices.

‘The enclosed copy of a Resolve of the Provincial Congress will show, that some of the disaffected on Long Island have taken up arms. I have, agreeably to their request, sent a party after them, but have not as yet been able to apprehend them, having concealed themselves in different woods and morasses.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 171.

Wash. Writ.

Some explanation of the object of Congress in their request referred to in the first and principal part of this letter, is found in the following proceedings.

IN CONGRESS. ‘June 24. The Board of War and Ordnance, to whom was referred a petition of Carpenter Wharton, brought in their Report, which was read:

‘*Ordered* to lie on the table; and that the President write to General Washington, and request him to inform Congress of the cost of a ration furnished by the Commissary-General.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 30 June, 1776.

‘SIR, — I had the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 29th early this morning, \* \* \* together with the Resolves for a further augmentation of our army.

‘The battalion of Germans, which Congress have ordered to be raised, will be a corps of much service; \* and I am hopeful that such

\* The measure had been recommended by the General, May 11, in reference to expected Germans in the British army. The actions of Congress upon it were, May 25, June 17, 27, pp. 231, 249, 254.

persons will be appointed officers, as will complete their enlistments with all possible expedition.

‘ I shall communicate to Colonel Stevenson and one of his field-officers, and direct them to repair immediately to Philadelphia. It is an *unlucky circumstance* that the term of enlistment of these three companies, and of the rifle battalion, should expire at this time, when a hot campaign is, in all probability, about to commence.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ I have the honor of transmitting you an extract of a letter received last night from General Ward. \* \* \* \* \*  
In General Ward’s letter, was inclosed one from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who was made prisoner with the Highland troops. I have transmitted you a copy. This will give you a full and exact account of the number of prisoners that were on board the four transports; and will prove beyond a possibility of doubt, that the evacuation of Boston by the British troops was a matter neither known nor expected when he received his orders. Indeed, so many facts had concurred before to settle the matter, that no additional proofs were necessary.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 176.

Immediately below appear the above-mentioned Resolves for a further augmentation of the army.

IN CONGRESS. ‘*June 27, 1776. Resolved*, That six companies of riflemen, in addition to the three companies now at New York, be raised, and the whole regimented; and that a commission be granted to Captain Stevenson, to be Colonel of the said regiment of riflemen, which is to be enlisted *for three years*, unless sooner discharged by Congress; the men to be allowed *a bounty of ten dollars*; and that Moses Rawlins be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Otho Holland Williams, Major of the said regiment:

‘ That four companies of riflemen, for the said regiment, be raised in Virginia, and two in Maryland; the pay of the men to commence from the time they shall be armed and mustered; their arms to be appraised by the committee of the county, and paid for by the United Colonies:

‘ That General Washington be *directed* forthwith to send to Congress a complete list of all the *vacancies in the army*, and the names of such officers as he can recommend for filling them.

‘ The committee to whom it was referred to devise a mode of raising the German battalion, voted on the 25th of May last, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That four companies of Germans be raised in Pennsylvania, and four companies in Maryland, to compose the said regiment:

‘ That it be recommended to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, immediately to appoint proper officers for, and direct the enlistment of the four companies to be raised in that Colony :

‘ That it be recommended to the Convention, or in their recess, to the Council of Safety of Maryland, immediately to appoint proper officers for, and direct the enlistment of, the four companies to be raised in that Colony :

‘ That the said companies be enlisted to serve for three years, unless sooner discharged by Congress, and receive *bounty*, pay, rations, and all other allowances equal to any of the Continental troops :

‘ That the said companies, when raised, be formed into a battalion, under the command of such field-officers as Congress shall appoint :

‘ That the rank of the captains of the said companies be regulated as Congress shall hereafter direct.’

These offers of *bounty*, June 26, 27, seem to have been forced from Congress by the alarming circumstances at the time ; the former, principally by those of Canada ; the latter, by those of New York with reference chiefly to re-enlisting the riflemen, and raising the battalion of Germans.

In regard to re-enlisting the riflemen, see Resolves, April 15, June 12, pp, 211, 249, and the General’s letters, April 22, June 8, 9, 30, pp. 214, 235, 254.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL LIVINGSTON.\*

NEW YORK, 29 June, 1776.

‘ DEAR SIR, — Since Colonel Reed left this place, I have received certain information from the Hook, that about forty of the enemy’s fleet have arrived there, and others are now in sight, and that there cannot be a doubt, but the whole fleet will be in, this day or to-morrow. I beg not a moment’s time may be lost, in sending forward such parts of the militia as Colonel Reed shall mention. We are so very weak at this Post, that I must beg you to order the three companies, which I mentioned in my last for Staten Island, immediately to this city. If General Heard is the commanding officer, I must request you will lay my several letters, written to you, before him without delay. I am, Sir, with esteem, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 445.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 4 July, 1776.

‘ As we are fully convinced that the Ministerial army we shall have to oppose this campaign will be great and numerous, and well know that the utmost industry will be used, as it already has been, to excite the savages and every body of people to arms against us whom they can influence, it certainly behoves us to strain every nerve to counteract their designs. \* \* \* \* \*

‘ I this moment received a letter from General Greene, an extract of which I have inclosed. The intelligence it contains is of the

\* Previously, member of Congress ; soon after, Governor of New Jersey.

most important nature, and evinces the necessity of the most spirited and vigorous exertions on our part.

‘The expectation of the fleet under Admiral Howe, is certainly the reason the army already come have not begun their hostile operations. When that arrives, we may look for the most interesting events, and such as, in all probability, will have considerable weight in the present contest. It behoves us to be prepared in the best manner; and I submit it again to Congress, whether the accounts given by their prisoners do not show the propriety of calling the several Continental regiments from the Massachusetts government, raising the Flying Camp with all possible despatch, and engaging the eastern Indians.

‘July 5. — General Mercer arrived here on Tuesday, and, the next morning, was ordered to Paulus Hook, to make some arrangements of the militia as they come in, and the best disposition he could, to prevent the enemy crossing from Staten Island, if they should have any such views. \* \* \* \*

‘None of the Connecticut militia are yet arrived; so that the reinforcement we have received is very inconsiderable.

\* \* \* \* \*  
‘The Commissary-General has been with me this morning.

\* \* \* \* \*  
He has, I believe, (in order to remove difficulties,) recalled Mr. Avery, but seems to think it necessary in that case that Mr. Livingston should be left to himself, as he cannot be responsible for persons not of his own appointment. This matter should also be clearly defined by Congress. I have already given my opinion of the necessity of these matters being under *one general direction*, in so full and clear a manner,\* that I shall not take up the time of Congress to repeat it in this place. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 182.

Wash. Writ.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to BRIGADIER-GENERAL LIVINGSTON.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, 6 July, 5 o'clock, P. M., 1776.

‘SIR, — Your favor of this date, enclosing Major Duyckinck’s letter, was this moment received. The known disaffection of Amboy, and the treachery of those of Staten Island who, after the fairest professions, have shown themselves our most inveterate enemies, have induced me to give directions, that all persons of known enmity or doubtful character, should be removed from places, where they might enter into correspondence with the enemy, and aid them in their schemes. \* \* \* \*

‘I would suggest to you, that my tenderness has been often abused, and I have had reason to repent the indulgence shown to them. I would show them all possible humanity and kindness,

\* See letters, April 22, June 9, 28, pp. 214, 235, 252.

consistent with our own safety; but matters are now too far advanced to sacrifice anything to punctilios. General Mercer has just set off for Jersey. In his experience and judgment you may repose great confidence. He will proceed to Amboy after conferring with you. You will please to keep me constantly informed of the proceedings of the enemy, and be assured of every assistance and attention.

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 451.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 9 July, 1776.

'We have intelligence, which may be relied on, of Lord Howe's being on his passage for this place, with a large fleet, and about fifteen thousand men, and he is hourly expected. \* \* \*

'To oppose this force, in which the Ministry put so much confidence, I think it necessary to exert every nerve, that, by defeating their views this campaign, we may be enabled to meet them with double advantage the next. Should they think proper to pursue their unwarrantable measures, I hope the good people of your Colony or State, will be ready on all occasions to fly to our assistance, if needed. I have confidence in them, and doubt not they will be ready and willing.

'To prevent the enemy from obtaining fresh provisions is a matter highly necessary to be attended to. \* \* \*

I could wish your attention to this matter, that the stock may be removed out of reach of the enemy. \* \* \*

'In the conference of a full board of general officers yesterday, it was recommended, that I should apply to you for the three row-galleys, being now at New London, or in the river, together with as many heavy cannon as you can possibly spare. They will be much wanted here; and, if you find it consistent, I would beg you to forward them on as fast as possible.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 453.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 10 July, 1776.

'SIR, — I am to acknowledge the receipt of your two favors of the 4th and 6th instant, which came duly to hand, with their important enclosures.

'I perceive that Congress have been employed in deliberating on measures of the most interesting nature. It is certain, that it is not with us to determine in many instances what consequences will flow from our counsels; but yet it behoves us to adopt such, as, under the smiles of a gracious and all-kind Providence, will be most likely to promote our happiness. I trust the late decisive part they have taken is calculated for that end, and will secure to us that freedom and those privileges, which have been and are re-



fused to us, contrary to the voice of nature and the British Constitution. Agreeably to the request of Congress, I caused the DECLARATION\* to be proclaimed before all the army under my immediate command; and have the pleasure to inform them, that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behavior, both of officers and men, testifying their warmest approbation. I have transmitted a copy to General Ward, at Boston, requesting him to have it proclaimed to the Continental troops in that Department.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 185.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 457.

On the 5th, besides numerous other Resolves, Congress passed the following.

'*Resolved*, That a Chaplain be appointed to each regiment in the Continental army, and that their allowance be increased to thirty-three dollars and one third of a dollar per month.'

On the 9th, the two following entries were made in the General's *Orderly Book*, the former relating obviously to this Resolve, the latter, to the DECLARATION.

'The honorable Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a chaplain to each regiment, \* \* \* \* the Colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure chaplains accordingly, persons of good characters and exemplary lives, and to see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary, but especially so in times of public distress and danger. The General hopes and trusts that every officer and man will endeavor so to live and act as becomes a christian soldier, defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country.'

'The Continental Congress, impelled by the dictates of duty, policy, and necessity, have been pleased to dissolve the connection, which subsisted between this country and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of North America, *Free and Independent States*. The several brigades are to be drawn up this evening on their respective parades, at six o'clock, when the DECLARATION of Congress, showing the grounds and reasons of this measure, is to be read with an audible voice. The General hopes that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms; and that he is now in the service of a *State* possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country.'

On the same day, the following Resolve was passed in Congress.

\* The DECLARATION as well as many other important documents are omitted, to give place for others which are less known.

'July 9, 1776. *Resolved*, That the Rev. Mr. Duché be appointed Chaplain to Congress, and that he be desired to attend every morning at 9 o'clock.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL WARD.

NEW YORK, 11 July, 1776.

'SIR, — Since writing to you on the 9th instant, I have been honored with a letter from Congress, enclosing a Resolve, a copy of which is transmitted herewith, empowering me to call to the assistance of the army here, the other two regiments of Continental troops, now in the Massachusetts government, and not ordered in my last to be detached to join the Northern army. I am now to request, by advice of my general officers, that you will give immediate orders not only to them, but to the three destined for the northward, to repair with all possible despatch to Norwich, where they will embark.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 461.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 11 July, 1776.

'As I am truly sensible the time of Congress is much taken up with a variety of important matters, *it is with unwillingness and pain, that I ever repeat a request after having once made it, or take the liberty of enforcing any opinion of mine after it is once given*; but as the establishing of some office for auditing accounts is a matter of exceeding importance to the public interest, I would beg leave *once more* to call the attention of Congress \* to an appointment competent to the purpose. \* \* \*

'For me, whose time is employed from the hour of my rising till I retire to bed again, to go into an examination of the accounts of such an army as this, with any degree of precision and exactness, without neglecting other matters of equal importance, is utterly impracticable. All that I have been able to do, (and that, in fact, was doing nothing,) was, when the Commissary, and Quarter-Master, and Director-General of the hospital, (for it is to these the great advances are made,) applied for warrants, to make them at times produce a general account of their expenditures. But this answers no valuable purpose. It is the minutiae that must be gone into. \* \* \* \*

'I do not urge this matter from a suspicion of any unfair practices in either of the Departments before mentioned; and sorry should I be if this construction were put upon it, having a high opinion of the honor and integrity of these gentlemen. But there should nevertheless be some control, as well upon their discretion

\* 'Once more,' after his calls upon them, Jan. 24, May 5, pp. 160, 224.

as honesty; to which may be added, that accounts become perplexed and confused by long standing. \* \* I am well apprised, that a treasury office of accounts has been resolved upon, and an auditor-general for settling all public accounts; but, with all deference and submission to the opinion of Congress, these institutions are not calculated to prevent the inconveniences I have mentioned; nor can they be competent to the purposes, circumstanced as they are.'

*July 12th, a quarter past eight, P. M.* — 'SIR, — The design of this is to inform Congress, that, about half after three o'clock this evening, two of the enemy's ships of war, one of forty and the other of twenty guns, with three tenders, weighed anchor in the bay opposite Staten Island, and availing themselves of a brisk and favorable breeze, with a flowing tide, ran past our batteries up the North River, without receiving any certain damage that I could perceive, notwithstanding a heavy and incessant cannonade was kept up from our several batteries here, as well as from that at Paulus Hook. They on their part, returned and continued the fire.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 190, 192.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. pp. 466, 468.

**GENERAL WASHINGTON to the SECRET COMMITTEE OF THE CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.**

HEAD QUARTERS, 13 July, 1776.

'I have, some time ago, mentioned to the body, of which you are a committee, the necessity of falling upon some measure to remove from this city and its environs persons of known disaffection and enmity to *the cause of America*. The safety of the army, the success of every enterprise, and the security of all, depend so much on adopting the most speedy and effectual steps for this purpose, that I beg leave again to repeat it; and do most earnestly entreat you to adopt some plan for this purpose, or to give me your assistance in doing it, so as to remove those disquieting and discouraging apprehensions, which pervade the whole army on this subject. A suspicion that there are many Ministerial agents among us, would justly alarm soldiers of more experience and discipline than ours; and I foresee very dangerous consequences, in many respects, if a remedy for the evil is not soon and efficaciously applied.

'The removal of the Tory prisoners, confined in the jail of this city, is a matter to which I would solicit your attention. In every view it appears dangerous and important. In case of an attack and alarm, there can be no doubt what part they would take, and none can tell what influence they might have. You will, gentlemen, do me the justice to believe, that nothing but the importance and necessity of the case could induce me to urge these matters, in which you have also an immediate and common interest.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 470.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 14 July, 1776.

'About three o'clock this afternoon, I was informed, that a flag from Lord Howe was coming up, and waited with two of our whale-boats until directions should be given. I immediately convened such of the general officers as were not upon other duty, who agreed in opinion, that I ought not to receive any letter directed to me as a private gentleman. \* \* \* Upon this, I directed Colonel Reed to go down and manage the affair under the above general direction. On his return he informed me, that, after the common civilities, the officer acquainted him, that he had a letter from Lord Howe to Mr. Washington, which he showed under a superscription, '*To George Washington, Esq.*' Colonel Reed replied, that there was no such person in the army, and that a letter intended for the General could not be received under such a direction. \* \* \* The anxiety to have the letter received was very evident, though the officer disclaimed all knowledge of its contents. However, Colonel Reed's instructions being positive, they parted. After they had got some distance, the officer with the flag again put about, and asked under what direction Mr. Washington chose to be addressed; to which Colonel Reed answered, that his station was well known, and that certainly they could be at no loss how to direct to him. The officer said they knew and lamented it; and repeated his wish, that the letter could be received. Colonel Reed told him a proper direction would obviate all difficulties, and that this was no new matter, this subject having been fully discussed in the course of the last year, of which Lord Howe could not be ignorant; upon which they parted.

'I would not upon any occasion sacrifice essentials to punctilio; but in this instance, the opinion of others concurring with my own, I deemed it a duty to my country and my appointment, to insist upon that respect, which, in any other than a public view, I would willingly have waived.

'The passage of the ships of war and tenders up the river is a matter of great importance, and has excited much conjecture and speculation. To me two things have occurred, as leading them to this proceeding; first, a design to seize on the narrow passes on both sides of the river, being almost the only land communication with Albany, and of consequence with our Northern army; for which purpose they might have troops concealed on board, \*

\* or that they would be joined by many disaffected persons in that quarter. Others have added a probability of their having a large quantity of arms on board, to be in readiness to put into the hands of the Tories, \* \* \* at the time they intend to make their attack. The second is, to cut off entirely all

intercourse between this and Albany by water, and the upper country, and to prevent supplies of every kind going and coming.

‘These matters are truly alarming, and of such importance, that I have written to the Provincial Congress of New York, and recommended to their serious consideration the adoption of every possible expedient to guard against the first two.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 195.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iii. p. 473.

To the CONVENTION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

HEAD QUARTERS, 17 July, 1776.

‘GENTLEMEN, — Your letter of the 15th instant, covering the Resolution of the same date, was duly received, which I beg leave to say was noble, and does honor to your respectable body. It likewise adds a farther proof of your determination to afford me all possible assistance, in discharging the important duties of my office. It is impossible to say what *may* be necessary, but I shall conduct myself as the exigences of the case may require, and I doubt not your cheerful aid and assistance will be rendered when called for.

I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

With respect and esteem, &c.’

The Resolution referred to by the General.

‘*Resolved unanimously,* That it is the opinion of this Convention, that, if his Excellency General Washington should think it expedient for the preservation of this State and the general interest of America, to abandon the city of New York and withdraw the troops to the north side of Kingsbridge, this Congress [or Convention] will cheerfully coöperate with him in every measure that may be necessary for that purpose.’

To the COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

HEAD QUARTERS, New York, 19 July, 1776.

‘GENTLEMEN, — I enclose you a copy of the Resolution of the Convention of the State of New York, dated the 16th instant, recommending it to all the general and sub-committees, to apprehend and secure all those persons, whose going at large, at this critical time, they may deem dangerous to the safety of the State. As this city is hourly threatened with an attack from a powerful enemy, and as there is too much reason to apprehend from their vicinity to this city, and from the number of suspicious characters still in it, that they may receive intelligence, which may counteract all my operations for its defence, I strongly recommend it to you, to remove, for some time, all equivocal and suspicious characters. This appears to me to be the spirit of the Resolution of the Provincial Convention; and the propriety of it is founded on the law of self-preservation, and confirmed by the practice of all nations in a state of war.

‘I esteem it my duty to add my recommendation to that of the Convention, that if, through an ill-timed levity, my attempts to secure this Province should be baffled, the blame of it may not be imputed to my want of vigilance. I have enclosed a list of persons represented as dangerous. As I can only speak from information, I must rely upon your taking proper steps with them; unless from your better knowledge, you determine them to be of a different character from that represented. I am, Gentlemen, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 7, 8.

The following is General Greene’s account of some persons, of the character here referred to, taken prisoners by him on Long Island.

‘I have examined the prisoners, and find them to be a poor parcel of ignorant, cowardly fellows. Two are tailors, and the other two, common laborers. They candidly confess, that they set off with an intention of going to Staten Island; not with any intention of joining the enemy, but only to get out of the way of fighting here. There has been a draft amongst the militia to fill the new levies, and it was rumored that these persons were drawn. It was also reported, that they were to go to the Northern army, and that almost all that went there either died or were killed. The prospect was so shocking to them, and to their grandmothers and aunts, that I believe they were persuaded to run away. Never did I see fellows more frightened. They wept like children, and appeared exceeding sorrowful. I beg your Excellency’s direction how to dispose of them. They do not appear to be acquainted with one public matter. They have been *toryish*; I fancy not from principle, but from its being the prevailing sentiment in the country.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 9. *Note.*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 19 July, 1776.

‘SIR, — Enclosed I have the honor to transmit to you copies of a letter and sundry Resolutions, which I received yesterday from the Convention of this State. By them you will perceive they have been acting upon matters of great importance, and are exerting themselves in the most vigorous manner to defeat the wicked designs of the enemy, and such disaffected persons as may incline to assist and facilitate their views. In compliance with their request, and on account of the scarcity of money for carrying their salutary views into execution, I have agreed to lend them, out of the small stock now in hand, (not more than sixty thousand dollars,) twenty thousand dollars as a part of what they want; which they promise speedily to replace. \* \* \* \*

I hope my conduct in this instance will not be disapproved.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 202.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 9.



IN CONGRESS, *'July 20, 1776. Resolved,* That the thanks of the United States of America be given to Major-General Lee, Colonel William Moultrie, Colonel William Thompson, and the officers and soldiers under their command, who, on the 28th of June last, repulsed, with so much valor, the attack which was made that day on the State of South Carolina, by the fleet and army of his Britannic Majesty.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 21 July, 1776.

'SIR, — I have just time to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 19th. The interesting intelligence of the success of our arms in the Southern Department, gives me the highest satisfaction. Permit me to join my joy to the congratulations of Congress upon this event. To-morrow I will write more fully.

*'Two o'clock, P. M.* I this moment had report made me, that ten ships were seen in the offing, coming up, — I suppose, part of Admiral Howe's fleet.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 203.

Wash. Writ.

*From the Orderly Book, July 21.* 'The General has great pleasure in communicating to the officers and soldiers of this army the signal success of the American arms under General Lee, in South Carolina. This glorious example of our troops, under the like circumstances with us, the General hopes will animate every officer and soldier to imitate and even out-do them, when the enemy shall make the same attempt on us. \* \* \*

With this hope and confidence, the General most earnestly exhorts every officer and soldier to pay the utmost attention to his arms and health; to have the former in the best order for action, and by cleanliness and care to preserve the latter; to be exact in discipline, obedient to superiors, and vigilant on duty. With such preparation and a suitable spirit, there can be no doubt but, by the blessing of Heaven, we shall repel our cruel invaders, preserve our country, and gain the greatest honor.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 15.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 22 July, 1776.

'Colonel Knox of the train, having often mentioned to me, the necessity of having a much more numerous body of artillerists, than what there now is, \* \* \* and knowing the deficiency in this instance, and their extreme usefulness, I desired him to commit his ideas upon the subject to writing, in order that I might transmit them to Congress for their consideration. Agreeably to my request, he has done it; and the propriety of his plan is now submitted for their decision. It is certain, that we have not more at this

time than are sufficient for the several extensive Posts we now have, including the drafts which he speaks of, and which, I presume, not only from what he has informed me, but from the nature of the thing, can never be qualified to render the same service as if they were regularly appointed and formed into a corps for that particular purpose.

‘By a letter from General Schuyler, of the 14th instant, dated at Albany, he informs me, that, the day before, some desperate designs of the Tories in that quarter had been discovered, the particulars of which he could not divulge, being under an oath of secrecy; however, that such measures had been taken, as to promise a prevention of the intended mischief; and that four of the conspirators, among them a ringleader, were apprehended about one o’clock that morning, not far from the town. What the plot was, or who were concerned in it, is a matter I am ignorant of as yet.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 204.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 14.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 25 July, 1776.

‘SIR, — Disagreeable as it is to me, and unpleasing as it may be to Congress, to multiply officers, I find myself under the unavoidable necessity of asking an increase of my Aide-de-camp. The augmentation of my command, the increase of my correspondence, the orders to give, the instructions to draw, out more business than I am able to execute in time with propriety. The business of so many different Departments centering with me, and by me to be handed on to Congress for their information, added to the *intercourse I am obliged to keep up with the adjacent States*, and incidental occurrences, all of which require confidential and not hack writers to execute, renders it impossible, in the present state of things, for my family to discharge the several duties expected of me, with that precision and despatch that I could wish. What will it be, then, when we come into a more active scene, and I am called upon from twenty different places, perhaps, at the same instant?

‘Congress will do me the justice to believe, I hope, that it is not my inclination or wish to run the Continent into any unnecessary expense; and those who better know me will not suspect, that show and parade can have any influence on my mind in this instance. A conviction of the necessity of it, for the regular discharge of the trust reposed in me, is the governing motive for the application; and, as such, is submitted to Congress by, Sir, your most obedient, &c.’

July 27th. — ‘SIR, — I was yesterday morning honored with your favor of the 24th instant with its several enclosures, to which I shall pay the strictest attention.

‘The confidence Congress are pleased to repose in my judgment

demands my warmest acknowledgments, and they may rest assured *it shall be invariably employed*, so far as shall be in my power, *to promote their views and the public weal*.

‘I would wish to know whether the allowance given to officers, the 17th of January, of a dollar and one third for every man they enlist, Congress mean to extend to the officers who enlist\* for the *new army for three years*. \* \* \* The allowance will be of great use, as it will interest the officers, and call forth their exertions, which otherwise would be faint and languid. Indeed, I am fearful, from the inquiries I have made, that their utmost exertions will be attended with but little success. *It is objected that the bounty of ten dollars is too low*, and argued,—“if the States, furnishing men for five or six months, allow considerably more, why should that be accepted when the term of enlistment is to be for three years?”—*I heartily wish a bounty in land* had been or could be given, as was proposed some time ago.† I think it would be attended with salutary consequences.

‘The militia for the Flying Camp come in but slowly. By a return from General Mercer yesterday, they are but little more than three thousand.‡ If they were in, or can be there shortly, and the situation of the enemy remains the same, I would make some efforts to annoy them, keeping our posts here well guarded, and not putting too much to the hazard.’

*July 30th.*—‘Since I wrote you yesterday, eleven ships more, four brigs, and two sloops, have come into the Hook. I have not yet received intelligence what any of the late arrivals are; but suppose we shall not long remain in a state of uncertainty.

‘Having reason to believe that Lord Howe will readily come into an exchange of such prisoners as may be more immediately under his command, and that something will be offered on the subject within a day or two, or rather come in answer to the propositions I have made General Howe, I should be glad to have Congress’s interpretation of the Resolve of the 22d instant, empowering the Commanders to exchange, &c.; whether, by the word “*sailor*” they mean sailors generally, as well those taken in the vessels of private adventurers by the enemy, as those belonging to the Conti-

\* In pursuance of their Resolves, June 26, 27, pp. 243, 254, 255.

† The General had written to the President, July 10,—‘Observing that Congress have particularly mentioned a bounty of ten dollars to be paid to men of some corps directed to be raised in two or three instances since their Resolve of the 25th of June, allowing such bounty, I have been led to doubt how that Resolve is to be construed; whether it is a general regulation, and extends to all men that will engage for three years.’

‡ In the same letter, July 10,—‘General Mercer is now in the Jerseys, for the purpose of receiving and ordering the militia coming for the Flying Camp; and I have sent over our chief engineer to view the ground within the neighborhood of Amboy, and to lay out some necessary works for the encampment.’

mental cruisers, or vessels in the Continent's employ; or whether they only design to extend the exchange to the latter,—those in their particular employ.

‘I submit it to Congress, whether it may not be now necessary to pass a Resolve declaring their sentiments on this subject. \* \* \*

The result of their opinion upon the first question proposed, you will be pleased to transmit me by the earliest opportunity.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 208, 212.

Wash. Writ.

Of the Resolves referred to or particularly mentioned in the above letters, only those relating to an exchange of prisoners are given immediately below.

‘*July 22. Resolved, That the Commander-in-Chief in each Department be empowered to negotiate an exchange of prisoners in the following manner: one Continental officer for one of the enemy of equal rank, either in the land or sea service, soldier for soldier, sailor for sailor, and one citizen for another citizen:*

*‘That each State hath a right to make any exchange they think proper for prisoners taken from them or by them.*

*‘Resolved, That the several Commanders-in-Chief, in each Department, be directed to exchange any officer in the British service, now a prisoner in any of these States, of or under the rank of Colonel, for Colonel Ethan Allen.’*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the BOARD OF WAR.

NEW YORK, 29 July, 1776.

‘GENTLEMEN, — At length I have been able to comply with the first part of a Resolution of Congress, relative to a *return of the vacancies* in the several regiments composing that part of the army under my immediate command. I thought to have made this return much sooner, but the dispersed situation of our troops, the constant duty they are upon, the difficulty of getting returns when this is the case, \* \* \* and the variety of important occurrences which have intervened of late to withdraw attention from this matter, will I hope be admitted as an excuse, and the delay not ascribed to any disinclination in me to comply with the order; *as I shall, while I have the honor to remain in the service of the United States, obey to the utmost of my power, and to the best of my abilities, all orders of Congress, with a scrupulous exactness.* I am sorry to take up so much of your time, as the recital of particular cases requires, but there is no avoiding it, unless Congress will be pleased to appoint one or more persons, *in whom they can confide, to visit this part of the army once a month, inspect into it, and fill up the vacancies, as shall appear proper to them upon the spot.* This cannot be attended with any great trouble, nor much expense, *as it is only in the part of the army under my im-*

mediate direction, *that such regulations would be necessary; the officers commanding in other Departments having this power, I believe, already given them.*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 20.

The following records show in what manner this allusion was construed. For aught appears, their construction and alleged concern associated with it, remained, unchanged by any thing directly from the General; since no reference to either is found in his subsequent communications to that Board or to Congress.

Respecting vacancies, see in this connection, letters, May 11, June 7, Resolve, May 10, pp. 226, 227, Resolve, June 17, pp. 239, 240; also the one, June 27, p. 254, referred to in the above letter.

IN CONGRESS. 'August 1. The Board of War reported the draught of a letter to General Washington, *in answer to his directed to them*; and, the same being agreed to,

'Ordered, That it be transcribed, signed by the President, and forwarded.'

#### THE LETTER.

'I am particularly instructed by Congress to answer that part of your letter, directed to the Board of War, which relates to filling up vacancies in the army. The Congress are concerned to find, that an opinion is entertained, that greater confidence has been placed in, and larger powers given to, other commanders in that respect, than to yourself. They have in no instance, *except in the late appointment of General Gates to the command in Canada*, parted with the power of filling up vacancies. The great confusion and many disorders prevalent in that army, and its distance, induced Congress to lodge such a power in that General for the limited space of three months, and only during his continuance in Canada. Should Congress ever empower its Generals to fill up the vacancies in the army, they know of no one in whom they would so soon repose a trust of such importance as in yourself; but future Generals may make a bad use of it. *The danger of the precedent*, not any suspicion of their present Commander-in-Chief, *prompts them to retain a power*, that, by you, Sir, might be exercised with the greatest public advantage.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 21. Note.

Besides the Resolves, &c. already given, many others passed in July, mostly with regard to raising and collecting a military force according to the exigency indicated by the preceding letters, claim place and attention before the letters of August.

IN CONGRESS. 'July 3, 1776. Resolved, That the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to send as many of the troops of their Colony as they can spare, to Monmouth county, in New Jersey, *to the assistance of that Colony*, and to be subject to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief; the said troops to be allowed the same pay and rations as the troops in the service of the Continent, from the time of their march until their return:

‘ That a circular letter be written by the Committees of Inspection of the several counties of Pennsylvania, where troops are raised, or raising, to form the Flying Camp, requesting them to send the troops by battalions, or detachments of battalions, or companies, as fast as raised, to the city of Philadelphia, except those raised in the counties of Bucks, Berks, and Northampton, which are to be directed to march, as aforesaid, to New Brunswick in New Jersey :

‘ That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions be sent to General Washington, and that he be *desired* to appoint a proper officer to command the Flying Camp, and also direct proper persons to supply the men with rations.

‘ *July 4. Resolved*, That application be made to the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania, for a supply of flints for the troops at New York : and that Delaware government and Maryland, be requested to embody their militia for a Flying Camp, with all possible expedition, and to march them, without delay, to the city of Philadelphia.

‘ *Resolved*, That the delegates of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, be a committee to confer with the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania and the Committee of Inspection and Observation for the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and the field-officers of the battalions of the said city and liberties, on the best means of *defending the Colonies of New Jersey and Pennsylvania*, and that they be empowered to send expresses where necessary.

‘ *July 5.* The Committee of Congress, appointed to confer \*  
\* \* \* reported, that they have had a meeting with the Committees and officers aforesaid, and have agreed to the following Resolutions, viz. :

‘ That all the associated militia of Pennsylvania, (excepting the counties of Westmoreland, Bedford and Northumberland,) who can be furnished with arms and accoutrements, be forthwith requested to march, with the utmost expedition, to Trenton, (except the militia of Northampton county, who are to march directly for New Brunswick,) in New Jersey ; and that the said militia continue in service, until the Flying Camp of *ten thousand men*, can be collected to relieve them, unless they shall be sooner discharged by Congress :

‘ That the militia march by companies to the place of rendezvous :

‘ That the said militia be taken into the Continental pay, and receive the same pay, allowance and rations, as the Continental troops, from the time they begin their march until they return to their respective homes :

‘ That those of the three battalions of the Pennsylvania troops now remaining in the Province, be ordered to march immediately for New Brunswick, in New Jersey :

‘ That the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania provide as many tents as they can for said militia :



‘ That the Committee of Inspection and Observation, in the several counties, furnish a good kettle to every six men, and give all the assistance in their power, that the said militia be well armed and equipped, and march with the greatest expedition :

‘ That the Committees of Inspection and Observation for the several counties of Pennsylvania, be desired to order such troops as they may raise for the Flying Camp, to be marched to Trenton ; the Resolve of Congress passed yesterday, notwithstanding ; whereupon,

‘ *Resolved*, That the Congress highly approve the foregoing Resolutions, and recommend it to the good people of Pennsylvania, to carry the same into execution with the same laudable readiness which they have hitherto manifested in supporting the injured rights of their country.

‘ *Resolved*, That Colonel Hazlet, of the battalion of Delaware government, be ordered to station one company at Lewistown, and to march the remaining seven to Wilmington, and there remain *until farther orders of this Congress* :

‘ That General Washington be *empowered*, if he shall judge it advisable, to order three of the fullest regiments stationed in Massachusetts Bay, to be immediately marched to Ticonderoga ; and that an equal number of the militia of that State, be taken into pay, and embodied for its defence, if the government of Massachusetts Bay judge it necessary :

‘ That the Post-Master-General be directed immediately to have *Expresses* established between this city and New York, and that General Washington be *desired* to send off despatches to Congress, every day.\*

‘ *July 8.* That the Commanding officer of the military association of Philadelphia, be directed not to order Captain Peters out of the city, as his service and attendance is necessary in the War-Office.

‘ That General Washington be *vested with discretionary power* to call to his assistance at New York, such of the Continental regiments in the Massachusetts Bay, as have not already received orders to march to Ticonderoga ; and that the General Court of that State be requested to supply their places with militia, if they think it expedient :

‘ That the Commissary-General have full power to supply both armies, that upon the Lakes as well as that at New York ; and also to appoint and employ such persons under him, and to remove any Deputy-Commissary, as he shall judge proper and expedient ; it being absolutely necessary, that the supply of both armies should be under one direction.†

\* On the subject of Expresses, see pp. 170, 171.

† In respect to the department of Commissary, see p. 256, and others there referred to.

*'Resolved*, That General Washington be *empowered* to appoint suitable places of rendezvous for the new battalions raising for Canada, and communicate the same to the Assemblies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New York; also to issue his orders for supplying the men with rations, tents, a month's pay advance, and other necessaries.

*'July 14. 'Resolved*, That a letter be written to the Commanding officer in New Jersey, to march such of the militia, and Flying Camp, to New Brunswick or other places in New Jersey, as he may judge necessary, and most conducive to the public service; *provided* that this does not interfere with any prior directions of General Washington:

*'That* the Committee of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested, immediately, to order to the several places of their destination, all the British officers, *prisoners* in this city; their wives not to be desired to go until the weather is more suitable:

*'That* the Commanding officer in Pennsylvania be *desired* to issue fresh orders, and exert himself to forward the immediate march of the militia to New Jersey: the service requiring their being immediately embodied, as appears by the advices received by express from General Washington.

*'July 15. Resolved*, That a committee, to consist of a member from Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, be appointed to consider the propriety and means of augmenting the Flying Camp:

*'July 16. Resolved*, That General Washington be *desired* to lodge powder with such persons as he may think proper, for the use of such parts of the State of New York, as he may apprehend exposed to danger, and that the Commanding officer in New Jersey do the same in that Colony:

*'That* three Commissioners be appointed by Congress, to repair, as soon as may be, to New York, there *to audit the accounts* \* of the Commissary General, the Quarter-Master General, and the Director-General of the Hospital, and all other accounts of the army; the said Commissioners to take an oath for the faithful execution of their trust:

*'That* three Commissioners be appointed, for the like purposes, in the Northern army:

*'That* General Washington be informed that the *bounty* granted by the Resolution of Congress of the 26th of June, was intended as a general regulation, and to extend to all such men now in the Continental service, and all others, who will enlist for the term of three years, to be computed from and after the expiration of the term of their present enlistment. †

\* In relation to an appointment for that object, see again letters, Jan. 24, May 5, July 11, pp. 160, 224, 259.

† See the General's query, second note, p. 266.

*Resolved*, That General Washington be *desired* to call to his assistance, at New York, two thousand of the men who have marched into New Jersey to form the Flying Camp; and that the Convention of New Jersey be requested immediately to supply their places with an equal number of the militia of that State: that letters be written to the States of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Jersey, setting forth the situation of our affairs in the New York Department, and pressing them immediately to comply with the requisition of Congress of the 3d of June:

‘That the situation of our army at New York be pointed out to the State of Connecticut; and that it be earnestly recommended to that State, immediately to send all the militia thereof, which can be spared, into New York, to reinforce the army there, and continue in service until the proportions requested of the several States shall arrive:

*July 17. Resolved*, That General Washington, in refusing to receive a letter said to be sent from Lord Howe, addressed to “George Washington, Esq.,” acted with a dignity becoming his station; and, therefore, this Congress do highly approve the same; and do direct, that no letter or message be received, on any occasion whatsoever, from the enemy, by the Commander-in-Chief, or others, the Commanders of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the characters they respectively sustain:

‘That Colonel Smallwood, from Maryland, be ordered to repair, as soon as possible, with the troops under his command, to New York, and put himself under the command of the General:

‘That the General be informed, that these troops are to be considered as part of the two thousand, *which he was empowered to call to his assistance* from the Flying Camp, by the Resolution passed yesterday:

‘That it be earnestly recommended to the Convention of New Jersey, to cause all the stock on the sea-coast, which they shall apprehend to be in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, to be immediately removed, and driven back into the country, to a place of security.

*July 19. Resolved*, That a letter be written to General Schuyler, *requesting* him to recommend, in the strongest terms, harmony between the officers and troops of the different States; to discountenance and suppress all Provincial reflections and ungenerous jealousies of every kind, and to promote, by every possible means, discipline, order, and zeal in the public service.

*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the Convention of Pennsylvania, to hasten, with all possible expedition, the march of the associators into New Jersey, agreeable to a former request of Congress.

*Resolved*, That the delegates of Maryland be directed to inform

the Commanding officer of the Maryland troops; that Congress expect he will immediately march with his troops to New York.

'*July 20. Resolved*, That Colonel Hazlet be ordered to march immediately with his battalion, to Philadelphia, and there *wait the further orders of Congress*.

'The committee appointed [July 15, p. 271] to devise ways and means for increasing the Flying Camp, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

'*Resolved*, That Brigadier-General Lewis be directed to order two battalions of Continental troops, in Virginia, to march with all possible despatch to the Flying Camp, in New Jersey, under the command of Brigadier-General Mercer; and that, if the Governor and Privy-Council of Virginia shall have reason to apprehend an invasion of the State, and shall call to its defence an equal number of minute-men or militia, the same, while in service, shall be on the pay and support of the Continent:

'That the Convention of Pennsylvania be requested to augment their quota for the Flying Camp, with four battalions of militia, and the Convention of New Jersey to raise for the said Flying Camp, three battalions of militia, in addition to those formerly *desired* by Congress, and to send the same, with all possible despatch, to the said Flying Camp.\* And, that these several battalions be officered, paid and provided, as directed by the former Resolutions [June 3, p. 233] for forming the Flying Camp.

'*July 23.* On the \* \* \* Report from the Board of War, the Congress came to the following Resolutions:

'That General Washington be informed, that Congress have such *an entire confidence in his judgment*, that they will give him no particular directions about the disposition of the troops, but *desire* that he will dispose of those at New York, the Flying Camp and Ticonderoga, *as to him shall appear* most conducive to the public good:†

'That the Congress approve of General Washington's having lent to the Convention of New York, the sum of money mentioned in his letter of the 19th instant:

'That Mons. St. Martin be appointed an engineer, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and that he be directed to repair to New York, and put himself under the command of General Washington:

'*Resolved*, That in order to hasten the march of the troops, the several Committees of Lancaster, York, Cumberland, Berks and Northampton counties in Pennsylvania, be empowered to muster the troops that shall march from their respective counties, and to draw for one month's pay.

\* The ten thousand 'formerly desired,' June 3, p. 233, and these nine battalions, together, exceeded sixteen thousand seven hundred.

† See expressions of obligation and fidelity on the receipt of this Resolve, July 27, pp. 265, 266.

'*July 24. Resolved*, that Colonel Knox's plan, for raising another battalion of artillery, be approved, and carried into execution, as soon as possible :

'That General Washington be *desired* to recommend proper officers to compose this corps :

'*July 29. Resolved*, That General Washington be *empowered* to appoint another Aid-de-Camp :

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be *empowered* to order the regiment lately raised in Connecticut, under the command of Colonel Ward, wheresoever he shall think the service requires it.

'*July 30. Resolved*, That the Secret Committee be directed to supply the three rifle companies, now in town from Lancaster, with eleven pounds of powder and forty-four pounds of lead.

'*Resolved*, That the Resolution of the 17th of January last, allowing to officers one dollar and one third for every man they enlist, be extended to officers who enlist for the new army for three years : \*

'That Congress approve of General Schuyler's intention to publish such parts of the treaty with the Six Nations, as may have a tendency to dispel the apprehensions of the frontier inhabitants.

'*July 30. Resolved*, That it be recommended to the States of Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, to afford all necessary assistance to the State of South Carolina, and to coöperate with that State, in prosecuting the war against the Indians with the utmost vigor :

'That the President write to the Governor and Council of Virginia, the Council of Safety of North Carolina, and the President of Georgia, relative to the above subjects.

'*July 31. Resolved*, That five tons of musket-powder be sent immediately to General Washington at New York.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 2 August, 1776.

'SIR, — Congress having been pleased to leave with me the direction of Colonel Ward's regiment, I have written to Governor Trumbull, and requested him to order their march to this place, being fully satisfied that the enemy mean to make their grand push in this quarter, and that the good of the service requires every aid here that can be obtained. I have also written to Colonel Elmore and requested him to repair hither with his regiment. •

\* Colonel Holman with a regiment from the Massachusetts State has arrived. Colonel Carey from thence is also here, waiting the arrival of his regiment, which he hourly expects. He adds, that when he left New London he heard that the third regiment from Massachusetts was almost ready, and would soon be in motion.

\* In answer to the General's inquiry, p. 266.

‘The enemy’s force is daily increasing, and becoming stronger by new arrivals. Yesterday, General Greene reports, about forty sail, including tenders, came into the Hook. What they are, or what those have brought that have lately gone in, I remain uninformed. However, I think it probable they are a part of Admiral Howe’s fleet with the Hessian troops: it is time to look for them.

‘P. S. I am extremely sorry to inform Congress, our troops are very sickly.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 214.

Wash. Writ.

#### FROM THE ORDERLY BOOK.

*August 1st.* — ‘It is with great concern, that the General understands that jealousies have arisen among the troops from the different Provinces, and reflections are frequently thrown out, which can only tend to irritate each other, and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with one hand and one heart.\* The General most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider the consequences; that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually, than by making divisions among ourselves; that the honor and success of the army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the Provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and *all distinctions sunk in the name of an AMERICAN*. To make this name honorable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation; and he will be the best soldier and the best patriot, who contributes most to the glorious work, whatever his station, or from whatever part of the Continent he may come.’

*August 3d.* — ‘That the troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as to take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through, the General in future excuses them from fatigue duty on Sundays, except at the ship-yards, or on special occasions, until further orders. The General is sorry to be informed, that the foolish and wicked practice of profane cursing and swearing, a vice heretofore little known in an American army, is growing into fashion; he hopes the officers will, by example as well as influence, endeavor to check it, and that both they and the men will reflect, that we can have little hope of the blessing of Heaven on our arms, if we insult it by our impiety and folly; added to this, it is a vice so mean and low, without any temptation, that every man of sense and character detests and despises it.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 26, 28. *Notes.*

\* See Resolve, July 19, p. 272, relating to General Schuyler’s command.



## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

New York, 7 August, 1776.

' SIR, — In my letter of the 5th, I begged leave to recal the attention of Congress to the *absolute necessity there is for appointing more general officers*, promising at the same time, by the first opportunity, to give my sentiments more at large upon the subject. Confident I am, that the postponing of this measure has not proceeded from motives of frugality, otherwise I should take the liberty of attempting to prove, that we put too much to hazard by such a saving. I am but too well apprised of the difficulties that occur in the choice. \* \* \* They are of such a nature as to present themselves whenever the subject is thought of. Time, on the one hand, does not remove them; on the other, delay may be productive of fatal consequences. This army, though far short as yet of the numbers intended by Congress, is much too unwieldy for the command of any one man, without several Major-Generals to assist. For it is to be observed, that a Brigadier-General at the head of his brigade is no more than a Colonel at the head of a regiment, except that he acts upon a larger scale. Officers of more general command are at all times wanted for the good order and government of an army, especially when the army is composed chiefly of raw troops; but in an action they are indispensably necessary. *At present there is but one Major-General for this whole Department and the Flying Camp; whereas, at this place alone, less than three cannot discharge the duties with proper regularity.*' \*

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 217.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 30.

' SIR, — Since closing the letter which I had the honor to write you this morning, two deserters have come in, who left the *Solebay* man-of-war last evening. One of them is a native of New York. Their account is, that they were in the engagement with Colonel Moultrie at Sullivan's Island; that they left Carolina three weeks ago, as a convoy to forty-five transports, having on board General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and the whole Southern army, consisting of about three thousand men, all of whom were landed last week on Staten Island, in tolerable health; that, on Sunday, thirteen transports, part of Lord Howe's fleet, and having on board Hessians and Highlanders, came to Staten Island; that the remainder of the fleet, which was reported to have, in the whole, twelve thousand men, \* \* \* were expected to come in every moment; that they were getting their heavy carriages and cannon on board, had launched eight gondolas with flat bottoms, and two rafts or stages to carry cannon.

\* In connection with this letter, see third extract from letter, May 11, Resolve immediately below it, pp. 228, 229, together with letters, July 5, 11, and Resolves, July 8, p. 247.

‘These men understand that the attack will soon be made if the other troops arrive; that they give out they will lay the Jerseys waste with fire and sword; that the computed strength of their army will be thirty thousand men.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 219.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 8 August, 1776.

‘I yesterday transmitted the intelligence I received from the deserters from the Solebay man-of-war. The enclosed copy of a letter, from the honorable Mr. Bowdoin, with the information of a Captain Kennedy lately taken, corroborates their accounts respecting the Hessian troops. Indeed his report makes the fleet and armament to be employed against us, greater than what we have heard they would be. However, there remains no doubt of their being both large and formidable, and such as will require our most vigorous exertions to oppose them. Persuaded of this, and knowing how much inferior our numbers are and will be to theirs when the whole of their troops arrive, of the important consequences that may and will flow from the appeal that will soon be made, I have written to Connecticut and New Jersey, for all the succor they can afford, and also to the Convention of this State. What I may receive, and in what time, the event must determine. But I would fain hope, the situation and the exigency of our affairs will call forth the most strenuous efforts and early assistance of those who are friends to the cause. I confess there is but too much occasion for their exertions. I confidently trust they will not be withheld.’

‘*August 9th.* — By a report received from General Greene last night, at sunset and a little after, about a hundred boats were seen bringing troops from Staten Island to the ships, three of which had fallen down towards the Narrows, having taken in soldiers from thirty of the boats. He adds, that, by the best observations of several officers, there appeared to be a general embarkation.

‘I have written to General Mercer for two thousand men from the Flying Camp. Colonel Smallwood’s battalion, as part of them, I expect this forenoon; but where the rest are to come from I know not, as by the General’s last return, not more than three or four hundred of the new levies had got in.\*

‘In my letter of the 5th I inclosed a general return of the army under my immediate command; but I imagine the following statement will give Congress a more perfect idea, though not a more agreeable one, of our situation. For the several posts on New York, Long and Governor’s Islands, and Paulus Hook, we have,

\* The levies of June 3, p. 233.

fit for duty, ten thousand five hundred and fourteen; sick present, three thousand and thirty-nine; sick absent, six hundred and twenty-nine; on command, nine hundred and forty-six; on furlough, ninety-seven; total, seventeen thousand two hundred and twenty-five.

‘In addition to these, we are only certain of Colonel Smallwood’s battalion in case of an immediate attack. Our posts too are much divided, having waters between many of them, and some distant from others, fifteen miles. These circumstances, sufficiently distressing of themselves, are much aggravated by the sickness that prevails through the army. Every day more or less are taken down; so that the proportion of men that may come in cannot be considered as a real and serviceable augmentation on the whole.

‘These things are melancholy; but they are nevertheless true. I hope for better. *Under every disadvantage, my utmost exertions shall be employed to bring about the great end we have in view;* and, so far as I can judge from the professions and apparent disposition of my troops, I shall have their support. The superiority of the enemy and the expected attack do not seem to have depressed their spirits. These considerations lead me to think, that, though the appeal may not terminate so happily in our favor as I could wish, yet they will not succeed in their views without considerable loss. Any advantage they may get, I trust, will cost them dear.’

‘*August 13th.* — SIR, — As there is reason to believe that but little time will elapse before the enemy make their attack, I have thought it advisable to remove all the papers in my hands, respecting the affairs of the States, from this place. I hope the event will show the precaution was unnecessary; but yet prudence required that it should be done, lest by any accident they might fall into their hands. They are all contained in a large box, nailed up, and committed to the care of Lieutenant-Colonel Reed, brother of the Adjutant-General, to be delivered to Congress, in whose custody I would beg leave to deposit them until our affairs shall be so circumstanced as to admit of their return.

‘The enemy, since my letter of yesterday, have received a further augmentation of thirty-six ships to their fleet, making the whole that have arrived since yesterday morning, ninety-six.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.

‘P. S. I would observe that I have sent off the box privately, that it might raise no disagreeable ideas; and have enjoined Colonel Reed to secrecy.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 221, 222, 227. Wash. Writ.

‘*August 16th.* — SIR, — I beg leave to inform you, that, since I had the pleasure of addressing you yesterday, nothing interesting between the two armies has happened.

‘It is with peculiar regret and concern that I have an occasion of mentioning to Congress the sickly condition of our troops. In some regiments there are not any of the field-officers capable of doing duty ; in others the duty is extremely difficult for want of a sufficient number. I have been obliged to nominate some till Congress transmit the appointment of those they wish to succeed to the several vacancies occasioned by the late promotions. This, being a matter of some consequence, I presume will have their early attention, and that they will *fill up the several vacancies also mentioned in the list* I had the honor of transmitting some days ago to the Board of War.’ \*

Ibid. p. 230.

Attention will now be directed to some of the proceedings of Congress, in August.

IN CONGRESS. ‘August 2. *Resolved*, That General Washington be instructed to employ in the service of the States, as many of the Stockbridge Indians as he shall judge proper.

‘August 5. *Resolved*, That the Delaware battalion, when armed, be ordered to New Jersey, subject to the farther orders and directions of the General.

‘August 6. *Resolved*, That the Secret Committee be directed to deliver to the delegates of North Carolina, half a ton of powder, for the use of the frontier inhabitants of that State.

‘*Resolved*, That the Convention of the State of New Jersey be requested to make such provision for keeping open the communication between that State and New York, by way of the ferries over the rivers Passaick and Hackinsack, as to them shall appear to be most effectual, and *that Congress will reimburse the expenses of such service to the State of New Jersey* :

‘That it be recommended, in the most earnest manner, to the Convention of New Jersey, to order their militia immediately to march and join Brigadier-General Mercer.

‘August 8. *Resolved*, That the Colonel, or commanding officer of the Delaware battalion, and the Colonels, or commanding officers of the several battalions of militia, now in Philadelphia, be ordered instantly to march to Amboy in New Jersey ; and that such of the militia as want arms, be left under a proper officer, till they can be provided therewith, and then marched without any farther delay :

‘That the Board of War be directed to see this Resolution carried into immediate execution.

‘*Resolved*, That a letter be written to General Lee, to inform him of the intelligence received, that the troops from Charleston are arrived at New York ; and to direct him, in case the British troops have left the Southern Colonies, to repair, with all possible expedition, to Philadelphia, and *there wait the orders of Congress*.

'*August 9.* Agreeable to the order of the day, Congress proceeded to the election of four Major-Generals and six Brigadier-Generals, when the following gentlemen were chosen, viz.:

' William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene, Esqrs., Major-Generals; James Read, John Nixon, Arthur St. Clair, Alexander McDougal, Samuel Holden Parsons, and James Clinton, Esqrs., Brigadier-Generals.\*

'*August 10.* The Board of War brought in a Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

'*Resolved,* That commissions be made out, and sent to General Washington, to be delivered to the several officers recommended in the list exhibited by the said Board, to fill the vacancies mentioned in the said list, excepting \* \* \*

'*Resolved,* That the Secret Committee be directed to deliver to Colonel J. Wilson, for the use of three companies of his battalion, now in Philadelphia, eleven pounds of powder, and forty-four pounds of lead.

'*August 12.* *Resolved,* That the delegates of North Carolina be empowered to send by water, at the risk of the Continent, the military stores necessary *for that State.*

'*August 13.* *Resolved,* That the Secret Committee be directed to furnish Colonel Wilson with twenty-three muskets, twenty-two pounds of powder, and eighty-eight pounds of lead, for the use of his battalion of militia.

'*August 14.* The Committee of Treasury reported, that there is due,

' To Captain William Ross, for subsistence and ferriage of his company of sixty-seven men, of Colonel Smith's battalion, on their march from York county to New Jersey, the sum of fifty-two dollars and forty-nine ninetieths:

' To John Eshenbach, for nineteen meals supplied recruits of Capt. Cluggage's company, of Colonel Hand's battalion, one dollar and eighty-one ninetieths:

' To Sarah Campbell, for nursing and boarding seven sick men belonging to Captains Beaty, Benezet and Miller's companies, thirty dollars and seven ninetieths:

'*Ordered,* That the said accounts be paid.

'*August 15.* *Resolved,* That the Secret Committee be directed to deliver to Colonel M'Callister, eight stand of arms for the use of his battalion, the said Committee taking security for the return of the said arms:

' That the said Committee be directed to deliver to the delegates of North Carolina, five tons of lead, for the use of the troops in that State.

'*August 17.* The Committee of Treasury reported that there is due,

\* See letter, Aug. 7, p. 276, with the references.

‘ To John Bates, for one hundred and eighty-seven camp-kettles,  
\*        \*        two hundred and forty-nine dollars.

‘ To George Bunner, for a rifle purchased by Lieut. Moses Rawling, from John Piper, in Maryland, for the use of Capt. Grier’s rifle company, and to be charged to the said company, ten dollars and sixty ninetieths.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the NEW YORK CONVENTION.

HEAD-QUARTERS, New York, 17 August, 1776.

‘ GENTLEMEN, — When I consider that the city of New York will in all human probability very soon be the scene of a bloody conflict, I cannot but view the great numbers of women, children, and infirm persons remaining in it, with the most melancholy concern. When the men-of-war passed up the river, the shrieks and cries of these poor creatures running every way with their children, were truly distressing, and I fear they will have an unhappy effect on the ears and minds of our young and inexperienced soldiery. Can no method be devised for their removal? Many doubtless are of ability to remove themselves, but there are others in a different situation. Some provision for them afterwards would also be a necessary consideration. It would relieve me from great anxiety, if your honorable body would immediately deliberate upon it, and form and execute some plan for their removal and relief; in which I will coöperate and assist to the utmost of my power. In the mean time, I have thought it proper to recommend to persons, of the above description, to convey themselves without delay to some place of safety, with their most valuable effects. \*

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 49.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 19 August, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I have nothing of moment to communicate to Congress, as things are in the situation they were when I had last the honor of addressing them.

‘ By a letter from General Ward, of the 12th, I find that Whitcomb’s regiment, on the 8th, and Phinney’s, on the 9th, marched from Boston for Ticonderoga.

‘ Governor Trumbull, also, in a letter of the 13th, advises me that Ward’s regiment in the service of the States, was on the march to this army, and that he and his Council of Safety had in the whole ordered fourteen militia regiments to reinforce us. Three of them have arrived, and amount to about a thousand and twenty men. When the whole come in, we shall be on a much more respectable footing than we have been, but I greatly fear, if the enemy defer their attempt for any considerable time, they will be extremely im-

\* In compliance with the suggestion, the Convention promptly gave their aid and coöperation.



patient to return home ; and if they should, we shall be reduced to distress again.

‘ Inclosed I have the honor to transmit you a general return of our whole force at this time, in which are comprehended the three regiments of militia above mentioned. I am sorry it should be so much weakened by sickness. The return will show you how it distresses us.’

‘ *August 20th.* — SIR, — I was yesterday morning favored with yours of the 17th, accompanied by several Resolutions of Congress, and commissions for *officers appointed to the late vacancies in this army.* \*

‘ I wrote some days ago to General Schuyler to propose to General Carleton and Burgoyne an exchange of prisoners, in consequence of a former Resolve † of Congress, authorizing their commanders in each Department to negotiate one.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 23 August, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I beg leave to inform Congress, that yesterday morning, and in the course of the preceding night, a considerable body of the enemy, amounting by report to eight or nine thousand, and these all British, landed from the transport-ships mentioned in my last, at Gravesend Bay, on Long-Island, and have approached within three miles of our lines, having marched across the low cleared grounds near the woods at Flatbush, where they are halted according to my last intelligence. I have detached from hence six battalions, as a reinforcement to our troops there, which are all that I can spare at this time, not knowing but the fleet may move up with the remainder of their army, and make an attack here, at the next flood-tide. If they do not, I shall send a further reinforcement, should it be necessary ; and I have ordered five battalions more to be in readiness for that purpose. I have no doubt but a little time will produce some important events. I hope they will be happy. The reinforcement detached yesterday went off in high spirits ; and I have the pleasure to inform you, that the whole of the army, that are effective and capable of duty, discover the same, and great cheerfulness. I have been obliged to appoint Major-General Sullivan to the command on the Island, owing to General Greene’s indisposition ; he has been extremely ill for several days, and still continues bad.

‘ By Wednesday evening’s post I received a letter from General Ward, enclosing a copy of the invoice of the ordnance stores taken

\* On the subject of vacancies, see pp. 279, 268, with the references.

† July 22, p. 267.

by Captain Manly, with the appraisement of the same, (made in pursuance of my direction, founded on an Order of Congress,) which I do myself the honor of transmitting.\* You will also receive the treaty between the Commissioners and Indians of the Six Nations and others at the German Flats, which General Schuyler requested me to forward. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 237.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 61.

IN CONGRESS. 'August 29. A letter of the 27th, from R. H. Harrison, the General's Secretary, and one of the 28th, from General Mercer, both giving an account of an action on Long Island, on the 27th, were read, and referred to the Board of War.

'Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to devise ways and means of regulating the Post-Office, and of establishing advice-boats between the Southern Colonies and Philadelphia, so as to facilitate and expedite the conveying intelligence from one part of the Continent to the other. The members chosen \* \*

'August 30. The Committee for regulating the Post-Office, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

'Resolved, That the communication of intelligence with frequency and despatch, from one part to another of this extensive Continent, is essentially requisite to its safety; that, therefore, there be employed on the public post-roads, a rider for every twenty-five or thirty miles, whose business it shall be, to proceed through his stage three times in every week, setting out immediately on receipt of the mail and travelling with the same, by night and by day, without stopping, until he shall have delivered it to the next rider. \* \* \* \*

'Resolved, That it be recommended to the Assemblies and Conventions of these States, to consider how far it may be consistent *with the policy and the good of their respective States*, to excuse Deputy Post-Masters from those public duties, which may call them from attendance at their offices, and to proceed therein as to their wisdom shall seem best.

'Resolved, That three advice-boats be established; one to ply between the States of North Carolina and such port as shall be most convenient to the place at which the Congress shall be sitting; one other between the State of South Carolina and the said port; and one other between Georgia and the same port; that such advice-boats be armed, and put under the direction of the Secret Committee, who are empowered to freight them with such merchan-

\* Thus, in consequence of the course resolved on by Congress, June 17, p. 250, the General's attention was called to the case of Capt. Manly and crew, when the battle on Long Island was actually commencing. Relative to cases of the sort, and to that particular one of Capt. Manly, see p. 139, and others there referred to; also pp. 147, 172, 217, 250.

dises or commodities, as, without retarding their passage, may, together with the usual postage on letters, and other papers transmitted by them, contribute to defray the expenses of the said boats.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 31 August, 1776.

'SIR, — Inclination as well as duty would have induced me to give Congress the earliest information of my removal, and that of the troops, from Long Island and its dependencies to this city, the night before last; but the extreme fatigue which myself and family have undergone, as much from the weather since, as the engagement on the 27th, rendered me and them entirely unfit to take pen in hand. Since Monday [26th] scarce any of us have been out of the lines, till our passage across the East River was effected yesterday morning; and, for forty-eight hours preceding that, I had hardly been off my horse, and never closed my eyes; so that I was quite unfit to write or dictate till this morning.

'Our retreat was made without any loss of men or ammunition, and in better order than I expected from troops in the situation ours were. We brought off all our cannon and stores, except a few heavy pieces, which in the condition the earth was, by a long continued rain, was found upon trial impracticable; the wheels of the carriages sinking up to the hubs, rendered it impossible for our whole force to drag them. \* \* \* I have enclosed a copy of the council of war held previous to the retreat, to which I beg leave to refer Congress for the reasons, or many of them, that led to the adoption of that measure. Yesterday evening and last night, a party of our men were employed in bringing our stores, cannon, and tents, from Governor's Island, which they nearly completed. Some of the heavy cannon remain there still, but I expect they will be got away to-day.

'In the engagement on the 27th, Generals Sullivan and Stirling were made prisoners. The former has been permitted, on his parole, to return for a little time. From Lord Stirling I had a letter by General Sullivan, a copy of which I have the honor to transmit, that contains his information of the engagement with his brigade. It is not so full and certain as I could wish; he was hurried most probably, as his letter was unfinished; nor have I been yet able to obtain an exact account of our loss; we suppose it from seven hundred to a thousand killed and taken. \* \*

\* \* I am much hurried and engaged in arranging and making new dispositions of our forces, the movements of the enemy requiring them to be immediately had; and therefore I have only time to add, that I am, with my best regards to Congress, &c.'

IN CONGRESS. *September 2.* A letter of the 31st of August, from General Washington, enclosing the determination of a council of war, and the reasons for quitting Long Island, and a copy of a letter from Lord Stirling, • • • were read, and referred to the Board of War.

*Resolved,* That the Board of War be directed to prepare and bring in a plan of military operations for the next campaign.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEW YORK, 2 September, 1776.

'SIR, — As my intelligence of late has been rather unfavorable, and would be received with anxiety and concern, peculiarly happy should I esteem myself, were it in my power at this time to transmit such information to Congress as would be more pleasing and agreeable to their wishes; but, unfortunately for me, unfortunately for them, it is not. Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance, of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but when their example has infected another part of the army, when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of, — our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.

'All these circumstances fully confirm the opinion I ever entertained, and which I more than once took the liberty of mentioning to Congress, that no dependence could be put in a militia,\* or other troops than those enlisted and embodied for a longer period than our regulations heretofore have prescribed. I am persuaded, and as fully convinced as I am of any one fact that has happened, that our liberties must of necessity be greatly hazarded, if not entirely lost, if their defence is left to any but a permanent standing army; I mean, one to exist during the war. Nor would the expense in-

\* See the expression on that subject in the General's first letter to Congress, after he arrived at Cambridge, p. 97.

oident to the support of such a body of troops as would be competent to almost every exigency, far exceed that which is daily incurred by calling in succor, and new enlistments, which, when effected, are not attended with any good consequences. Men, who have been free and subject to no control, cannot be reduced to order in an instant; and the privileges and exemptions, which they claim and will have, influence the conduct of others; and the aid derived from them is nearly counterbalanced by the disorder, irregularity, and confusion they occasion.

‘I cannot find that the *bounty of ten dollars*\* is likely to produce the desired effect. When men can get double that sum to engage for a month or two in the militia, and that militia frequently called out, it is hardly to be expected. The addition of land might have a considerable influence on a permanent enlistment. \* \* \*

I have ordered General Mercer to send the men intended for the Flying Camp to this place, *about a thousand in number*, and to try with the militia, if practicable, to make a diversion upon Staten Island. Till of late, I had no doubt in my own mind of defending this place; nor should I have yet, if the men would do their duty; but this I despair of. It is painful, and extremely grating to me, to give such unfavorable accounts; but it would be criminal to conceal the truth at so critical a juncture. Every power I possess shall be exerted to serve the cause; and my first wish is, that, whatever may be the event, the Congress will do me the justice to think so.

‘If we should be obliged to abandon the town, ought it to stand as winter-quarters for the enemy? \* \* \*

It is an important question; but will admit of little time for deliberation. At present I dare say the enemy mean to preserve it, if they can. If Congress, therefore, should resolve upon the destruction of it, the resolution should be a profound secret, as the knowledge of it will make a capital change in their plans.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 244.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 72.

IN CONGRESS. ‘September 3. A letter, of the 2d, from General Washington, and one from —, were read.

‘Resolved, That the letter from General Washington be referred to a committee of the whole Congress.

\* \* \* \* \*  
‘The Resolutions from the committee of the whole, being severally read, were agreed to as follows:

‘Resolved, That General Washington be acquainted, that Congress would have especial care taken, in case he should find it necessary to quit New York, that no damage be done to the said city by his troops, on their leaving it: *The Congress having no*

\* Offered by Congress, June 26, 27, pp. 240, 254.

*doubt of their being able to recover the same, though the enemy should, for a time, obtain possession of it.*

*'Resolved, That three more battalions be ordered from Virginia, of which that commanded by Colonel Stephen to be one, to reinforce the army at New York:*

*' That for the same purpose, two of the North Carolina battalions be ordered to march, with all possible expedition, to New York, under the command of Brigadier-General Moore :*

*' That it be recommended to the Assemblies and Conventions of the several States to the northward of Virginia, immediately to send all the aid in their power to the army in New York :*

*' That one of the Continental battalions in Rhode Island be ordered immediately to march, to reinforce the army in New York.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, 8 September, 1776.

*' SIR, — Since I had the honor of addressing you, I have called a council of the general officers, in order to take a full and comprehensive view of our situation, and thereupon form such a plan of future defence as may be immediately pursued, and subject to no other alteration, than a change of operations on the enemy's side may occasion.*

*' Before the landing of the enemy on Long Island, the point of attack could not be known, nor any satisfactory judgment formed of their intentions. It might be on Long Island, on Bergen, or directly on the city. This made it necessary to be prepared for each, and has occasioned an expense of labor, which now seems useless, and is regretted by those who form a judgment from after-knowledge. But I trust that men of discernment will think differently, and see that by such works and preparations we have not only delayed the operations of the campaign, \* \* \* but have drawn the enemy's forces to one point, and obliged them to decline their plan, so as to enable us to form our defence on some certainty.*

*' It is now extremely obvious from all intelligence, from their movements, and every other circumstance, that, having landed their whole army on Long Island, except about four thousand on Staten Island, they mean to enclose us on the island of New York, by taking post in our rear, while the shipping effectually secures the front ; and thus, either, by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion, or by a brilliant stroke endeavor to cut this army in pieces, and secure the collection of arms and stores, which they well know we shall not be able soon to replace. Having therefore their system unfolded to us, it became an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties ; and every measure on our part, however*



painful the reflection is from experience, is to be formed with some apprehension that all our troops will not do their duty. In deliberating on this great question, it was impossible to forget, that history, our own experience, the advice of our ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy, and even the declarations of Congress, demonstrate, that on our side the war should be defensive, — (it has even been called a war of Posts,) — that we should on all occasions avoid a general action, nor put any thing to risk, unless compelled by a necessity into which we ought never to be drawn.

‘ The arguments on which such a system was founded, were deemed unanswerable; and experience has given her sanction. With these views, and being fully persuaded that it would be presumption to draw out our young troops into open ground against their superiors, both in number and discipline, I have never spared the *spade and pickaxe*. \* \* \* \* \* We are now in a strong post, but not an impregnable one, nay, acknowledged by every man of judgment to be untenable, unless the enemy will make the attack upon lines, when they can avoid it, and their movements indicate that they mean to do so.

‘ To draw the whole army together in order to arrange the defence proportionate to the extent of lines and works, would leave the country open for an approach, and put the fate of this army and its stores on the hazard of making a successful defence in the city, or the issue of an engagement out of it. On the other hand, to abandon a city which has been by some deemed defensible, and on whose works much labor has been bestowed, has a tendency to dispirit the troops and enfeeble our cause. \* \* \* \* \* These and many other consequences, which will be involved in the determination of our next measure, have given our minds full employ, and led every one to form a judgment as the various objects presented themselves to his view.

‘ The post at Kingsbridge is naturally strong, and is pretty well fortified; the heights about it are commanding, and might soon be made more so. These are important objects, and I have attended to them accordingly. \* \* \* \* \* In resolving points of such importance, many circumstances peculiar to our own army also occur. Being only provided for a summer’s campaign, their clothes, shoes, and blankets will soon be unfit for the change of weather, which we every day feel. At present we have not tents for more than two thirds, many of them old and worn out; but, if we had a plentiful supply, the season will not admit of continuing in them long. The case of our sick is also worthy of much consideration. Their number, by the returns, forms at least one fourth of our whole army. Policy and humanity require that they should be made as comfortable as possible.

‘ With these and many other circumstances before them, the whole council of general officers met yesterday in order to adopt

some general line of conduct to be pursued at this important crisis. \* \* \* All agreed that the town would not be tenable, if the enemy resolved to bombard and cannonade it; but the difficulty attending a removal operated so strongly, that a course was taken between abandoning it totally and centering our whole strength for its defence; nor were some a little influenced in their opinion, to whom the determination of Congress was known, against an evacuation totally, as they were led to suspect Congress wished it to be maintained at every hazard. \* \*

'There were some general officers, in whose judgment and opinion much confidence is to be reposed, that were for a total and immediate removal from the city, urging the great danger of one part of the army being cut off, before the other can support it, the extremities being at least sixteen miles apart; \* \* \* that, by removing from hence, we deprive the enemy of the advantage of their ships, which will make at least one half of the force to attack the town; that we should keep the enemy at bay, put nothing to hazard, but at all events keep the army together.

\* \* \* But they were overruled by a majority, who thought, for the present, a part of our force might be kept here, and attempt to maintain the city a while longer.

'I am sensible a retreating army is encircled with difficulties; that declining an engagement subjects a General to reproach; and that the *common cause* may be affected by the discouragement it may throw over the minds of many. Nor am I insensible of the contrary effects, if a brilliant stroke could be made with any probability of success, especially after our loss on Long Island. But, when the fate of America may be at stake on the issue, when the wisdom of cooler moments and experienced men have decided that we should protract the war if possible, I cannot think it safe or wise to adopt a different system. \* \* \* That the enemy mean to winter in New York, there can be no doubt; that, with such an armament, they can drive us out, is equally clear. It is our interest and wish to prolong it as much as possible, provided the delay does not affect our future measures.

'The militia of Connecticut is reduced from six thousand to less than two thousand, and in a few days will be merely nominal. \* \* \* The impulse for going home was so irresistible, that it answered no purpose to oppose it. Though I would not discharge them, I have been obliged to acquiesce; and it affords *one more* melancholy proof, how delusive such dependences are.'

*September 11th.* — 'By my letter of the 8th you would perceive that several of the council were for holding the town, conceiving it practicable for some time. Many of them now, upon seeing our divided state, have altered their opinion, and allow the expediency

and necessity of centering our whole force, or drawing it more together. Convinced of the propriety of this measure, I am ordering our stores away, except such as may be absolutely necessary to keep as long as any troops remain; that, if an evacuation of the city becomes inevitable, (which certainly must be the case,) there may be as little to remove as possible.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. pp. 250, 256.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 80, 87.

SAME TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEW YORK, 9 September, 1776.

'SIR, — I am sorry to say, that, from the best information we have been able to obtain, the people on Long Island have, since our evacuation, gone generally over to the enemy, and made such concessions as have been required; some through compulsion, I suppose, but more from inclination. As a diversion upon the island has been impracticable under these circumstances, I think you have done well in assisting the removal of the persons and effects of our friends from thence. I observe with great pleasure, that you have ordered the remaining regiments of the militia, that can be spared from the immediate defence of the sea-coast, to march towards New York with all expedition. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks, not only for your constant and ready compliance with every request of mine, but for your own strenuous exertions and prudent forecast, in ordering matters so, that your force has generally been collected and put in motion as soon as it has been demanded.

'With respect to the militia, both horse and foot, I am of opinion that they will render us more service by rendezvousing at different places along the Sound, in Westchester county and thereabouts, than by coming directly to this city. It will not only give the enemy, who are extending their encampments up the island, an idea of our force along the coast, but if they should attempt a landing above Kingsbridge, they will be in readiness to join our force about that place; the horse particularly, whose rapid motion enables them to be in a short time at any point of attack. Besides, the difficulty of procuring forage upon this island for any number of horses, is an objection to their being stationed here. I fear, that the militia, by leaving their homes so suddenly, and in a manner unprepared for a long absence, have sustained some injury. To this cause I must impute, in a great measure, their impatience to return, and the diminution of their numbers at this time, to about two thousand. Their want of discipline, the indulgences they claim and have been allowed, their unwillingness, I may add refusal, to submit to that regularity and order essential in every army infecting the rest of our troops more or less, have been of pernicious tendency, and occasioned a good deal of confusion and disorder. But, Sir, these things are not peculiar to those from any

one State; they are common to all militia, and what must be generally expected; for men, who have been free and never subject to restraint, or any kind of control, cannot in a day be taught the necessity, nor be brought to see the expediency, of strict discipline.

'I highly approve of your plan and proposition for raising such a naval force as will be sufficient to clear the Sound of the enemy's ships-of-war. \* \* \*

As to drafting seamen from the Continental regiments, it cannot be done; as their numbers have been reduced so low already, by taking men for the galleys, boats, and other purposes, that some of them have hardly anything left but the name; besides, I must depend upon them for a successful opposition to the enemy. If it can be done out of the militia, I shall not have the least objection, and heartily wish the enterprise, whenever attempted, may be attended with all possible success. Secrecy and despatch will be most likely to give it a happy issue.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 88.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HARLEM, 20 September, 1776.

'To prevent the injury and abuses which would arise from the militia and other troops carrying away ammunition and [other] Continental property, I have published the substance of the Resolves, in general orders. \* \* \*

'As the period will soon arrive, when the troops composing the present army (a few excepted) will be disbanded according to the tenor of their enlistments, and the most fatal consequences may ensue if a suitable and timely provision is not made in this instance, I take the liberty of suggesting to Congress not only the expediency but the absolute necessity there is, that their earliest attention should be paid to this subject. In respect to the time the troops should be engaged for, *I have frequently given my sentiments*; nor have I omitted to express my opinion of the difficulties that will attend raising them, nor of the impracticability of effecting it, without the allowance of a large and extraordinary bounty.

'It is a melancholy and painful consideration to those who are concerned in the work and have the command, to be forming armies constantly, and to be left by troops just when they begin to deserve the name, or perhaps at a moment when an important blow is expected. This, I am informed, will be the case at Ticonderoga with part of the troops there, unless some system is immediately come into, by which they can be induced to stay. General Schuyler tells me in a letter received yesterday, that De Haas's, Maxwell's, and Wind's regiments stand engaged only till the beginning of next month, and that the men, he is fearful, will not remain longer than the time of their enlistment.

'I would beg leave to mention to Congress, that the season is fast approaching, when clothes of every kind will be wanted for the

army. Their distress is already great, and will be increased as the weather becomes more severe. Our situation is now bad, but is much better than that of the militia that are coming to join us from the States of the Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut in consequence of the requisition of Congress. These eastern regiments have not a single necessary, not a pan or a kettle, — in which we are now greatly deficient.

‘It is with reluctance that I trouble Congress with these matters; *but to whom can I resort for relief unless to them?* The necessity, therefore, which urges the application, will excuse it, I am persuaded.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 264.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 22 September, 1776.

‘The dependence, which the Congress have placed upon the militia, has already greatly injured, and I fear will totally ruin our cause. Being subject to no control themselves, they introduce disorder among the troops, whom we have attempted to discipline, while the change in their living brings on sickness; this causes an impatience to get home, which spreads universally, and introduces abominable desertions. *In short, it is not in the power of words to describe the task I have to perform. Fifty thousand pounds would not induce me again to undergo what I have done.* Our numbers, by sickness and desertion, are greatly reduced. I have been trying these four or five days to get a return, but have not yet succeeded. I am sure, however, we have not more than twelve or fourteen thousand men fit for duty, whilst the enemy, who, it is said, are very healthy, cannot have less than near twenty-five thousand. With sincere love to my sister and the family, and compliments to any inquiring friends, I am, &c.’

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 104.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 24 September, 1776.

‘SIR, — *From the hours allotted to sleep, I will borrow a few moments to convey my thoughts on sundry important matters to Congress. I shall offer these with the sincerity which ought to characterize a man of candor, and with the freedom which may be used in giving useful information without incurring the imputation of presumption.*

‘We are now, as it were, upon the eve of another dissolution of our army.\* The remembrance of the difficulties which happened upon the occasion last year, and the consequences which might have followed the change if proper advantages had been taken by

\* Referring to the previous one at Cambridge.

the enemy, added to a knowledge of the present temper and situation of the troops, afford but a very gloomy prospect in the appearances of things now, and satisfy me beyond the possibility of doubt, that, *unless some speedy and effectual measures are adopted by Congress, our cause will be lost.* It is in vain to expect, that any, or more than a trifling part, of this army, will again engage in the service on the encouragement offered by Congress.\* When men find, that their townsmen and companions are receiving twenty, thirty, and more dollars for a few months' service, which is truly the case, it cannot be expected, without using compulsion; and to force them into the service would answer no valuable purpose. When men are irritated, and their passions inflamed, they fly hastily and cheerfully to arms; but, after the first emotions are over, to expect among such people as compose the bulk of an army, that they are influenced by any other principles than those of interest, is to look for what never did, and I fear never will happen; the Congress will deceive themselves, therefore, if they expect it. A soldier, reasoned with upon the goodness of the cause he is engaged in, and the inestimable rights he is contending for, bears you with patience, and acknowledges the truth of your observations, but adds that it is of no more importance to him than to others. The officer makes you the same reply, with this further remark, that his pay will not support him, and he cannot ruin himself and family to serve his country, when every member of the community is equally interested, and benefited by his labors. The few, therefore, who act upon principles of disinterestedness, comparatively speaking, are no more than a drop in the ocean.

'It becomes evident to me then, that, as this contest is not likely to be the work of a day, as the war must be carried on systematically, and to do it you must have good officers, there are no other possible means to obtain them, but by establishing your army upon a permanent footing, and giving your officers good pay. This will induce gentlemen and men of character to engage; and till the bulk of your officers is composed of such persons as are actuated by principles of honor and a spirit of enterprise, you have little to expect from them. They ought to have such allowances, as will enable them to live like and support the character of gentlemen, and not be driven by a scanty pittance to the low and dirty arts, which many of them practise, to filch from the public more than the difference of pay would amount to upon an ample allowance. Besides, something is due to the man who puts his life in your hands, hazards his health, and forsakes the sweets of domestic enjoyment. Why a captain in the Continental service should receive no more than five shillings currency per day for performing the same duties that an officer of the same rank in the British service re-

\* The bounty of ten dollars, offered in June.



ceives ten shillings sterling for, I never could conceive ; especially, when the latter is provided with every necessary he requires upon the best terms, and the former can scarce procure them at any rate. There is nothing that gives a man consequence and renders him fit for command, like a support that renders him independent of every body but the State he serves.

‘ With respect to the men, nothing but a good bounty can obtain them upon a permanent establishment ; and for no shorter time than the continuance of the war, ought they to be engaged ; as facts incontestably prove, that the difficulty and cost of enlistments increase with time. When the army was first raised at Cambridge, I am persuaded the men might have been got, without a bounty, for the war. After this, they began to see that the contest was not likely to end so speedily as was imagined, and to feel their consequence by remarking, that to get their militia in the course of the last year, many towns were induced to give them a bounty. Foreseeing the evils resulting from this, and the destructive consequences, which unavoidably would follow short enlistments, I took the liberty in a long letter \* to recommend the enlistments for and during the war, assigning such reasons for it as experience has since convinced me were well founded. At that time, twenty dollars would, I am persuaded, have engaged the men for this term. But it will not do to look back ; and, if the present opportunity is slipped, I am persuaded that twelve months more will increase our difficulties four-fold. I shall therefore take the freedom of giving it as my opinion, that *a good bounty* should be immediately offered, *aided by the proffer of at least a hundred or a hundred and fifty acres of land, and a suit of clothes and blanket to each non-commissioned officer and soldier ;* as I have good authority for saying, that, however high the men’s pay may appear, it is barely sufficient, in the present scarcity and dearness of all kinds of goods, to keep them in clothes, much less afford support to their families.

‘ If this encouragement then is given to the men, and such pay allowed the officers as will induce gentlemen of character and liberal sentiments to engage, and proper care and precaution are used in the nomination, more regard being had to the characters of persons, than to the number of men they can enlist, we should in a little time have an army able to cope with any that can be opposed to it, as there are excellent materials to form one out of. But while the only merit an officer possesses is his ability to raise men, while those men consider and treat him as an equal, and, in the character of an officer, regard him no more than a broomstick, being mixed together as one common herd, no order nor discipline can prevail ; nor will the officer ever meet with that respect, which is essentially necessary to due subordination.

\* February 9, p. 167.

*'To place any dependence upon militia is assuredly resting upon a broken staff.* Men just dragged from the tender scenes of domestic life, unaccustomed to the din of arms, totally unacquainted with every kind of military skill, (which is followed by want of confidence in themselves, when opposed to troops regularly trained, disciplined, and appointed, superior in knowledge and superior in arms,) are timid and ready to fly from their own shadows. Besides, the sudden change in their manner of living, particularly in their lodging, brings on sickness in many, impatience in all, and such an unconquerable desire of returning to their respective homes, that it not only produces shameful and scandalous desertions among themselves, but infuses the like spirit into others. Again, men accustomed to unbounded freedom and no control, cannot brook the restraint, which is indispensably necessary to the good order and government of an army; without which, licentiousness and every kind of disorder triumphantly reign. To bring men to a proper degree of subordination is not the work of a day, a month, or even a year; and unhappily for us and the cause we are engaged in, the little discipline I have been laboring to establish in the army under my immediate command is in a manner done away, by having such a mixture of troops, as have been called together within these few months.

*'Relaxed and unfit as our rules and regulations of war are for the government of an army, the militia (those properly so called, for of these we have two sorts, the six-months men,\* and those sent in as a temporary aid,) do not think themselves subject to them, and therefore take liberties, which the soldier is punished for. This creates jealousy; jealousy begets dissatisfaction; and this by degrees ripens into mutiny, keeping the whole army in a confused and disordered state, rendering the time of those, who wish to see regularity and good order prevail, more unhappy than words can describe. Besides this, such repeated changes take place, that all arrangement is set at naught, and the constant fluctuation of things deranges every plan as fast as it is adopted.*

*'These, Sir, Congress may be assured, are but a small part of the inconveniences, which might be enumerated, and attributed to militia; but there is one, that merits particular attention, and that is the expense. Certain I am, that it would be cheaper to keep fifty or a hundred thousand in constant pay, than to depend upon half the number, and supply the other half occasionally, by militia. The time the latter are in pay before and after they are in camp, assembling and marching, the waste of ammunition, the consumption of stores, which, in spite of every resolution or requisition of Congress, they must be furnished with, or sent home, added to other incidental expenses consequent upon their coming and con-*

\* Those resolved on, June 3, p. 233.

duct in camp, surpass all idea, and destroy every kind of regularity and economy, which you could establish among fixed and settled troops, and *will, in my opinion, prove, if the scheme is adhered to, the ruin of our cause.*

*'The jealousy of a standing army, and the evils to be apprehended from one, are remote, and, in my judgment, situated and circumstanced as we are, not at all to be dreaded; but the consequence of wanting one, according to my ideas formed from the present view of things, is certain and inevitable ruin. For, if I was called upon to declare upon oath, whether the militia have been most serviceable or hurtful upon the whole, I should subscribe to the latter. \* \* \**

Experience, which is the best criterion to work by, so fully, clearly, and decisively reprobates the practice of trusting to militia, that no man, who regards order, regularity, and economy, or who has any regard for his own honor, character, or peace of mind, will risk them upon this issue.

*'No less attention should be paid to the choice of surgeons, than of other officers of the army. They should undergo a regular examination, and, if not appointed by the director-general and surgeons of the hospital, they ought to be subordinate to and governed by his directions. I am speaking of the regimental surgeons, many of whom are very great rascals, countenancing the men in sham complaints to exempt them from duty, and often receiving bribes to certify indispositions. \* \* \* In short, there is a constant bickering among them, which tends greatly to the injury of the sick, and will always subsist till the regimental surgeons are made to look up to the director-general of the hospital as a superior. \* \* \* The regimental surgeons are aiming, I am persuaded, to break up the general hospital, and have in numberless instances, drawn for medicines and stores in the most profuse and extravagant manner for private purposes.*

*'Another matter highly worthy of attention is, that other rules and regulations may be adopted for the government of the army, than those now in existence; otherwise the army, but for the name, might as well be disbanded. \* \* \* As a proof of it, thirty or forty soldiers will desert at a time, and of late a practice prevails of the most alarming nature, and which will, if it cannot be checked, prove fatal both to the country and army; I mean the infamous practice of plundering. For, under the idea of Tory property, or property that may fall into the hands of the enemy, no man is secure in his effects, and scarcely in his person.*

*\* \* \* I have, with some others, used my utmost endeavors to stop this horrid practice; but under the present lust after plunder, and want of laws to punish offenders, I might almost as well attempt to move Mount Atlas. I have ordered instant corporal punishment upon every man, who passes our lines, or is seen*

with plunder, that the offenders may be punished for disobedience of orders; and I enclose to you the proceedings of a court-martial held upon an officer, who, with a party of men, had robbed a house a little beyond our lines of a number of valuable goods, among which (to show that nothing escaped) were four large pier looking-glasses, women's clothes, and other articles, which, one would think, could be of no earthly use to him. He was met by a major of brigade, who ordered him to return the goods, as taken contrary to general orders, which he not only refused to do, but drew up his party, and swore that he would defend them at the hazard of his life; on which I ordered him to be arrested and tried for plundering, disobedience of orders, and mutiny. For the result, I refer to the proceedings of the court. \* \* \* \* I adduce this instance, to give some idea to Congress of the current sentiments and general character of the officers who compose the present army; and to show how exceedingly necessary it is to be careful in the choice of the new set, even if it should take double the time to complete the requisite number.

'An army formed of good officers moves like clock-work; but there is no situation upon earth less enviable, or more distressing, than that person's, who is at the head of troops regardless of order and discipline, and unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word, the difficulties, which have forever surrounded me since I have been in the service, and kept my mind constantly upon the stretch, *the wounds, which my feelings as an officer have received by a thousand things, that have happened contrary to my expectations and wishes*; the effect of my own conduct, and present appearance of things, so little pleasing to myself as to render it a matter of no surprise to me if I should stand capitally censured by Congress; added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances;—induce not only a belief, but a thorough conviction in my mind, that it will be impossible, *unless there is a thorough change in our military system*, for me to conduct matters in such a manner as to give satisfaction to the public, which is all the recompense I aim at, or ever wished for.

'Before I conclude, I must apologize for the liberties taken in this letter, and for the blots and scratchings therein, not having time to give it more correctly. With truth I can add, that, with every sentiment of respect and esteem, I am yours and the Congress's most obedient, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 267.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 110.

In the postscript of a previous letter on the 24th, in the day-time, the General had written;—

'The thirteen militia regiments from Connecticut, being reduced

to a little more than seven hundred men rank and file fit for duty, I have thought proper to discharge the whole, to save the States the immense charge that would arise for officers' pay. There are many militia, too, that have just come in, and on their way from that State, none of which are provided with a tent or a single camp utensil. This distresses me beyond measure.'

Land. ed. vol. i. p. 267.

The following Resolutions, founded on a Report made by the Board of War pursuant to the direction of Congress, Sept. 2, p. 285, had not been communicated to the General at the date of the above letter. The tendency and effects of these Resolutions, as foreseen and described by him, and also their actual effects, may be learned from subsequent letters.

'September 16. Congress then took into consideration the Report of the Board of War, and the amendments offered by the committee of the whole, and thereupon, came to the following Resolutions:

'That eighty-eight battalions be enlisted as soon as possible, to serve during the present war, and that each State furnish their respective quotas: \* \* \*

'That twenty dollars be given as a bounty to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, who shall enlist to serve during the present war,\* unless sooner discharged by Congress:

'That Congress make provision for granting lands, in the following proportions: \* \* \*

'To a colonel, five hundred acres; to a lieutenant-colonel, four hundred and fifty; to a major, four hundred; to a captain, three hundred; to a lieutenant, two hundred; to an ensign, one hundred and fifty; each non-commissioned officer and soldier, one hundred:

'That the appointment of all officers, and filling up vacancies, (except general officers,) be left to the governments of the several States, and that every State provide arms, clothing, and every necessary for its quota of troops, \* \* \* the expense of the clothing to be deducted from the pay of the soldiers as usual.

'September 18. Resolved, That the bounty and grants of land offered by Congress, by a Resolution of the 16th instant, \* \* \*

\* \* \* shall extend to all who are, or shall be enlisted for that term; the bounty of ten dollars † which any of the soldiers have received from the Continent, on account of a former enlistment, to be reckoned in part payment of the twenty dollars offered by the said Resolution.'

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 25 September, 1776.

'SIR, — I enclose a copy of a letter received from General Howe on Sunday evening, with the lists of the prisoners in his hands and

\* See p. 169.

† Offered in June, pp. 243, 254.

of those in our possession, belonging to the army immediately under his command, and of my answer. \* \* \* The number of prisoners according to these returns is greater than we expected. \* \* \*

'I shall take occasion to mention, that those returns, made with such precision, and the difficulty that will attend the proposed exchange on account of the dispersed and scattered state of the prisoners in our hands, will clearly evince the necessity of appointing *Commissaries* and proper persons *to superintend* in such instances. This I have taken the liberty of urging more than once,\* as well on account of the propriety of the measure, and the saving that would have resulted from it, as that the prisoners might be treated with humanity, and have their wants particularly attended to. I would also observe, as I esteem it my duty, that this army is in want of almost every necessary; tents, camp-kettles, blankets, and clothes of all kinds. But what is to be done with respect to the two last articles I know not, as the term of enlistment will be nearly expired by the time they can be provided. This may be exhibited *as a further proof* of the disadvantages attending the levying of an army upon such a footing as never to know how to keep them, without injuring the public or incommoding the men. I have directed the Colonel, or Commanding Officer of each corps to use his endeavors to procure such clothing as is absolutely necessary; but at the same time I confess, that I do not know how it is to be got.

I am, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 273.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 121.

#### GENERAL GREENE to ———.

[HEAD-QUARTERS,] 28 September, 1776.

'I apprehend the several retreats that have lately taken place begin to make you think all is lost. Do n't be frightened; our cause is not yet in a desperate state. *The policy of Congress has been the most absurd and ridiculous imaginable — pouring in militia-men who come and go every month. A military force established upon such principles, defeats itself.* People coming from home with all the tender feelings of domestic life, are not sufficiently fortified with natural courage to stand the shocking scenes of war. \*

\* \* I say, few can stand such scenes, unless steeled by habit, or fortified by military pride.

'There must be a good army established; men engaged for the war; a proper corps of officers, and then, after a proper time to discipline the men, every thing is to be expected.

'*The Congress goes upon a penurious plan.* The present pay of the officers will not support them, and it is generally determined by the best officers to quit the service, unless a more adequate pro-

\* See letters, Nov. 8, Feb. 9, May 11, pp. 121, 122, 165, 227; also, *Resolves* following the last.



vision is made for their support. The present establishment is not thought reputable.

‘ The Congress have never furnished the number of men voted, by near one half, certainly by above one third. Had we had numbers, we need not have retreated from Long Island or New York. But the extent of ground to guard rendered the retreat necessary ; otherwise the army would have been ruined by detachments. The enemy never could have driven us from Long Island and New York, if our rear had been secured. We must have an army to meet the enemy everywhere ; to act offensively as well as defensively. Our soldiers are as good as ever were, and were the officers half as good as the men, they would beat any army on the globe of equal numbers.’

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 58.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 2 October, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I do myself the honor of transmitting to you the enclosed letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Livingston, with sundry copies of General Delancy’s orders, which discover the measures the enemy are pursuing on Long Island for raising recruits and obtaining supplies of provisions. In consequence of the intelligence they contain, \* \* I have sent Brigadier-General George Clinton to meet General Lincoln, who has got as far as Fairfield, with part of the troops lately ordered by the Massachusetts Assembly, to concert with him and others an expedition across the Sound with those troops, three companies under Colonel Livingston, and such further aid as Governor Trumbull can afford, in order to prevent if possible their effecting those important objects, and to assist the inhabitants. \* \*

‘ The recruiting scheme they are pursuing with uncommon industry ; nor is it confined to Long Island alone. Having just now received a letter from the Committee of Westchester county, advising that there were several companies of men in that and Dutchess county preparing to go off and join the King’s army, I have given directions to our guard-boats and the sentries at our works at Mount Washington to keep a strict look-out, in case they attempt to come down the North River ; also to General Heath at Kingsbridge, that the utmost vigilance may be observed by the regiments and troops above there and down towards East River, that they may intercept them, should they take that route with a view of crossing to Long Island. \* \* \* \*

‘ By a letter just received from the Committee of Safety of the State of New Hampshire, I find a thousand of their militia were about to march on the 24th ultimo to reinforce this army, in consequence of the requisition of Congress. Previous to their march, General Ward writes me he was obliged to furnish them with five

hundred pounds of powder and a thousand pounds of musket-ball; and I have little reason to expect that they are better provided with other articles than they were with ammunition. In such case they will only add to our present distress, which is already far too great, and become disgusted with the service, though the time they are engaged for is only till the first of December. This will injure their enlisting for a longer term, if not wholly prevent it.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 277.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 4 October, 1776.

'SIR, — Before I knew of the late Resolutions of Congress,\* which you did me the honor to enclose in your letter of the 24th, and before I was favored with the visit of your Committee, I took the liberty of giving you my sentiments on several points which seemed to be of importance.† I have no doubt, that the Committee will make such a report of the state and condition of the army, as will induce Congress to believe, that nothing but the most vigorous exertions can put matters upon such a footing as to give this Continent a fair prospect of success. Give me leave to say, Sir, (I say it with due deference and respect, and my knowledge of the facts, added to the importance of the cause, and the stake I hold in it, must justify the freedom,) that *your affairs are in a more unpromising way than you seem to apprehend.*

'Your army, as I mentioned in my last,† is on the eve of its political dissolution. True it is, you have voted a larger one in lieu of it; but the season is late; and there is a material difference between voting battalions and raising men. In the latter, there are more difficulties than Congress are aware of; which makes it my duty, as I have been informed of the prevailing sentiments of this army, to inform them, that, unless the pay of the officers, especially that of the field-officers, is raised, the chief part of those that are worth retaining will leave the service at the expiration of the present term, as the soldiers will also, if some greater encouragement is not offered them, than *twenty dollars and a hundred acres of land.* Nothing less, in my opinion, than a suit of clothes annually, given to each non-commissioned officer and soldier, in addition to the pay and bounty, will avail; and I question whether that will do, as the enemy, from the information of one John Marsh, who, with six others, was taken by our guards, are giving ten pounds bounty for recruits, and have got a battalion under Major Rogers nearly completed on Long Island.

'Nor will less pay, according to my judgment, than I have taken the liberty of mentioning in the enclosed estimate, retain such officers as we could wish to have continued. The difference per

\* September 16, p. 598.

† September 24, p. 292.

month in each battalion will amount to better than a hundred pounds. To this may be added the pay of the staff-officers; for it is presumable they will also require an augmentation; but being few in number, the sum will not be greatly increased by them, and consequently is a matter of no great moment. But it is a matter of no small importance to make the several offices desirable. When the pay and establishment of an officer once become objects of interested attention, the sloth, negligence, and even disobedience of orders, which at this time but too generally prevail, will be purged off. But while the service is viewed with indifference, while the officer conceives that he is rather conferring than receiving an obligation, there will be a total relaxation of all order and discipline, and everything will move heavily on, to the great detriment of the service, and inexpressible trouble and vexation of the General. The critical situation of our affairs at this time will justify my saying, that no time is to be lost in making fruitless experiments. An unavailing trial of a month to get an army upon the terms proposed, may render it impracticable to do it at all, and prove fatal to our cause; as I am not sure whether any rubs in the way of our enlistments, or unfavorable turn in our affairs, may not prove the means of the enemy's recruiting men faster than we do. To this may be added the inextricable difficulty of forming one corps out of another, and arranging matters with any degree of order, in the face of an enemy, who are watching for advantages.

' At Cambridge, last year, where the officers, and more than a sufficiency of them, were all upon the spot, we found it a work of such extreme difficulty to know their sentiments, each having some terms to propose, that I once despaired of getting the arrangements completed; and I do suppose, that at least a hundred alterations took place before matters were finally adjusted. What must it be then, under the present regulation, *where the officers are to negotiate the matter with the State they come from,\** distant perhaps two or three hundred miles, some of whom, without leave or license from me, set out to make personal application, the moment the Resolve got to their hands? What kind of officers these are, I leave Congress to judge. If an officer of reputation, for none other should be applied to, is asked to stay, what answer can he give, but, in the first place, that he does not know whether it is at his option to do so, no provision being made in the Resolution of Congress, *even recommendatory* of this measure; consequently, that it rests with the State he comes from, surrounded perhaps with a variety of applications, and influenced probably by local attachments, to determine whether he can be provided for or not. In the next place, if he is an officer of merit, and knows that the State he comes from is to furnish more battalions than it at present has in the service, he will

\* The regulation, September 16, p. 298.

scarcely, after two years' faithful services, think of continuing in the rank he now bears, when new creations are to be made, and men, nowise superior in merit, and ignorant perhaps of service, appointed over his head. A Committee sent to the army from each State may upon the spot fix things, with a degree of propriety and certainty; and it is the only method I can see of bringing matters to a decision, with respect to the officers of the army. But what can be done in the meanwhile towards the arrangement in the country, I know not. In the one case, you run the hazard of losing your officers; in the other, of encountering delay, unless some method could be devised of forwarding both at the same instant.

' Upon the present plan, I plainly foresee an intervention of time between the old and new armies, which must be filled up with militia, if to be had, with whom no man, who has any regard for his own reputation, can undertake to be answerable for consequences. I shall also be mistaken in my conjectures, if we do not lose the most valuable officers in this army, under the present mode of appointing them; consequently, if we have an army at all, it will be composed of materials not only entirely raw, but, if uncommon pains are not taken, entirely unfit; and I see such a distrust and jealousy of military power, that the Commander-in-Chief has not an opportunity, even by recommendation, to give the least assurances of reward for the most essential services. In a word, such a cloud of perplexing circumstances appears before me, without one flattering hope, that I am thoroughly convinced, that unless the most vigorous and decisive exertions are immediately adopted to remedy these evils, the certain and absolute loss of our liberties will be the inevitable consequence; as one unhappy stroke will throw a powerful weight into the scale against us, enabling General Howe to recruit his army as fast as we shall ours; numbers being so disposed, and many actually doing so already. Some of the most probable remedies, and such as experience has brought to my more intimate knowledge, I have taken the liberty to point out; the rest I beg leave to submit to the consideration of Congress.

' I ask pardon for taking up so much of their time with my opinions. But I should betray that trust, *which they and my country have reposed in me*, were I to be silent upon a matter so extremely interesting.

' With the most perfect esteem, I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 279.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 130.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to PATRICK HENRY, Governor of Virginia.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 5 October, 1776.

' Indeed, the advantage gained over the enemy's light troops might have been improved perhaps to a considerable extent, had we been in a proper situation to make use of the favorable crisis;



urly on a level. Discipline and subordination add life and vigor  
 ilitary movements. The person commanded yields but a re-  
 t obedience to those, who, he conceives, are undeservedly  
 is superiors. The degrees of rank are frequently transferred  
 l life into the departments of the army. The true crite-  
 ge by, when past services do not enter into the compe-  
 consider whether the candidate for office has a just  
 o the character of a gentleman, a proper sense of honor,  
 e reputation to lose.

Perhaps, Sir, you may be surprised at my pressing this advice  
 strongly as I have done in this letter; but I have felt the incon-  
 veniences resulting from a contrary principle in so sensible a  
 manner, and this army has been so greatly enfeebled by a dif-  
 ferent line of conduct, that I hope you will readily excuse me.  
 I am, Sir, with sincere regard, your affectionate humble servant.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 137.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 5 October, 1776.

'SIR, — In respect to the exchange of *prisoners*, I fear it will be  
 a work of great difficulty, owing to their dispersed and scattered  
 situation throughout the States. In order to effect it, I have written  
 to the Eastern governments to have them collected, and to transmit  
 me an account of their number, \* \* \* I have also  
 written to Governor Livingston of the Jerseys upon the subject,  
 and must take the liberty of requesting Congress to give directions  
 that a similar return may be made of those in Pennsylvania and  
 Maryland. \* \* \*

'I observe, by the Resolve of the 26th ultimo, that the exchange  
 is particularly directed to be made of the officers and soldiers taken  
 on Long Island. But should not that follow the exchange of those  
 officers and men who have lately returned from Quebec, whose  
 imprisonment has been much longer, whose service has not been  
 less severe, and who, in many instances, conducted with great in-  
 trepidity? I have had many applications since their arrival, by  
 which they claim a kind of preference as far as their number and  
 the circumstances of their rank will allow, and which I thought it  
 my duty to mention, that I may obtain some directions upon the  
 subject.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 283.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 140.

#### GENERAL LEE to GENERAL GATES.

—, 14 October, 1776.

'I write this scrawl in a hurry. Colonel Wood will describe  
 the position of our army, which in my own breast I do not approve.  
 Inter nos, *Congress seem to stumble at every step*. I have been very



free in delivering my opinion to them. General Washington is much to blame in not menacing them with resignation, unless they refrain from unhinging the army by their absurd interference.'

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 132. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

HACKINSAC, 19 November, 1776.

'In short, it is impossible for me, in the compass of a letter, to give you any idea of our situation, of my difficulties, and of the constant perplexities and mortifications I meet with, derived from the unhappy policy of short enlistments, and delaying them too long. *Last fall, or winter*, before the army, which was then to be raised, was set about, *I represented in clear and explicit terms the evils* which would arise from short enlistments, the expense which must attend the raising an army every year, the futility of such an army, when raised; and, if I had spoken with a prophetic spirit, I could not have foretold the evils with more accuracy than I did. *All the year since, I have been pressing Congress* to delay no time in engaging men upon such terms as would insure success, telling them that the longer it was delayed the more difficult it would prove. But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected, and then in such a manner, as to bid adieu to every hope of getting an army, from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments; and nominating such as are not fit to be shoeblacks, from the local attachments of this or that member of Assembly.

*'I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, and solemnly protest, that a pecuniary reward of twenty thousand pounds a year would not induce me to undergo what I do; and after all, perhaps, to lose my character, as it is impossible, under such a variety of distressing circumstances, to conduct matters agreeably to public expectation, or even to the expectation of those, who employ me, as they will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 164.

## MILITARY CORRESPONDENCE.

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To the reader who has duly observed, through the hundred and ninety-nine pages next preceding, the plain traces of a portentous difference in the public views at that period, and of the tendencies of that difference as manifested by the resulting change in public measures, the inquiries below are believed to indicate sufficiently the substance of what is to follow :

What was the nature of that Difference ?

What were its effects upon the army, the people, and the general prospect of the country ?

How, and by what Agencies, were those effects averted or controlled ?

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD QUARTERS, HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 8 October, 1776.

‘ As an exchange of *prisoners* is about to take place, I am induced, from a question stated in a letter I received from Governor Trumbull this morning, to ask the opinion of Congress, in what manner the States that have had the care of them are to be reimbursed the expenses incurred on their account. My want of information in this instance, or whether any account is to be sent in with the prisoners, would not allow me to give him an answer, as nothing, that I recollect, has ever been said upon the subject.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ The situation of our affairs and the present establishment of the army requiring our most vigorous exertions to engage a new one, I presume it will be necessary to furnish the Paymaster General, as early as possible, with money to pay the bounty lately resolved on, to such men as will enlist. Prompt pay perhaps may have a happy effect, and incline the continuance of some who are here ; but, without it, I am certain that nothing can be done ; nor have we time to lose in making the experiment. But, then it may be asked, who is to recruit ? or who can consider themselves as officers for that purpose, till the Conventions of the different States have made their appointments ?

‘ Yesterday afternoon the exchange between Lord Stirling and

Governor Browne was carried into execution; and his Lordship is now here.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 289:

Wash. Writ.

By the above queries respecting officers 'to recruit' — officers for the eighty-eight battalions — the General evidently alluded again to the Resolve relative to the appointment of those officers, p. 298.

It may be remembered, that expressions concerning like appointments have already come under notice, where, as in this instance, they seem to have referred wholly or chiefly to the tendencies of the principle involved in the possession of the immediate power to make them.

The Resolve above referred to, being the third expression of Congress in regard to such appointments, and relating to an intended permanent, instead of a temporary organization, if not meant by its authors to be conclusive on the subject, appears more significant than those which preceded it.

The measures of that season were by some men seemingly designed, rather to constitute the basis of some ulterior political structure partially imagined by them, than to form a sure foundation for that stupendous prerequisite military work, which unaccomplished, there had remained to their country, no hope of any conceivable political structure, — nothing pertaining to an independent political existence. The records of those measures show, so far as appears a plan of the structure, the skill of the Architects.

It is therefore deemed proper, though recollection might seem to render it unnecessary, to present in proximity a few extracts from the preceding pages, indicating, upon this subject of appointments, the characteristic views of Congress on the one hand, and likewise those of the Commander-in-Chief on the other.

First Resolve upon the subject, p. 108:

CONGRESS. 'That these \* \* \* be formed into a battalion, to be commanded by such field-officers, captains, and lieutenants, *as shall be recommended by the Assembly or Convention of said Colony.*'

Letter in reference to this Resolve, same page, 108:

WASHINGTON. 'I submit it, therefore, to your consideration, *whether there is, or is not, a propriety in that Resolution of the Congress, which leaves the ultimate appointment of all officers below the rank of Generals, to the governments where the regiments originated, now the army is become Continental. To ME IT APPEARS IMPROPER; it is giving that power and weight to an individual Colony, which ought, of right, to belong only to the whole.*'

Second Expression, p. 194:

CONGRESS. 'That the President sign blank commissions, and *that the Conventions [of the two Colonies] respectively, fill them up with the names of such officers as they may think proper, and return a list thereof to the Congress.*

'That in case of a vacancy, \* \* \* the said Conventions appoint another person to fill up such vacancy, until a commission shall issue from the Congress, and that they return to the Congress a list of the names of the person or persons so appointed.'

Third Resolve, p. 298 :

*'That the appointment of all officers, and filling up vacancies, (except general officers,) be left to the governments of the several States.'*

Letter relating to this third Resolve, pp. 302, 303 :

WASHINGTON. *'What must it be, then, under the present regulation, where the officers are to negotiate the matter with the State they come from, distant, perhaps, two or three hundred miles.*

*'If an officer of reputation, for none other should be applied to, is asked to stay, what answer can he give, but, in the first place, that he does not know whether it is at his option to do so, no provision being made in the Resolution of Congress even recommendatory of this measure; consequently, that it rests with the State he comes from, surrounded perhaps with a variety of applications, and influenced probably by local attachments, to determine whether he can be provided for or not? In the next place, if he is an officer of merit, and knows that the State he comes from is to furnish more battalions than it at present has in the service, he will scarcely, after two years' faithful services, think of continuing in the rank he now bears, when new creations are to be made, and men, nowise superior in merit, and ignorant perhaps of service, appointed over his head.*

*'Upon the present plan, I plainly foresee an intervention of time between the old and new armies.*

*'I shall also be mistaken in my conjectures, if we do not lose the most valuable officers in this army, under the present mode of appointing them.*

*'In a word, such a cloud of perplexing circumstances appears before me, without one flattering hope —'* [See the entire letter.]

Letter, p. 306 :

*'But the measure was not commenced till it was too late to be effected, and then in such a manner, as to bid adieu to getting an army, from which any services are to be expected; the different States, without regard to the qualifications of an officer, quarrelling about the appointments.*

*'I am wearied almost to death with the retrograde motion of things, \* \* \* they [Congress] will not make proper allowances for the difficulties their own errors have occasioned.'*

In relation to the first of the above Resolves it may be remarked, that, when it was passed, just after General Washington left Congress, there was probably a general expectation of such concessions from Great Britain, as would shortly remove all occasion for a military force, so that its passage was, perhaps, unattended with even a thought of distant consequences.

But, whatever be the grounds for such conjecture as to the first, the same is quite inapplicable to the second. Other circumstances concur with the then extended and extending preparations for defence by land and sea, to evince, not expectation or even hope of a speedy reconciliation, but the anticipation of a hard and lasting conflict. Some weeks Congress had been fully informed of the General's views on the subject of those appointments. Under such circumstances were their deliberations and Resolves, October 10, 11, 12, p. 192. The result of all their deliberations on the subject, appears in their Resolves, p. 194. The mode of appointment then resolved on, was applied not only to the three battalions designated in them, but also to all the thirty-seven referred to, p. 219. By means of the table and other references on this page, the material facts relating to those thirty-seven battalions may be readily ascertained. In a few months after, the application was extended likewise to other battalions.

The circumstances of the third action of Congress on the subject, p. 298, are sufficiently explained by the records exhibited in a few immediately preceding pages.

Attention may now be directed rather to the accumulating evils and difficulties of that awful crisis, and the efforts exerted to remedy or mitigate them.

IN CONGRESS, *September 27, 1776.* 'Two letters, of the 24th and 25th,\* from General Washington, with sundry papers enclosed, \* \* \* were laid before Congress, and read.

'*Ordered*, That the letters from General Washington be referred to a committee of five.

*September 30.* 'The committee, to whom were referred the letters from General Washington of the 24th and 25th instant, and the papers enclosed therein, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

'*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of the United States, to appoint gentlemen in their respective States, skilful in physic and surgery, to examine those who offer to serve as surgeons or surgeons' mates in the army or navy; and that no surgeon or mate shall hereafter receive a commission, or warrant to act as such, in the army or navy, who shall not produce a certificate from some one or more of the examiners so to be appointed, to prove that he is qualified to execute the office:

'That all regimental surgeons and mates, as well as those of the hospital, be subject to the direction and control of the directors in the several departments:

'That no soldier be discharged from the service as disabled, \* \* \* nor be excused from duty for sickness, unless the certificate of disability \* \* \* or of sickness be countersigned by the director, assistant-physician, or first-surgeon of the hospital, where access may be had to them.

'*Resolved*, That the remainder of the said Report be postponed.

*October 7.* '*Resolved*, That a *Commissary of prisoners* of war be appointed *in each of the United States*:†

'That the said Commissaries be directed to make monthly returns of the state and condition of the prisoners, under their respective care, to the Board of War:

\* See pp. 292, 298.

† See p. 299, and others there referred to.

‘ That the said Commissaries be appointed *by the respective States*.

‘ Congress took into consideration the report of the Committee on the letters from General Washington of the 24th and 25th of September ; whereupon,

‘ *Resolved*, That as a farther encouragement for gentlemen of abilities to engage as commission officers in the battalions to be furnished by the several States, to serve during the war, their monthly pay be increased, as follows :

‘ A Colonel, [from 50] to 75 ; Lieutenant-Colonel, [from 40] to 60 ; a Major, [from 33 1-3] to 50 ; Captain, [from 20] to 40 ; Lieutenant, [from 13 1-3] to 27 ; Ensign, [from 10] to 20 ; Quartermaster, [from 18 1-3] to 27 1-2 ; Adjutant, [from 18 1-3] to 40 dollars.

‘ *Resolved*, That the farther consideration of the Report be postponed.

October 8. ‘ Two letters, of the 4th and 5th,\* from General Washington, with sundry papers enclosed, \* \* were read :

‘ Whereas it is necessary that the most speedy and effectual measures be taken for raising the new army,

‘ *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Assemblies, Conventions, and Councils of Safety of the several States, which have any regiments now in the Continental service, either at New York, Ticonderoga, or New Jersey, that they forthwith appoint Committees to proceed to those places, with full powers to appoint all the officers of the regiments to be raised by their States under the new establishment, that such officers may proceed immediately to enlist such men as are now in the service, and incline to reënlist during the war, and that such Committees be instructed to advise with the general officers, and promote such officers as have distinguished themselves for their abilities, activity and vigilance in the service :

‘ That the said Committee be also instructed not to appoint any officer, who has left, or shall leave his station in the army, and is absent without leave from the General, or some other officer having authority to grant the same.

‘ *Ordered*, That a copy of the above Resolutions be sent to each of the United States.

‘ Congress resumed the consideration of the Reports of the Committee on the General’s letters, and of that which went to the Camp ; † whereupon,

‘ *Resolved*, That for the farther encouragement of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who shall engage in the service during the war, a suit of clothes be annually given each of the said officers

\* See pp. 301, 305.

† That Committee to Camp, composed of Messrs. Sherman, Gerry, and Lewis, were appointed Sept. 22. Having returned from that service, they reported to Congress, Oct. 3.



and soldiers, to consist, for the present year, of two linen hunting-shirts, two pair of overalls, a leathern or woollen waistcoat with sleeves, one pair of breeches, a hat or leathern cap, two shirts, two pair of hose, and two pair of shoes, amounting in the whole to the value of twenty dollars, or that sum, to be paid to each soldier, who shall procure those articles for himself, and produce a certificate thereof, from the Captain of the company to which he belongs, to the Paymaster of the regiment.

‘*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Assemblies and Conventions of the respective States, from Virginia to New Hampshire, inclusively, to take the most effectual measures for completing, by the 10th of November, their proportions of the levies to be raised during the war.

‘As the army has greatly suffered through the defect of some of the regimental officers,

‘*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Assemblies and Conventions of the respective States, to use their utmost endeavors, that all the officers to be hereafter appointed, be men of honor and known abilities, without a particular regard to their having before been in service.

‘*October 9.* ‘*Resolved*, That no regimental hospitals be, for the future, allowed in the neighborhood of the general hospital:

‘That each of the hospitals be supplied by the respective directors, with such \* \* \* and other necessaries, as they may judge expedient.

‘That they make weekly returns to Congress and the Commander-in-Chief:

‘That a Commissary of Clothing be appointed for each of the armies of the United States, whose duty shall be, to make constant *returns to the Assemblies or Conventions of the respective States*, of the clothing wanted for their several regiments, to receive and pay for the same, to deliver it to the Paymasters of the respective regiments, to be by them distributed to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and deducted from their wages respectively, unless allowed as a bounty by Congress.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 9 October, 1776.

‘About eight o’clock this morning, two ships of forty-four guns each, supposed to be the Roebuck and Phœnix, and a frigate of twenty guns, with three or four tenders, got under way from about Bloomingdale, where they had been lying some time, and stood with an easy southern breeze towards our *chevaux-de-frise*, which we hoped would have intercepted their passage while our batteries played upon them; but, to our surprise and mortification, they ran through without receiving any apparent damage from our forts,

though they kept up a heavy fire from both sides of the river. Their destination or views cannot be known with certainty ; but most probably they are sent to stop the navigation, and cut off the supplies of boards, &c., which we should have received, and of which we are in great need. They are standing up, and I have despatched an express to the Convention of this State, that notice may be immediately communicated to General Clinton at the Highland fortifications, to put him on his guard in case they should have any designs against them, and that precautions may be taken to prevent the craft belonging to the river falling into their hands.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 291.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 148.

On being informed of this occurrence, Congress passed the following Resolution :

*October 11. ‘Resolved, That General Washington be desired, if it be practicable, by every art and whatever expense, to obstruct effectually the navigation of the North River, between Fort Washington and Mount Constitution,\* as well to prevent the regress of the enemy’s frigates lately gone up, as to hinder them from receiving succors.’*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR COOKE.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 12 October, 1776.

‘ SIR, — As the situation of our affairs, and the approaching dissolution of the present army, call for every possible exertion on our part to levy a new one ; and knowing that your State is about to make an arrangement of officers for the quota of troops it is to furnish,† and that you may wish to know those among them, who have served with reputation and bravery, I have thought it expedient to obtain a return by such means as seemed most likely to be well founded. To this end I have made inquiry ; and the enclosed list, which I have the honor to transmit to you, comprehends the names of those, who, in public estimation, and that of the Generals under whom they have more particularly acted, have behaved themselves to good acceptance, and whose past conduct gives a reasonable hope, that they will render material services to their country.

‘ The advantages arising from a judicious appointment of officers, and of the fatal consequences that result from the want of them, are too obvious to require arguments to prove them. I shall therefore beg leave to add only, that, as the well-doing, nay, the very existence of every army, to any profitable purpose, depends

\* Subsequently called Fort Lee.

† By the Resolve respecting the quotas, Sept. 16, p. 298, the several States were to furnish : — New Hampshire, 3 battalions ; Massachusetts, 15 ; Rhode Island, 2 ; Connecticut, 8 ; New York, 4 ; New Jersey, 4 ; Pennsylvania, 12 ; Delaware, 1 ; Maryland, 8 ; Virginia, 15 ; North Carolina, 9 ; South Carolina, 6 ; Georgia, 1.

upon it, too much regard cannot be had to the choosing of men of merit, and such as are not only under the influence of a warm attachment to their country, but who also possess sentiments and principles of the strictest honor. \* \* \* I would also beg leave to subjoin, that it appears to me absolutely necessary, that this business should have your earliest attention, that those who are nominated, may employ their interest and influence to recruit men out of your troops who are now here, and without loss of time.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ‘ I flatter myself, that the freedom I have taken in the instances above, will have the indulgence and pardon of your State, when I assure you, that the list which you will receive, is not intended to exclude gentlemen of greater merit, nor transmitted with other views, than to assist you, and promote the general good. \*’

\* \* \* I have done the same for Governor Trumbull, at his particular request; and the officers are making out a return, to be laid before the Massachusetts Assembly, of the same nature, so far as it concerns the officers of their State.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 149.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, October 12, 1776.

‘ SIR, — The enclosed copy of a letter received last night from the Convention of this State, will show you the apprehensions they are under, on account of the disaffected among them. I have ordered up a part of the militia from Massachusetts under General Lincoln, to prevent, if possible, the consequences which they suggest may happen, and which there is reason to believe the conspirators have in contemplation. I am persuaded, that they are upon the eve of breaking out, and that they will leave nothing unessayed, that will distress us, and favor the designs of the enemy, as soon as their schemes are ripe for it.’

*October 13th.* — ‘ SIR, — Yesterday the enemy landed at Frog’s Point, about nine miles from hence further up the Sound. Their number we cannot ascertain, as they have not advanced from the Point, which is a kind of island; but the water that surrounds it is fordable at low tide. I have ordered works to be thrown up at the passes from the Point to the Main. From the great number of sloops, schooners, and nine ships, that went up the Sound in the evening, full of men, and from the information of two deserters who came over last night, I have reason to believe that the greatest part of their army has moved upwards or is about to do it, pursuing their original plan of getting in our rear, and cutting off our communication with the country.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 292.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 151.

SAME, by his Secretary, to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 14 October, 1776.

‘SIR, — His Excellency having gone this morning to visit our posts beyond Kingsbridge and the several passes leading from Frog’s Point and the necks adjacent, I have the honor to inform you by his command, that no interesting event has taken place since his letter by yesterday’s post.

‘Every day’s intelligence from the Convention of this State holds forth discoveries of new plots and of new conspiracies. Some of the members seem to apprehend that insurrections are upon the eve of breaking out, and have suggested the necessity of seizing and securing the passes through the Highlands, lest the disaffected should do it. Their preservation being a matter of the greatest importance, his Excellency, notwithstanding the situation we are in with respect to troops, has detached Colonel Tash with his regiment, lately from New Hampshire, in addition to the militia mentioned in his last, with directions to receive orders from the Convention, as to the station and posts he is to occupy.

‘There are now in our possession several persons, inhabitants of this State, who had engaged to join the enemy, and were intercepted in going to them. There are also two who confess they have been with them, and that they had actually engaged in their service; but finding the terms, (the bounty, pay, &c.,) not so advantageous as they expected from the information they had received, they were induced to return.

‘As the affairs of this government are in a precarious situation, and such as, the Convention themselves seem to think, forbid their interposition farther than taking measures to apprehend them, his Excellency would wish to obtain the sentiments of Congress, and their direction upon a subject so extremely critical and delicate, and which, in the consideration of it, involves many important consequences.

R. H. HARRISON.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 293.

Wash. Writ.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 15 October, 1776.

‘SIR, — Every day’s intelligence from the Convention of this State mentions plots and conspiracies, which are in agitation among the disaffected. \* \* \* \*

‘The movements of the enemy, their having sent up some of their ships in the North River, their landing a large proportion if not the main body of their army on Frog’s Point, and the information of deserters, — all these afford a strong presumption, nay, almost a certainty, that they are pursuing their original plan of getting in our rear and cutting off all our supplies.

‘As we are obliged to divide our force and guard every probable

place of attack as well as we can, as most of our stores are here and about Kingsbridge, and the preservation of the communication with the States on the other side of Hudson's River is a matter of great importance, it will not be possible for me to detach any more assistance, than what I have already done, for the purpose of securing the passes in the Highlands. I have sent Colonel Tash, lately from New Hampshire, with his regiment, upon the business; and as it is of the utmost consequence to possess those passes, and to hold them free and open, I would beg leave to submit to your consideration, whether you can spare any aid upon this interesting occasion. I know your exertions already are great; I know you have a large number of men engaged in the service, in this and the Northern army; and nothing would have induced me to mention this matter to you, were it not for the alarming and melancholy consequences, which would result from the enemy's possessing themselves of those communications. \* \* \*

If it is in your power to afford any assistance, you will be pleased to give such instructions to those whom you may send, as you shall judge necessary. I am just despatching to the Convention an engineer to throw up some small works. I have sent two regiments of the Massachusetts militia up the river, to watch the motions of the ships, and to oppose any landing of men, that they may attempt. I am also extending every part of my force, that I possibly can, towards East and West Chester, to oppose the enemy and prevent their effecting their plan, if it shall be practicable.

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 152.

#### THE SECRETARY to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEIGHTS OF HAERLEM, 17 October, 1776.

'I am directed by his Excellency to acquaint you, that we are again obliged to change our disposition, to counteract the operations of the enemy. Declining an attack upon our front, they have drawn the main body of their army to Frog's Point, with a design of hemming us in, and drawing a line in our rear. To prevent the consequences which would but too probably follow the execution of their scheme, the general officers determined yesterday that our forces must be taken from hence, and extended towards East and West Chester, so as to outflank them. General Lee, who arrived on Monday,\* has strongly urged the absolute necessity of the measure. It is proposed to leave a garrison at Fort Washington, and to maintain it if possible,† in order to preserve the communication with the Jerseys.

\* As has been seen, General Lee had returned from his command in the Southern Department. He arrived at Philadelphia, October 7.

† In obedience to the Resolve of Congress, October 11, p. 313.

‘ They are landing their artillery and wagons upon the Point, and there are now several boats passing up the Sound, full of men.’

*Kingsbridge, October 20th, half past one o'clock, P. M.* — ‘ The enemy are pursuing, with great industry, the plan of penetrating the country from the Sound, and of forming a line in our rear. They are now extended from Frog’s Point to New Rochelle, from whence it is generally conjectured they mean to take their route by way of the White Plains, and from thence to draw a line to the North River. We on our part have drawn our whole force, except the regiments intended to garrison Fort Washington, from the island of New York, and have possessed ourselves of the heights, passes, and advantageous grounds, between New Rochelle, where the van of their army now lies, and the North River. They will in all probability attempt to effect their purpose by moving higher up. If they do, our forces will move accordingly, it being a principal object to prevent their outflanking us.

‘ On Friday, one of their advanced parties, near East Chester, fell in with a part of Colonel Glover’s brigade, and a smart and close skirmish ensued, in which, I have the pleasure to inform you, our men behaved with great coolness and intrepidity, and drove the enemy back to the main body. I have the honor to be, &c.’

‘ R. H. HARRISON.’

*Lond. ed, vol. i. pp. 294, 295.*

*Wash. Writ.*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, Valentine’s Hill, 22 October, 1776.

‘ DEAR SIR, — From my remote situation, and my ignorance of the country in which the army under your command to the northward is to act, it is impossible for me to give any peremptory orders, or scarcely any opinion, as to the direction of matters in your quarter. I am confident your own good sense, zeal, and activity will suggest to you the most probable means of making amends for the heavy loss we have sustained by the destruction of General Arnold’s fleet upon Lake Champlain; but my experience of the many evils attending the calling in of a considerable body of raw militia obliges me to give you my sentiments upon that head, and to tell you, that I fear they will render you more disservice than any real good. From their want of every necessary for a camp, when they join a regular army, they commit an intolerable waste of stores, which once put into their hands can scarcely be regained, and are so much dead loss to the public; and for want of regularity in their drafts of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries, they consume much more than it is convenient to spare from a garrison even near a source of supplies, much less from one at such a distance, that it requires every exertion to keep up the magazines in the best of times.

‘ I have been informed, that Ticonderoga, properly garrisoned



and supplied with provision and ammunition, is almost impregnable, even at a season of the year when an army can lie before it with the greatest conveniency. If so, instead of calling up a number of *useless hands and mouths, for such I deem the militia generally*, I would advise the collecting of as much provision as can possibly be got together, which, if sufficient for nine thousand effective men, of which number your army consisted by General Arnold's letter, I should imagine you could keep Burgoyne and Carleton at bay, till the rigor of the season would oblige them to raise the siege, not only from want of conveniences to keep the field, but from the fear that the freezing of the Lake would make their return impracticable in case of accident. \* \* \*

I am unacquainted with the extent of your works, and consequently ignorant of the number of troops necessary to man them. If your present numbers should be insufficient, I would then by all means advise your making up the deficiency out of the best regulated militia that can be got. Some might likewise be useful in bringing up supplies, and fill the places of men, who would render more service with arms in their hands. You will always be kind enough to bear in mind, that I am giving my opinion, not issuing my orders. The vexation I have experienced from the humors and intolerable caprice of militia, at a critical time, makes me feel sensibly for the officer, who is to depend on them in the day of trial. Upon the whole, I beg you may not be influenced by any thing I have thrown out. You have had experience of the temper of the people, who will probably march to your assistance, and therefore know whether they differ in character from those, who have reinforced the army under my command. In full confidence, that you will do what seems best to your judgment, I submit the matter entirely to you, esteeming myself happy if any hints of mine may be serviceable.

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 155.

#### THE SECRETARY to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

WHITE PLAINS, 29 October, 1776.

'SIR, — The situation of our affairs not permitting his Excellency to write himself, I have it in charge to inform you, that, on yesterday morning about ten o'clock, the enemy appeared in several large columns in our front, and, from their first movements, seemed as if they meant to attack there. However, halting for a little time, their main body filed off to our left, and presently began a most severe and incessant cannonade at a part of our troops who had taken post on a hill, with a view of throwing up some lines. At the same time they advanced in two divisions, and, after a smart engagement for about a quarter of an hour, obliged our men to give way.\*

\* The battle of White Plains.

‘ Our loss is not certainly known ; but, from conjecture, is between four and five hundred in killed, wounded, and missing.\* What theirs was we have not heard.’

*October 31st.* — ‘ The enemy are throwing up some lines and redoubts in our front, with a view of cannonading as soon as they are ready ; and at the same time are extending their wings farther by our right and left. It is supposed that one of their objects is to advance a part of their troops, and seize on the bridge over Croton River, that the communication may be cut off with the upper country. To prevent this, a part of our force is detached, with orders to proceed with the utmost expedition, and to secure the pass, if possible.

‘ We are trying to remove, to guard against their designs, but are greatly impeded by reason of the scarcity of wagons in proportion to our baggage and stores. Every exertion has been employed to obtain a sufficiency ; but they cannot be had in this part of the country. The Quartermaster has sent to Connecticut to get a supply if possible.

‘ Our army is decreasing fast. Several gentlemen, who have come to camp within a few days, have observed large numbers of militia returning home on the different roads ; nor are any measures taken as yet to raise the new army, *no Commissioners having come from the States to appoint* or signify the nomination of *their officers.*† \* \* \* \* His Excellency would have written himself by the person who carries this to the care of General Greene, but his attention is totally engaged in ordering the affairs of the army, and the best mode for its removal.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.

R. H. HARRISON.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 300.

Wash. Writ.

#### GENERAL GREENE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

KING’S FERRY, 5 November, 1776.

‘ I am now in the State of New York, and am informed by Colonel Hawkes Hay, that the militia whom he commands, refuse to do duty. They say “*General Howe has promised them peace, liberty, and safety, and that is all they want.*” What is to be done with them? This spirit should be crushed in its infancy. I propose to send to the Colonel about fifty men, and I have directed him to acquaint the militia, that, if they refuse to do duty, agreeably to the orders of the State, I will send up a regiment here and march them to Fort Lee to do duty there. I beg your Excellency’s further orders.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 162. *Note.*

\* The actual loss little exceeded half of that number.

† ‘ No Commissioners ’ in compliance with the Resolve, Oct. 8, p. 311.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

WHITE PLAINS, 6 November, 1776.

'SIR, — I have the honor to inform you, that yesterday morning the enemy made a sudden and unexpected movement from the several posts they had taken in our front. They broke up their whole encampments the preceding night, and have advanced towards Kingsbridge and the North River. The design of this manœuvre is a matter of much conjecture and speculation, and cannot be accounted for with any degree of certainty. The grounds we had taken possession of were strong and advantageous, and such as they could not have gained without much loss of blood in case an attempt had been made. I had taken every possible precaution to prevent their outflanking us; which may have led to the present measure. They may still have in view their original plan, and, by a sudden wheel, try to accomplish it. Detachments are constantly out to observe their motions, and to harrass them as much as possible.

'In consequence of this movement I called a council of general officers to-day, to consult on such measures as should be adopted in case they pursued their retreat to New York; the result of which is herewith transmitted. In respect to myself, I cannot indulge an idea that General Howe, supposing he is going to New York, means to close the campaign, and to sit down without attempting something more. I think it highly probable, and almost certain, that he will make a descent with a part of his troops into Jersey; and, as soon as I am satisfied, that the present manœuvre is real and not a feint, I shall use every means in my power to forward a part of our force to counteract his designs; nor shall I be disappointed if he sends a detachment to the southward for the purpose of making a winter campaign. From the information I have received, there is now a number of transports at Red Hook, with about three thousand troops on board. \* \* \*

'From the approaching dissolution of the army, and the departure of the *new levies*,\* which is on the eve of taking place, and the little prospect of levying a new one in time, I have written to the Eastern States, by the unanimous advice of the general officers, to forward supplies of militia in the room of those that are now here, and who, it is feared, will not be prevailed on to stay any longer than the time they are engaged for. The propriety of this application, I trust, will appear, when it is known that *not a single officer is yet commissioned to recruit*, and when it is considered how essential it is to keep up some show of force and shadow of an army. I expect the enemy will send their force against Fort

\* Those troops which were ordered, June 3, p. 233, 'to be engaged to the first day of December.'

Washington, and invest it immediately. From some advices, it is an object that will attract their earliest attention.

‘I am happy to inform you, that, in the engagement on Monday se’nnight,\* I have reason to believe our loss was by no means so considerable as was conjectured at first. \* \* The force that will be sent to Jersey after I am satisfied of Mr. Howe’s retreat, in addition to those now there, according to my present opinion, will make it necessary for me to go with them to put things in a proper channel, and such a way of defence as shall seem most probable to check the progress of the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent there, or move towards Philadelphia.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 305.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 157.

Thus, it appears by this letter, that, November 6, ‘not a single officer [was] commissioned’ for the eighty-eight battalions resolved on, Sept. 16, p. 298; but the following Proceedings show that Congress, after the receipt of Colonel Harrison’s letters of October 29, 31, pp. 318, 319, were induced to modify the provisions for their appointment, and likewise for other objects.

IN CONGRESS, *November 4, 1776.* — ‘Whereas it is manifest, that unless effectual measures are immediately taken for reënlisting the army, the safety of the States may be greatly endangered;

‘*Resolved*, That the President write to the Commander-in-Chief, and inform him, that if, upon receipt of this Resolution. Commissioners from the respective States, for the purpose of appointing officers, shall not have arrived, he is then, after consulting and advising with such of his Generals as he can conveniently call together, immediately to grant warrants to such of the officers from the respective States, which have not Commissioners present authorized as aforesaid, as he shall think deserving of commissions:

‘That the officers so to be appointed, proceed, with the utmost expedition, to recruit their regiments to their full complement:

‘That commissions be sent to General Washington as soon as possible, to be given to such officers as he shall appoint by warrants, in consequence of the foregoing Resolution:

‘That the Commander-in-Chief be *desired* to take such steps as he shall think most proper for continuing the militia now in camp:

‘That, for this purpose, he write to such of the States as now have militia in the government of New York, requesting their assistance in this business; and that he be farther *desired* to apply to the neighboring States for such additional aid as he may require:

‘That a letter to the same import be written to General Schuyler.’

The following is one of the letters written to the Eastern States, as mentioned in the last:

\* The same engagement or battle, mentioned p. 318.

## To the ASSEMBLY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

WHITE PLAINS, 6 November, 1776.

‘GENTLEMEN, — The situation of our affairs is critical and alarming. The dissolution of our army is fast approaching, and but little, if any, prospect of levying a new one in a reasonable time. Large numbers of it, under the denomination of new levies, are now on the eve of their departure, and this, at a time when the enemy have a very numerous and formidable force, watching an opportunity to execute their plans and to spread ruin and devastation among us. Impressed with the importance of these matters, I this day laid them before a council of general officers, with a view of obtaining their opinion upon the same, and upon the measures, which, in their judgment, should be immediately adopted. The result was, that I should apply to several of the States for militia, and that your honorable Assembly should be requested to furnish, as soon as possible, four thousand as their quota, to be properly accoutred and equipped with every necessary, to supply the place of those, who are now here under General Lincoln, and who, I fear, will not be prevailed upon to stay longer than the time they at first engaged for. The hope and probability of raising a new army, within a convenient time, are so little, and the consequences so evidently alarming, if a sufficient force is not kept up to counteract the designs of the enemy in the mean time, that the Council and myself have unanimously agreed, that the militia should be engaged, if possible, to continue till the 1st of March, unless their services can be sooner dispensed with. We flatter ourselves, by that time, if not before, such an army will be levied, as to render any future claims upon them, unless in cases of the most pressing emergency, altogether unnecessary.

‘From the experience I have had of your past exertions in times of difficulty, I know that nothing in your power to effect will be wanting, and with the greatest confidence I trust, that the present requisition will have your most ready approbation and compliance, being in some degree anticipated by the inquiry you have directed to be made into the state of our affairs, and whether any farther aid will be necessary.

I have the honor to be, &amp;c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 161.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON, New Jersey.

WHITE PLAINS, 7 November, 1776.

‘SIR, — On Tuesday morning the enemy broke up their encampments, which were in front of our lines, after having remained there several days without attempting any thing. They have gone towards the North River and Kingsbridge. This sudden and unexpected movement is a matter of much speculation. \* \* \*

\* That they will invest Fort Washington is a matter of which there can be no doubt; and I think there is a strong proba-

bility, that General Howe will detach a part of his forces to make an incursion into the Jerseys, provided he is going to New York.

\* \* \* Persuaded that an expedition to the Jerseys will succeed his arrival in New York with a detachment of his army, as soon as I can be satisfied, that the present manœuvre is a real retreat, and not a feint, I shall throw over a body of our troops with the utmost expedition, to assist in checking his progress. At the same time I beg leave to recommend to your consideration the propriety and necessity, that some measures should be taken to place your militia on the best footing possible, and that a part of them may be in readiness to supply the place of the troops, denominated new levies, from your State, whose term of service will presently expire. Your vigilance and attention, I know, will not be wanting in any instance. Yet, there is one thing more I will take the liberty to mention; that is, that the inhabitants contiguous to the water, should be prepared to remove their stock, grain, effects, and carriages, upon the earliest notice. If they are not so, the calamities, which they will suffer, will be beyond all description, and the advantages derived by the enemy immensely great.

\* \* \* What cannot be removed with convenience should be consumed without the least hesitation.'

Ibid. p. 162.

#### SAME to GENERAL GREENE.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 8 November, 1776.

'SIR, — The late passage of three vessels up the North River, of which we have just received advice, is so plain a proof of the inefficacy of all the obstructions we have thrown into it, that I cannot but think it will fully justify a change in the disposition, which has been made. If we cannot prevent vessels from passing up, and the enemy are possessed of the surrounding country, what valuable purpose can it answer to attempt to hold a post, from which the expected benefit cannot be had? I am, therefore, inclined to think, that *it will not be prudent to hazard the men and stores at Mount Washington*; but, as you are on the spot, I leave it to you to give such orders, as to evacuating Mount Washington, as you may judge best; \* \* \*

'The best accounts obtained from the enemy assure us of a considerable movement among their boats last evening; and so far as can be collected from the various sources of intelligence, they must design a penetration into Jersey, and to fall down upon your post. You will therefore immediately have all the stores removed, which you do not deem necessary for your defence; and as the enemy have drawn great relief from the forage and provisions, \* \* \* which our tenderness spared, you will do well to prevent their receiving any fresh supplies there, by destroying them, if the inhabitants will not drive off their stock and



remove the hay and grain in time. Experience has shown, that the contrary conduct is not of the least advantage to the poor inhabitants, from whom all their effects of every kind are taken, without distinction and without the least satisfaction.

‘Troops are filing off from hence as fast as our situation and circumstances will admit, in order to be transported over the river with all expedition.’

Ibid. p. 164.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PEEKSKILL, 11 November, 1776.

‘SIR, — I have only time to acknowledge the honor of your letter of the 5th instant, and its several enclosures, and to inform you, that, agreeably to the Resolves of Congress, I shall use every measure in my power, that the moving and present confused state of the army will admit, *to appoint officers for recruiting*.<sup>\*</sup> You will have been advised, before this, of the arrival of Commissioners from Massachusetts. Others have come from Connecticut; but, from the present appearance of things, we seem but little if any nearer to levying an army. I had anticipated the Resolve respecting the militia, by writing to the Eastern States and to the Jerseys,<sup>†</sup> by the advice of my general officers, and from a consciousness of the necessity of getting in a number of men *if possible, to keep up the appearance of an army*. How my applications will succeed, the event must determine. I have little or no reason to expect, that the militia now here will remain a day longer than the time they first engaged for. I have recommended their stay, and requested it in general orders. General Lincoln and the Massachusetts Commissioners are using their interest with those from that State; but, as far as I can judge, we cannot rely on their staying.

‘I left White Plains about eleven o’clock yesterday. The enemy appeared to be preparing for their expedition to Jersey, according to every information. What their designs are, or whether their present conduct is not a feint, I cannot determine. The Maryland and Virginia troops, under Lord Stirling, have crossed the river, as part of those from the Jerseys; the remainder are now embarking. The troops, judged necessary to secure the several posts through the Highlands, have also got up. I am going to examine the passes, and direct such works as may appear necessary; after which, and making the best disposition I can of things in this quarter, I intend to proceed to Jersey, which I expect to do tomorrow.

<sup>\*</sup> See the Resolve, conditionally empowering the General to make those appointments, &c., November 4, p. 321.

<sup>†</sup> See the letter to Governor Trumbull, Oct. 15, p. 315, and those to the Assembly of Massachusetts and to Governor Livingston, Nov. 6, 7, p. 322.

'The Assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to induce their men more readily to engage in the service, have voted an advance pay of twenty shillings per month, in addition to that allowed by Congress to privates. It may perhaps be the means of their levying the quotas exacted from them sooner than they could otherwise have been raised; but I am of opinion, that a more fatal and mistaken policy could not have entered their councils, or one more detrimental to the general cause. The influence of the vote will become Continental, and materially affect the other States in making up their levies. If they could do it, I am certain, when the troops come to act together, that jealousy, impatience, and mutiny would necessarily arise. A different pay cannot exist in the same army. The reasons are obvious, and experience has proved their force in the case of the Eastern and Southern troops last spring.\* Sensible of this, and of the pernicious consequences, that would inevitably result from the advance, I have prevented the Commissioners from proceeding, or publishing their terms, till they could obtain the sense of Congress upon the subject, and remonstrated against it in a letter to Governor Trumbull. I am not singular in opinion; I have the concurrence of all the general officers, as to its fatal tendency. I congratulate you and Congress upon the news from Ticonderoga, and that General Carleton and his army have been obliged to return to Canada without attempting any thing. I have the honor to be,' &c.

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 309.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 171.

The above-mentioned letter to Governor Trumbull, was as follows:

#### TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 10 November, 1776.

'SIR, — I was yesterday evening favored with a call by the gentlemen appointed Commissioners from your State to arrange your officers, and to adopt some line of conduct for recruiting the quota of men, which you are to furnish. In discussing this subject, the gentlemen informed me, that your Assembly, to induce their men to enlist more readily into the service, had passed a vote advancing their pay twenty shillings per month, over and above that allowed by Congress. *It is seldom, that I interfere with the determinations of any public body*, or venture to hold forth my opinion contrary to the decisions, which they form; but upon this occasion, I must take the liberty to mention, especially as the influence of

\* It should be noticed, that there was no difference of pay to the troops of the Southern and Eastern Departments, *six dollars and two thirds* being allowed to those of the former as well as of the latter; that the lower pay of *five dollars*, alluded to above, was extended through the Middle Department only; and that, in the spring, troops of this and the Eastern Department constituted almost entirely the army under the command of General Washington. Thus, the troops of the Middle Department were, at the time referred to by the General, the most southern portion of his army, and were called 'Southern troops' merely to distinguish them from those of the Eastern Department. For further explanation, see pp. 217, 219, 235, 238.

that vote will be general and Continental, that, according to my ideas and those of every general officer I have consulted, a more mistaken policy could not have been adopted, or one that, in its consequences, will more effectually prevent the great object, which Congress have in view, and which the situation of our affairs so loudly calls for, the levying a new army. That the advance, allowed by your State, may be the means of raising your quota of men sooner than it otherwise would, perhaps may be true; but, when it is considered, that it will be an effectual bar to the other States in raising the quotas exacted from them, when it is certain, that, if their quotas could be made up without this advance coming to their knowledge, the moment they come to act with troops, who receive a higher pay, jealousy, impatience, and mutiny will immediately take place, and occasion desertions, if not a total dissolution of the army,—it must then be viewed as injurious and fatal. That troops will never act together, in the same cause and for different pay, must be obvious to every one. Experience has already proved it in this army.\* That Congress will take up the subject, and make the advance general, is a matter of which there can be but little probability, as the addition of a suit of clothes, to the former pay of the privates, was a long time debated before it could be obtained.

I am, &c.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 170.

#### TO MAJOR-GENERAL LEE.

##### *Instructions.*

‘SIR, — The late movement of the enemy, and the probability of their having designs upon the Jerseys, confirmed by sundry accounts from deserters and prisoners, rendering it necessary to throw a body of troops over the North River, I shall immediately follow, and the command of the army, which remains, after General Heath’s division marches to Peekskill,† will devolve upon you.

\* \* \* \* \*

‘It may not be amiss to remind you, for it ought to have some influence on your deliberations and measures, that the Massachusetts militia stand released from their contract on the 17th instant, and that the Connecticut militia are not engaged for any fixed period, and, by what I can learn, begin to grow very impatient to return, and indeed few are left. If the enemy should remove the whole or the greater part of their force to the west side of Hudson’s River, I have no doubt of your following, with all possible despatch, leaving the militia and invalids to cover the frontiers of Connecticut, in case of need. Given at Head-Quarters, near the White Plains, this 10th day of November, 1776.’

Ibid. p. 168.

\* Alluding to the same as in the preceding letter to Congress.

† To that division under the command of General Heath, was assigned the defence of the passes through the Highlands.

The Proceedings below appear to have been induced by the foregoing letter of November 11th, and intended in some degree to obviate the occasion for such 'advance pay' as had been offered by the Assemblies of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

IN CONGRESS, *November 12, 1776.* '*Resolved*, As the opinion of Congress, that if the soldiers to be raised by the State of Massachusetts-Bay, be enlisted on the terms offered to them, which are more advantageous than what are offered to other soldiers serving in the same army, it would much retard, if not totally impede the enlistment, of the latter, and produce discontent and murmur, unless Congress should equally increase the pay of these, which, it is the opinion of Congress, would universally be reprobated as an immoderate expense, and complained of as a grievous burden by those who must bear it; and, therefore, that the Committee from the State of Massachusetts-Bay, be desired not to enlist their men on the additional pay offered by the Assembly of that State.

'Upon reconsideration, the Resolution of the 16th of September, [p. 298,] for raising eighty-eight battalions to serve during the present war with Great Britain, Congress being of opinion that the readiness of the inhabitants of these States to enter into the service for limited times, in defence of their invaluable privileges, on all former occasions, gives good ground to hope, the same zeal for the public good will appear in future, when necessity calls for their assistance, and, lest the uncertain length of time which forces, raised during the continuance of the present war, may be compelled to serve, may prevent men from enlisting, who would otherwise manifest their attachment to the common cause, by engaging for a limited time; therefore,

'*Resolved*, That all non-commissioned officers and soldiers who do not incline to engage their service during the continuance of the present war, and shall enlist to serve three years, unless sooner discharged by Congress, shall be entitled to, and receive, all such bounty and pay, as are allowed to those who enlist during the continuance of the present war, except the one hundred acres of land; which land is to be granted to those only who enlist without such limitation of time. And each recruiting officer is required to provide two distinct enlisting rolls, one for such to sign as enlist during the continuance of the war, and the other for such as enlist for three years, if their service shall be so long required.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

GENERAL GREENE'S HEAD-QUARTERS, 14 November, 1776.

'SIR, — I have the honor to inform you of my arrival here yesterday, and that the whole of the troops belonging to the States, which lay south of Hudson's River, and which were in the New York government, have passed over to this, except the regiment lately Colonel Smallwood's, which I expect is now on its march.

\* \* \* There will be very few of them, after the

departure of those who were engaged for the Flying Camp, which is just approaching.\*

‘I beg leave not only to suggest, but to urge, the necessity of increasing our field artillery very considerably. Experience has convinced me, as it has every other gentleman of discernment in this army, that, while we remain much inferior to the enemy in this instance, we must carry on the war under infinite disadvantages, and without the smallest probability of success. It has been peculiarly owing to the situation of the country, where their operations have been conducted, and to the rough and strong grounds we possessed ourselves of, and over which they had to pass, that they have not carried their arms, by means of their artillery, to a much greater extent. When these difficulties cease, by changing the scene of action to a level, champaign country, the worst of consequences are to be apprehended. I would, therefore, with the concurrence of the officers, whom I have spoken to on the subject, submit to the consideration of Congress, whether immediate measures ought not to be taken for procuring a respectable train. It is agreed, on all hands, that each battalion should be furnished at least with two pieces, . . . . The whole should be of brass, for the most obvious reasons; they will be much more portable, and not half so liable to burst; and when they do, no damage is occasioned by it, and they may be cast over again.

‘It is also agreed, that a regiment of artillerists, with approved and experienced officers, should be obtained if possible, and some engineers of known reputation and abilities. I am sorry to say, that too ready an indulgence has been given to several appointments in the latter instance, and that men have been promoted, who seem to me to know but little if any thing of the business.

‘Perhaps this train, &c., may be looked upon by some as large and expensive. True it will be so; but when it is considered that the enemy, having effected but little in the course of the present campaign, will use their utmost efforts to subjugate us in the next, every consideration of that sort should be disregarded, and every possible preparation made to frustrate their attempts.

‘Mr. Trumbull, the Commissary-General, has frequently mentioned to me, of late, the inadequacy of his pay to his trouble, and the great risk he is subject to on account of the large sums of money which pass through his hands. He has stated his case with a view of laying it before Congress and obtaining a more adequate compensation. My sentiments upon the subject are already known; but yet I shall take the liberty to add, that I think his complaint to be well founded; and his pay, considering the important duties and risks of his office, by no means sufficient; and that the footing he seems to think it should be upon, himself, appears just and reasonable.

\* According to the Resolves for raising them, of June 3 and July 20, pp. 233, 273.

'A proposition having been made long since to General Howe, and agreed to by him, for an exchange of prisoners, in consequence of the Resolutions of Congress to that effect, I shall be extremely happy if you will give directions to the Committees, and those having the charge of prisoners in the several States south of Jersey, to transmit to me proper lists of the names of all the commissioned officers, and of their rank and the corps they belong to; also the number of non-commissioned and privates, and their respective regiments. You will perceive by his letter, that he supposes me to have affected some delay, or to have been unmindful of the proposition I had made.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 311.

Wash. Writ.

SAME TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

HACKINSAC, 19 November, 1776.

'DEAR BROTHER, — At the White Plains the enemy advanced a second time upon us, as if they meant a general attack; but finding us ready to receive them, and upon such ground as they could not approach without loss, they filed off and returned towards New York. As it was conceived, that this manœuvre was made with a design to attack Fort Washington, or to throw a body of troops into the Jerseys, or, what might be still worse, aim a stroke at Philadelphia, I hastened over to this side, with about five thousand men, by a circuitous march of about sixty-five miles, which we were obliged to take, on account of the shipping that opposed the passage at all the lower ferries. But I did not arrive in time to take measures to save Fort Washington, though I got here myself a day or two before it surrendered, which happened on the 16th instant, after making a defence of four or five hours only. \* \* \*

'The whole garrison, after being driven from the outer lines, and returning within the fort, surrendered themselves prisoners of war, but have given me no account of the terms. By a letter which I have just received from General Greene at Fort Lee, I am informed, that "one of the train of artillery came across the river last night on a raft. By this account, the enemy have suffered greatly on the north side of Fort Washington. Colonel Rawlings's regiment, (late Hugh Stephenson's,) was posted there, and behaved with great spirit. Colonel Magaw could not get the men to man the lines, otherwise he would not have given up the fort."

This is a most unfortunate affair, and has given me great mortification: as we have lost not only two thousand men that were there,\* but a good deal of artillery, and some of the best arms we had. And what adds to my mortification is, that this post, after the last ships went past it, was held contrary to my wishes and opinion, as I conceived it to be a hazardous one; but, it having been determined on by a full council of general officers, and a

\* Including militia, probably the number was considerably larger.



Resolution of Congress having been received,\* strongly expressive of their desire, that the channel of the river which we had been laboring to stop for a long time at that place, might be obstructed if possible, and knowing that this could not be done, unless there were batteries to protect the obstruction, I did not care to give an absolute order for withdrawing the garrison, till I could get round and see the situation of things, and then it became too late, as the fort was invested. Upon the passing of the last ships, I had given it as my opinion to General Greene, under whose care it was, that it would be best to evacuate the place;† but, as the order was discretionary, and his opinion differed from mine, it unhappily was delayed too long, to my great grief; as I think General Howe, considering his army and ours, would have had but a poor tale to tell without it, and would have found it difficult, unless some southern expedition may prove successful, to reconcile the people of England to the conquest of a few pitiful islands, none of which were defensible, considering the great number of their ships, and the power they have by sea to surround and render them unapproachable.

‘It is a matter of great grief and surprise to me to find the different States so slow and inattentive to that essential business of levying their quotas of men. In ten days from this date, there will not be above two thousand men, if that number, of the fixed established regiments on this side of Hudson’s River to oppose Howe’s whole army, and very little more on the other, to secure the Eastern Colonies and the important passes leading through the Highlands to Albany, and the country about the Lakes. In short, it is impossible for me, in the compass of a letter,‡

‘I am glad to find by your last letter, that your family are tolerably well recovered from the indisposition they labored under. God grant you all health and happiness. Nothing in this world would contribute so much to mine, as to be once more fixed among you in the peaceable enjoyment of my own vine and fig-tree.

‘Adieu, my dear Sir; remember me affectionately to my sister and the children, and give my compliments to those, who inquire after your sincerely affectionate brother.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 182.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HACKINSAC, 21 November, 1776.

‘SIR, — The unhappy affair of the 16th has been succeeded by further misfortunes. Yesterday morning a large body of the enemy landed between Dobbs’s Ferry and Fort Lee. Their

\* Their Resolution, October 11, p. 313.

† See the letter to General Greene, November 8, p. 323.

‡ For a connected view of this entire letter of November 19th, turn back and read in place of the stars, the part of it given, p. 306.

object was, evidently, to enclose the whole of our troops and stores that lay between the North and Hackinsac Rivers, which form a very narrow neck of land. For this purpose, they formed and marched as soon as they had ascended the high grounds towards the fort. Upon the first information of their having landed, and of their movements, our men were ordered to meet them; but finding their numbers greatly superior, and that they were extending themselves to seize on the passes over the river, it was thought prudent to withdraw our men; which was effected, and their retreat secured. We lost the whole of the cannon that were in the fort, except two twelve-pounders, and a great deal of baggage, between two and three hundred tents, about a thousand barrels of flour, and other stores in the Quartermaster's department. This loss was inevitable. As many of the stores had been removed as circumstances and time would admit of. The ammunition had been happily got away.

'Our present situation between Hackinsac and Passaic Rivers being exactly similar to our late one, and our force here by no means adequate to an opposition that will promise the smallest probability of success, we are taking measures to retire over the waters of the latter, when the best disposition will be formed that circumstances will allow. By Colonel Cadwallader, who has been permitted by General Howe to return to his friends, I am informed the surrender of the garrison on the 16th was on the common terms as prisoners of war. \* \* \* I beg leave to refer you to him for a more particular account, and also for his relation of the distresses of our prisoners.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 320.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 187.

SAME TO GENERAL LEE.

HACKINSAC, 21 November, 1776.

'DEAR GENERAL, — It must be painful to you, as well as to us, that I have no news to send you, but of a melancholy nature.\*

\* \* \* As this country is almost a dead flat, and we have not an intrenching tool, nor above three thousand men, and they much broken and dispirited, not only with our ill success, but the loss of their tents and baggage, I have resolved to avoid any attack, though by so doing I must leave a very fine country open to their ravages, or a plentiful storehouse, from which they will draw voluntary supplies.

'With respect to your situation, I am very much at a loss what now to determine. There is such a change of circumstances since the date of your letter, as seems to call for a change of measures.

\* \* \* Upon the whole, therefore, I am of opinion,

\* Referring principally to the losses of Forts Washington and Lee.

and the gentlemen about me concur in it, that the public interest requires your coming over to this side of the Hudson, with the Continental troops, leaving Fellows's and Wadsworth's brigades to take care of the stores during their short stay, at the expiration of which I suppose they will set out for home.

' My reasons for this measure, which I think must have weight with you, are, that the enemy is evidently changing the seat of war to this side of the North River, and that the inhabitants of this country will expect the Continental army to give them what support they can, and, failing in that, they will cease to depend upon or support a force, from which no protection is derived. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance, that at least an appearance of force should be made, to keep this Province in connection with the others. If that should not be done, it is much to be feared, that the effects on Pennsylvania would be very considerable, and more and more endanger our public interest. Unless some new event should occur therefore, or some more cogent reason should present itself to the contrary, I would have you move over by the easiest and best passage. I am sensible your numbers will not be large, and that perhaps it may not be agreeable to the troops. As to the first, report will exaggerate them and preserve the appearance of an army, which will at least have an effect to encourage the desponding here; and as to the other, you will doubtless represent to them, that in duty and gratitude their service is due, wherever the enemy make the greatest impression, or seem to intend it.

' I am, Sir, with great regard, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 165.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEWARK, 23 November, 1776.

' SIR, — I have not yet heard, that any provision is making to supply the place of the troops composing the Flying Camp, whose departure is now at hand. The situation of our affairs is truly critical, and such as requires uncommon exertions on our part. From the movements of the enemy, and the information we have received, they certainly will make a push to possess themselves of this part of the Jerseys. In order that you may be fully apprised of our weakness, and of the necessity there is of our obtaining early succors, I have, by the advice of the general officers here, directed General Mifflin to wait on you. He is intimately acquainted with our circumstances, and will represent them better than my hurried state will allow. I have written to General Lee to come over with the Continental regiments immediately under his command; those with General Heath, I have ordered to secure the passes through the Highlands. I have also written to Governor Livingston, requesting of him such aid as may be in his power; and I would submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether applica-

tion should not be made for part of the Pennsylvania militia to step forth at this pressing time.

‘Before I conclude, I would mention, if an early and immediate supply of money could be sent to Mr. Dalham to pay the Flying Camp troops, it might have a happy effect. They would subsist themselves comfortably on their return, and provide many necessities of which they are in great want; and, moreover, it might be the means of inducing many, after seeing their friends, to engage again. I expected, on coming here, to have met with many of the militia, but find from inquiry that there are not more than from four to five hundred at the different posts.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 321.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 190.

SAME to GENERAL LEE.

NEWARK, 24 November, 1776.

‘DEAR SIR, — I wrote to you this morning of the probability, that some of your letters to me had fallen with the mail\* into the enemy’s hands. \* \* \* I am informed, that a letter from you is confidently said to have come to their hands, and that measures are taking to intercept your march. To prevent them from effecting this object, I have judged it proper to acquaint you of this accident, and of their design; at the same time I must request, that you will take every precaution to come by a safe and secure route. I am told, by those who have an intimate knowledge of the country, that, after you leave Haverstraw, the western road by Kakiat will be proper for you to take; but I will not undertake to prescribe any one in particular, only observing that you will by all means keep between the enemy and the mountains. I need not urge the necessity of your gaining intelligence of the enemy’s situation, in the course of your march. I will be silent on that head, nor need I mention the propriety of your sending frequent expresses, to advise me of your approaches.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 192.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEWARK, 27 November, 1776.

‘SIR, — I do myself the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your favors of the 21st and 24th, with their several enclosures. The execution of the Resolves has been and will be attended to as far as in my power.†

‘I have written to General Schuyler to send down as early as possible the troops in the Northern Department from this and the State of Pennsylvania. \* \* I have nothing in partic-

\* About that time, the mail, containing extremely important communications from General Washington, was intercepted by the enemy.

† See the Resolves here alluded to, of Nov. 4, p. 321, and Nov. 21, 22, 23, pp. 336, 337.

ular to advise you of, respecting the enemy, more than that they are advancing this way; part of them have passed the Passaic; and I suppose the main body that they have on this side the North River would have done the same before now, (as they are coming on,) had their progress not been retarded by the weather, which has been rainy for several days past. I have scouts and detachments constantly out to harass them and watch their motions, and to gain, if possible, intelligence of their designs. \* \* \*

By a letter from the Board of War on the subject of an exchange, they mention that several of the prisoners in our hands have enlisted. It is a measure, I think, that cannot be justified, though the precedent is furnished on the side of the enemy; nor do I conceive it good in point of policy. But, as it has been done, I shall leave it with Congress to order them to be returned or not, as they shall judge fit. I have the honor to be, &c.'

London ed. vol. i. p. 322.

Wash. Writ.

#### SAME to GENERAL LEE.

NEWARK, 27 November, 1776.

'DEAR SIR,— I last night received the favor of your letter of the 25th. My former letters were so full and explicit, as to the necessity of your marching as early as possible, that it is unnecessary to add more on that head. I confess I expected you would have been sooner in motion. The force here, when joined by yours, will not be adequate to any great opposition. At present it is weak; and it has been owing more to the badness of the weather, that the enemy's progress has been checked, than to any resistance we could make. They are now pushing this way; part of them have passed the Passaic. Their plan is not entirely unfolded, but I shall not be surprised, if Philadelphia should turn out to be the object of their movement. The distress of the troops for want of clothes I feel much; but what can I do?'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 193.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

BRUNSWICK, 30 November, 1776.

'SIR,— I have been honored with your favor of the 26th, and with its enclosures, by which, I perceive the measures that have been adopted for forwarding a reinforcement of militia.\* Their arrival is much to be wished, the situation of our affairs being truly alarming, and such as demands the earliest aids. As General Mifflin's presence may have a happy influence on the disposition and temper of many of the Associators, I shall not direct his return so long as he can be done without, and till it becomes indispensably necessary. On Thursday morning [28th] I left Newark, and arrived here yesterday with the troops that were there. It

\* See the Resolves, November 25, p. 337.

was the opinion of all the Generals, who were with me, that a retreat to this place was requisite, and founded in necessity, as our force was by no means sufficient to make a stand, with the least probability of success, against an enemy much superior in numbers, and whose advanced guards were entering the town by the time our rear got out. \* \* \* \*

‘I hoped we should meet with large and early succors by this time; but as yet no great number of the militia of this State has come in; nor have I much reason to expect, that any considerable aid will be derived from the counties which lie beyond the river, and in which the enemy are. Their situation will prevent it in a great measure from those parts where they are, provided the inclination of the people were good. Added to this, I have no assurances, that more than a very few of the troops composing the Flying Camp will remain after the time of their engagement is out; so far from it, I am told, that some of General Ewing’s brigade, who stand engaged to the 1st of January, are now going away. If those go whose service expires this day, our force will be reduced to a mere handful.

‘From intelligence received this morning, one division of the enemy was advanced last night as far as Elizabethtown, and some of their Quartermasters had proceeded about four or five miles on this side, to provide barns, &c., for their accommodation. \* \* \*

\* \* \* I do not know how far their views extend; but I doubt not, they mean to push every advantage resulting from the small number and state of our troops.

‘I early began to forward part of the stores from this place towards Philadelphia. Many are gone; the rest we are removing, and hope to secure. I am, &c.

‘P. S. I have written to Governor Livingston, who is exerting himself to throw in every assistance, and to have guards placed at the ferries, to prevent the return of the soldiers who are not discharged.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 323.

Wash. Writ.

The following are some of the Proceedings of Congress to meet the exigencies, after the General passed over from New York into New Jersey.

*November 18.* ‘A letter, of the 14th, from General Washington; one of the 6th, from General Gates; one of the 11th, from General Schuyler at Albany; one of the 16th, from General Stephen, at Amboy; \* \* \* were read:

‘*Ordered*, That the letters from General Washington, General Schuyler, General Gates, and Brigadier General Stephen be referred to the Board of War.

*November 19.* ‘The Board of War brought in a Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That one hundred 3-pounders, fifty 6-pounders, fifty



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PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS AND  
13-pounders, thirteen 12-pounders, and thirteen 24-pounders, all of  
which be immediately ordered as field artillery, for the use of the  
armies of the United States.

That the Secretary of War be directed to take the most effect-  
ual measures for procuring the said brass artillery; that the said  
Committee be authorized to consult with the Committee for procuring cannon, and  
to report to the House of Representatives how many they can provide.

As the necessity of obtaining an army imme-  
diate, and the designs of the enemy, is so evident and  
pressing, as to render it proper to give all possible facility to that  
business;

Resolved, That each State be at liberty to direct their recruiting  
officers to enlist their men either for the war or three years, upon  
the respective bounties offered by Congress, without presenting  
enlisting rolls for both terms, according to a former Resolution;  
keeping it always in view, that, in the opinion of Congress, the  
public service will be best promoted by enlistments for the war, if  
the recruiting service is not retarded thereby.

November 22. Congress, taking into consideration the present  
state of the army, of which some parts have already disbanded, and  
others will probably do so when the times they engaged for shall  
expire, which must soon happen; so that there is great danger that  
the enemy must be opposed either by unequal numbers, or by  
militia, not only a more expensive but a less efficacious aid than  
regular forces; and there being good grounds to hope that vigorous  
efforts, at this critical conjuncture, may bring the war to a speedy  
as well as happy conclusion,

Resolved, That blank commissions be sent to General Wash-  
ington, and that he be empowered to insert therein the names of  
such officers as he shall think fit, not revoking those appointments  
which have been made by Commissioners, from any of the United  
States; and the general Commissioners, and Officers, are conjured  
to recruit, by all the means in their power, the regiments now or  
lately in the camp; and that a committee of three be appointed to  
repair to Head-Quarters, and, consulting with the General, assist  
in the accomplishment of this necessary business.

Ordered, That the said committee make particular inquiry  
why the troops are not paid, and that they inquire into, and re-  
dress, to the utmost of their power, the just grievances of the  
soldiers.

November 23. Resolved, That a committee of five be appoint-  
ed, with full powers, to devise and execute measures for effectually  
reinforcing General Washington, and obstructing the progress  
of General Howe's army; and they are ordered to proceed imme-  
diately to this business.

Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to order the Vir-  
ginia battalion, on the Eastern Shore, and the two Pennsylvania

battalions, commanded by Colonel Mackay and Colonel Cooke, to march with all possible expedition; the former to Philadelphia, and the two latter by the nearest route to Brunswick, in New Jersey, or to join General Washington wherever he may be; and that the said Board use every means in their power to expedite the march of these troops; and they are ordered to attend immediately to this business.

‘The better to oppose the progress of the enemy,

‘*Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to order, under his immediate command, such of the forces, now in the Northern Department,\* as have been raised in the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey; and that the commanding officer, in the Northern Department, be directed to apply to the Legislatures of the Eastern States, to afford him such assistance as he may stand in need of.

‘*Resolved*, That by anything heretofore done, it is not intended to prejudice or strengthen the right or claim of the United States, or any of them, to any lands in America, nor to determine in what proportion or manner the expenses of the war shall be raised or adjusted, *except* as to the first three millions of dollars, emitted by Congress, and a farther emission of three millions of dollars, on December 26, 1775.

November 25. ‘A letter of the 23d, from General Washington, at New York, was read:

‘*Ordered*, That it be referred to a committee of the whole Congress; and that General Mifflin, who brought the letter, be desired to attend the said committee.†

‘The Resolutions reported from the committee of the whole, being read, were agreed to, as follows:

‘*Resolved*, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to call forth, immediately, the Associators in the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks, and Northampton, to continue in the service of the United States, six weeks from the time they join the army, unless sooner discharged by Congress:

‘That the volunteers who shall enroll to serve the United States to the 10th of March next, shall, nevertheless, be discharged as soon as the situation of public affairs will possibly admit; it being the intention of Congress to detain them no longer than the present emergency shall render it absolutely necessary:

‘That the Board of War be directed to order the German battalion to march immediately, and join General Washington:

‘That the said Board write to Governor Henry, of Virginia, and

\* It appears by the letter, November 27, p. 333, that the General had anticipated this Resolve.

† In regard to General Mifflin at that juncture, see the letters, November 23, 30, pp. 323, 334; also the Resolve, November 25, p. 338.

request him to order the light-horse, in the service of that State, to march, with all possible expedition, to join General Washington :

‘ That the said Board order Brigadier-General Roche de Fermoy, to repair immediately to General Washington, instead of going to the Northward :

‘ *Resolved*, That General Mifflin be directed to stay in the city of Philadelphia until General Washington shall require his attendance at the Camp, and that General Washington be informed of this by the President.

*November 26.* ‘ The Board of War brought in a Report, which was taken into consideration ; whereupon,

‘ *Resolved*, That a regiment of artillery, to be armed with muskets and bayonets, instead of fusees, be raised in the State of Virginia, on Continental establishment ; the two companies, already raised there, to be part of the said regiment ; which is to be composed of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, and ten companies, each to consist of one captain, three lieutenants, one serjeant, four bombardiers, eight gunners, four corporals, and forty-eight matrosses.

‘ Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the state of the army : \* \*

‘ The Resolutions reported from the committee of the whole, being read, were agreed to as follows :

‘ *Resolved*, That the Cannon Committee be directed to inquire what quantity of cannon are on board the prize-ship that arrived yesterday, in the port of Philadelphia ; and, if they are fit for field-artillery, to take measures to have them mounted on proper carriages, and sent to General Washington :

‘ That the Assembly of the State of Pennsylvania be requested to give immediate direction, that the brass field-pieces with the artillery companies, or the field-pieces singly, if there be no such companies belonging to this State, be, with all possible expedition, sent to General Washington’s army in New Jersey ; and that they be assured, that, as soon as the situation of affairs will admit, they shall be returned, or others in lieu of the said field-pieces :

‘ That Mr. Mease, the Continental Commissary in the city of Philadelphia, be directed to go to the several shops and stores in the said city, and purchase, for the use of the army of the United States, such articles as are necessary for them, at this and the approaching season of the year ; and that he be empowered to employ as many persons as he shall judge necessary to assist him in this service :

‘ That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested, with all possible expedition, to cause application to be made to the housekeepers and others in the said State, for as many blankets

and woollen stockings as each can spare, for the use of the soldiers under the immediate command of General Washington, in New-Jersey; and that they be delivered, as fast as collected, to Mr. Mease, the Continental Commissary:

‘That it be recommended to the said Council of Safety, to appoint persons to appraise the blankets and woollen stockings, so collected, as aforesaid, that the value of them may be paid:

‘That the Committee, who are sent to Camp, be directed to make particular inquiry into the abuses in the medical department in the army, and report thereon to Congress.

*November 27.* ‘Resolved, That the delegates from the four New England governments be directed to take the most effectual measures to have, at least, 10,000 pair of shoes, and 10,000 pair of stockings, purchased in those States, and sent to General Washington’s Head-Quarters, with all possible expedition, for the use of the soldiers under his command.

‘Ordered, That the Secret Committee take proper and effectual measures to procure a quantity of hard money, not less than 20,000 dollars, to be lodged in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, for the purpose of secret services.

‘Resolved, That it be recommended to the Legislatures of the United States, respectively, to pass such laws, as will most effectually tend to prevent the counterfeiting or forging of the tickets of the public lottery.

‘Ordered, That the Board of War be directed to detain such companies of the German battalion as have not already marched.

*November 29.* ‘Resolved, That the Secret Committee be directed to provide, as soon as may be, arms and equipage for 3,000 Horse.

‘Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to consider and report a proper method for establishing and training Cavalry in this Continent.

*November 30.* ‘A letter of the 27th, from General Washington, with a list of the prisoners taken by the enemy during the campaign of 1776; and one of the same date from the Council of Safety of New York, were read:

‘Ordered, That the same be referred to the Board of War.

‘Resolved, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to have eight carriages for field-pieces got ready, with all possible expedition, at the expense of the Continent; to be delivered as fast as made, to the order of the Board of War.

‘Resolved, That the State of New York be empowered to raise another battalion on the Continental establishment:

‘That the Convention or Council of Safety of New York be empowered to appoint an Aid-Major to each of the battalions raised by that State, the pay or expense of which *to be borne by that State.*

*'Resolved,* That the Board of War be directed to purchase, for the public service, six wagons, with four horses and proper harness to each wagon, and to employ suitable drivers.

*'The Assembly of Pennsylvania* having, by Mr. Morris, informed Congress, that they have appointed a committee of their body to confer with a committee of Congress, on the requisition of Congress, to call forth immediately the Associators of the city and liberties of Philadelphia, and the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, Chester, and Northampton,

*'Ordered,* That the Board of War confer with the Committee of the Assembly of Pennsylvania on this subject, and agree on such measures as shall be deemed most for the public service.

*'Resolved,* That the Committee of Intelligence be directed and empowered to establish expresses, to go daily to and from Head-Quarters.

*'Resolved,* That when any Resolutions are passed which respect the United States, or any of them, or the armies of the said States, they be sent by express, \* \* provided the President shall judge it necessary.

*December 1.* *'Congress,* on a summons, met this day, when two letters, of the 30th, from General Washington, at Brunswick, were read; whereupon,

*'Resolved,* That the Board of War be directed to order the German battalion to march immediately to join General Washington; and that the said Board use every measure in their power to expedite their march with all possible despatch:

*'That the Secret Committee* be directed to appoint one or more trusty persons, to proceed immediately to the Eastern States, and see that the clothing and stores, which have been ordered to be purchased for the army, be collected and forwarded to the army, with all possible despatch; and that the said person, or persons, have power, to purchase, or cause to be purchased, such necessary clothing as can be procured in those States, and to have it forwarded to the army:

*'That General Washington* be informed, he has the full approbation of Congress to order the troops, on the east side of Hudson's River, over to the west side of that river, whenever he shall think it conducive to the public service so to do:

*'That General Washington* be directed to order the clothes which have been, or shall be sent to Head-Quarters, or to any of the camps, to be distributed, first among such of the soldiers as stand most in need of them.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

BRUNSWICK, 1 December, 1776.

*'DEAR SIR,—*I wrote to you yesterday; but, as from every information of the motions of the enemy, their intent seems plainly

directed through this State, and then to Philadelphia, I cannot help calling on you, in the most urgent manner, and begging you to fall upon proper means to draw forth the strength of your Province to my support. The enemy's advanced parties were last night at Bonhamtown, four miles on this side of Woodbridge. They are impressing wagons and horses, and collecting cattle and sheep; which is a further proof of their intent to march a considerable distance. Unless my force, therefore, is considerably augmented, it will be impossible for me to make any stand at this place, when the enemy advance, as I have not, including General Williamson's militia, more than four thousand men. \* \* \*

\* \* \* I wrote to General Williamson last night, and pressed him to exert himself; but, I have reason to believe, he has not the confidence of the people so much as could be wished. My accounts of the reinforcements to be expected from Pennsylvania, are very encouraging; but, from the distance and necessary delays attending a sudden march, I cannot look for them under a week or ten days; in which time the enemy will have reached the Delaware; at least if they are not opposed by more than my present numbers. General Lee is on his march down to join me; but, if the enemy should throw in a body of men between us, he will be obliged to make a considerable circuit to avoid them. The boats and craft, all along the Jersey side, should be secured; particularly the Durham boats, used for the transportation of produce down the river. Parties should be sent to all the landings, to have them removed to the other side, hauled up, and put under proper guards. One such boat would transport a regiment of men.

'I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 197.

#### SAME to GENERAL LEE.

BRUNSWICK, 1 December, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, -- The enemy are advancing, and have got as far as Woodbridge and Amboy, and, from information not to be doubted, they mean to push for Philadelphia. The force I have with me is infinitely inferior in numbers, and such as cannot give or promise the least successful opposition. It is greatly reduced by the departure of the Maryland Flying Camp, and by sundry other causes. I must entreat you to hasten your march as much as possible, or your arrival may be too late to answer any valuable purpose. I cannot particularize either your route, or the place at which you will join me. In these respects you must be governed by circumstances, and the intelligence you receive. I hope to meet a considerable reinforcement of Pennsylvania Associators. It is said they seem spirited upon this occasion.

'I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.'

Ibid. p. 199.



SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

BRUNSWICK, 1 December, 1776.

‘SIR, — I yesterday had the honor of writing you, and to advise you of our arrival here. I am now to inform you that the enemy are still advancing, and that their vanguard had proceeded as far as [Bonhamtown,] a small town about four miles this side of Woodbridge, according to my last intelligence. As to their number, reports are various. \* \* \*

‘I have for some time past supposed Philadelphia to be the object of their movement, and have every reason to believe my opinion well founded. \* \* \* I have written to Governor Livingston upon the subject, requesting his utmost exertions to forward on every succor in his power. The same, I trust, will be attended to in Pennsylvania. Without a sufficient number of men and arms, their progress cannot be checked. At present our force is totally inadequate to any attempt. \* \*

‘I have sent forward Colonel Humpton to collect proper boats and craft at the ferry for transporting the troops; and it will be of infinite importance to have every other craft, besides what he takes for the above purpose, secured on the west side of the Delaware; otherwise they may fall into the enemy’s hands and facilitate their views. I have the honor to be, &c.’

‘P. S. *Half after one o’clock, P. M.* — The enemy are fast advancing; some of them are now in sight. All the men of the Jersey Flying Camp under General Heard, being applied to, have refused to continue longer in service.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 327.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the SAME.

EIGHT MILES FROM BRUNSWICK, 1 December, 1776. }  
*Half after seven, P. M.* }

‘SIR, — In a little time after I wrote you this evening, the enemy appeared in several parties on the heights opposite Brunswick, and were advancing in a large body towards the crossing place. We had a smart cannonade whilst we were parading our men, but without any or but little loss on either side. It being impossible to oppose them with our present force with the least prospect of success, we shall retreat to the west side of the Delaware, (and have advanced about eight miles,) where it is hoped we shall meet a reinforcement sufficient to check their progress. I have sent Colonel Humpton forward to collect the necessary boats for our transportation, and conceive it proper that the militia from Pennsylvania should be ordered towards Trenton, that they may be ready to join us, and act as occasion may require.

‘I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.’

‘P. S. I wish my letters of yesterday may arrive safe, being

informed that the return express, who had them, was idling his time, and showing them on the road.'

*Ibid.* p. 328.

IN CONGRESS, *December 2.* 'A letter, of the 1st, from General Washington, was read:

'*Ordered*, That it be referred to the Board of War, and that they communicate the contents to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, and take such measures, in consequence thereof, as they shall judge proper.

'Captain Montgomery having offered his service, with that of his crew, as an artillery company,

'*Resolved*, That they be taken into the service of the Continent for two months, unless sooner discharged:

'That Mr. J. Mease be directed to advance one month's pay to Captain Montgomery's men, upon their enlisting, and that a like advance be made to the other companies of artillery:

'That the Board of War be directed to purchase, immediately, ten or twelve covered wagons for the artillery.

'*Resolved*, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to send expresses immediately to the counties that have been desired to send forth their Associators, urging them forthwith to march, in order to oppose the hasty advances of the enemy.

'*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Governor and Council of Virginia, to take the most effectual measures for purchasing and collecting, for Continental use, all the copper and other materials fit for casting brass field-artillery, that can be got in that State, and that Congress will defray the cost and expense of the same.

'A letter, of the 1st, from General Washington, was read:

'*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, to send immediately one of their galleys along the Jersey shore, between this and Trenton, to bring over all the river craft, vessels and boats from the Jersey to the Pennsylvania side of Delaware, in order to prevent their becoming serviceable to the enemy, in their attempts to cross the said river:

'That it be earnestly recommended to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, to order the battalions of this city immediately to march and join General Washington:

'That the said Council of Safety be requested to furnish the Wagonmaster-General with one thousand wagons for the use of the army; and, as in the present emergency of public affairs, such a supply of wagons is absolutely necessary, that it be recommended to the said Council of Safety to impress the wagons, if they cannot be otherwise speedily procured.

'*Resolved*, That Mr. J. Mease be directed to receive from Mr. Hyman Levy the goods in his hands purchased for the State of New York, paying him the balance due for the said goods, [and

send them,] together with those he has now ready, to General Washington, taking especial care that they be sent in so safe and secure a manner as to avoid any danger of falling into the hands of the enemy.'

SECRET JOURNAL, *December 2.* 'Resolved, That the Committee for establishing Expresses be directed to send Colonel Stewart, or any other officer, express to General Lee, to know where and in what situation he and the army with him are.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PRINCETON, 2 December, 1776.

'SIR, — I arrived here this morning with our troops between eight and nine o'clock, when I received the honor of your letter of the first, with its enclosure.

'When the enemy first landed on this side the North River, I apprehended that they meant to make a push this way; and knowing that the force which I had was not sufficient to oppose them, I wrote to General Lee to cross with the several Continental regiments in his division, and hoped he would have arrived before now. By some means or other he has been delayed. I suppose he has passed the river, as his letter of the 26th ultimo mentioned that he had marched a brigade the day before, and should follow the next himself. The remainder of the troops, I conceived necessary to guard the several passes through the Highlands; nor do I think they can be called from thence. Their number is very small, being reduced to very few by the departure of the troops who stood engaged till the 30th ultimo.

'I understand there are now at Bristol several prisoners. As their exchange at this time cannot be effected with propriety, I think it will be necessary, under the present situation of affairs, to have them removed immediately to some more interior place, upon their paroles. If they remain, they may be of infinite disadvantage.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

To this letter, in the London edition, from which it is taken, is subjoined the following: — '*On the outside of the foregoing letter, \* \* appears the following line, to Mr. Peters, Secretary to the Board of War.*'

"Sir, despatch an express immediately, to have the prisoners at Bristol removed. R. H. HARRISON."

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 329.

Wash. Writ.

IN CONGRESS, *December 3, 1776.* 'A letter, of the 2d, from General Washington; one, of the same date, from Adjutant-General Reed, and one from J. Mease, were read.

'Resolved, That the Board of War be directed to have the prisoners, now at Bristol, removed from thence back into the country.

*'Resolved, That Mr. J. Mease be empowered and directed to settle with and pay the militia of the Maryland Flying Camp:*

*' That such of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the said troops as will enlist for three years, be immediately clothed, and that Mr. Mease be directed to detain as many of the clothes, now in his hands, as will be necessary for that purpose :*

*' That each of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the Maryland militia, who will not enlist for three years, but will engage to march to the immediate reinforcement of General Washington, and remain under his command one month, be supplied by Mr. Mease with a shirt, a pair of shoes, and a pair of stockings, on paying for the same :*

*' That such of the militia as shall engage to serve to the 10th of March next, unless sooner discharged by Congress, be entitled to a pair of shoes and stockings, and to the same rations and the same monthly pay with the other troops on the Continental establishment, to commence from the time of their enrolment; and that one month's pay be advanced to each volunteer, upon his enrolment.*

*'Resolved, That the officers of the Maryland troops be requested immediately to parade those troops, and to use their utmost influence to persuade their adoption of the terms proposed by Congress.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, Trenton, 3 December, 1776.

*' SIR, — I arrived here myself yesterday morning, with the main body of the army, having left Lord Stirling with two brigades at Princeton and that neighborhood, to watch the motions of the enemy and give notice of their approach. \* \* \**

*Immediately on my arrival here I ordered the removal of all the military and other stores and baggage over the Delaware; a great quantity is already got over; and as soon as the boats come up from Philadelphia, we shall load them; by which means I hope to have everything secured this night and to-morrow, if we are not disturbed. After being disencumbered of my baggage and stores, my future situation will depend entirely upon circumstances.*

*' I have not heard a word from General Lee since the 26th of last month; which surprises me not a little, as I have despatched daily expresses to him, desiring to know when I might look for him. This makes me fearful that my letters have not reached him. I am informed by report, that General St. Clair has joined him, with three or four regiments from the Northward. \* \* \**

*\* \* \* I look out earnestly for the reinforcement from Philadelphia. I am in hopes, that, if we can draw a good head of men together, it will give spirits to the militia of this State, who have*

as yet afforded me little or no assistance ; nor can I find that they are likely to do much. General Heard has just informed me, that a person, on whose veracity he can depend, has reported to him that on Sunday last, he counted a hundred and seventeen sail of ships going out of the Hook. You may depend upon being advised instantly of any further movement in the enemy's army or mine.

I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 330.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 200.

SAME to GENERAL LEE.

TRENTON, 3 December, 1776.

'DEAR SIR,—I was just now favored with your letter of the 30th ultimo. Having written to you fully both yesterday and to-day concerning my situation, it is unnecessary for me to add much at this time. You will readily agree, that I have sufficient cause for my anxiety, and for wishing your arrival as early as possible. In respect to instructions on your route, you must be governed by circumstances. This has been the language of all my letters, since I had occasion to call for your aid. The sooner you can join me with your division, the sooner the service will be benefited. As to bringing any of the troops under General Heath, I cannot consent to it. The posts they are at, and the passes through the Highlands, being of the utmost importance, they must be guarded by good men. I would have you give me frequent advices of your approach. Upon proper information in this instance much may depend.

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 200.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

TRENTON, 4 December, 1776.

'SIR,—Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, I received a letter from General Lee. On the 30th ultimo he was at Peekskill, and expected to pass the river with his division two days after. From this intelligence you will readily conclude, that he will not be able to afford us any aid for several days. \*

'The inclosed is a copy of a letter which came to hand last night from Major Clark, to which I beg leave to refer you for the intelligence it contains. The number of the enemy said to be embarked is supposed to be rather exaggerated. That there has been an embarkation, is not to be doubted, it being confirmed through various channels.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 331.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to RICHARD PETERS, Secretary to the Board of War.

HEAD-QUARTERS, TRENTON, 4 December, 1776.

‘SIR, — I yesterday received a letter from you without a date, mentioning that the prisoners from Yorktown were directed to halt at Newtown for my orders.\* On hearing they were there, I sent Colonel Moylan to conduct them and the prisoners from Reading, who arrived nearly at the same time, over towards Brunswick, and deliver them in.

‘I hope you have not sent Captain Price, Lieutenant Peacock, and Major Campbell, on to this place, as it is highly improper they should see and know the situation of our army here and at Princeton. \* \* \* \*

‘Lieutenant Symes came over to me at Brunswick from Bethlehem without the least guard or escort; and a lieutenant of the seventh regiment went through our whole army, and was at last discovered by a mere accident. He had a pass from the Council of Safety, and that was all. Such an irregular mode of suffering prisoners to go in alone must be put a stop to, or the enemy will be as well acquainted with our situation as we are ourselves. If they are left at liberty to choose their own route, they will always take that through our army, for reasons too obvious to mention.

‘I am, Sir, &c.’

‘I have been obliged to send down a number of our sick to Philadelphia, to make room for the troops, and to remove them out of the way. Be pleased to have some care taken to have them properly accommodated.’

*Ibid.* p. 332.

IN CONGRESS, *December 4, 1776.* ‘A letter, of the 3d, from General Washington, was read.

‘*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, to detain from marching with the militia, the printers engaged in printing certificates for the Continental Loan-Offices, and to direct them to continue executing the business in which they are employed.

*December 5.* ‘A letter, of the 4th, from General Washington, enclosing a copy of a letter from Major Clark, was read.

‘*Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, to procure the use of the Pennsylvania Hospital, for the purpose of accommodating the sick belonging to the Continental army.

‘Some inhabitants of New Jersey being sent under guard to Philadelphia, charged with the crime of enlisting men for General Howe, and some, of enlisting themselves in the service of the enemy,

\* Prisoners to be exchanged.



*'Resolved, That they be sent under guard to Frederick, in Maryland, there to be safely confined, and that, until they can be sent away, they be kept confined in the State Prison in Philadelphia.*

*'Resolved, That Captain Ottendorf be directed to raise an independent corps, consisting of 150 men, sergeants and corporals included.*

*'That the Board of War write to the General, and desire him to send Isaac Corren, of the artillery, to Philadelphia.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

TRENTON, 5 December, 1776.

*'SIR, — As nothing but necessity obliged me to retire before the enemy, and leave so much of the Jerseys unprotected, I conceive it my duty and it corresponds with my inclination, to make head against them so soon as there shall be the least probability of doing it with propriety. That the country might in some measure be covered, I left two brigades consisting of the five Virginia regiments and that of Delaware, containing in the whole about twelve hundred men fit for duty, under the command of Lord Stirling and General Stephen, at Princeton, till the baggage and stores could cross the Delaware, or the troops under their respective commands should be forced from thence. I shall now, having removed the greatest part of the above articles, face about with such troops as are here fit for service, and march back to Princeton, and there govern myself by circumstances and the movements of General Lee. At any event, the enemy's progress may be retarded by this means, if they intend to come on, and the people's fears in some measure quieted, if they should not. Sorry I am to observe, however, that the frequent calls upon the militia of this State, the want of exertion in the principal gentlemen of the country, or a fatal supineness and insensibility of danger till it is too late to prevent an evil that was *not only foreseen but foretold*, have been the causes of our late disgraces.*

*'If the militia of this State had stepped forth in season, (and timely notice they had,) we might have prevented the enemy's crossing the Hackinsac, although without some previous notice of the time and place, it was impossible to have done this at the North River. We might with equal probability of success have made a stand at Brunswick on the Raritan. But as both these rivers were fordable in a variety of places, being knee deep only, it required many men to defend the passes; and these we had not. At Hackinsac our force was insufficient, because a part was at Elizabethtown, Amboy and Brunswick, guarding a coast, which I thought most exposed to danger; and at Brunswick, because I was disappointed in my expectation of militia, and because, on the day of the enemy's approach, (and probably the occasion of it,) the*

term of the Jersey and Maryland brigades' service expired, neither of which would consent to stay an hour longer.

'These, among ten thousand other instances, might be adduced to show the disadvantages of short enlistments, and the little dependence upon the militia in times of real danger. But, as yesterday cannot be recalled, I will not dwell upon a subject, which no doubt has given much uneasiness to Congress, as well as extreme pain and anxiety to myself. *My first wish is, that Congress may be convinced* of the impropriety of relying upon the militia, and of the necessity of raising a larger standing army than what they have voted. The saving in the articles of stores, provisions, and in a thousand other things, by having nothing to do with militia, unless in cases of extraordinary exigency, and such as could not be expected in the common course of events, would support a large army, which, well officered, would be daily improving, instead of continuing a destructive, expensive, and disorderly mob. I am clear in the opinion, that if forty thousand men had been kept in constant pay since the first commencement of hostilities, and the militia had been excused from doing duty during that period, the Continent would have saved money. When I reflect upon the losses we have sustained for want of good troops, the certainty of this is placed beyond a doubt in my mind. In such a case, the militia, who have been harassed and tired by repeated calls upon them, and farming and manufactures in a manner suspended, would, upon any pressing emergency, have run with alacrity to arms; whereas, the cry now is, "they may as well be ruined in one way as another;" and with difficulty they are obtained. I mention these things to show, that, in my opinion, if any dependence is placed in the militia another year, Congress will be deceived. When danger is a little removed from them, they will not turn out at all. When it comes home to them, the well affected instead of flying to arms to defend themselves, are busily employed in removing their families and effects, whilst the disaffected are concerting measures to make their submission, and spread terror and dismay all around, to induce others to follow their example. Daily experience and abundant proofs warrant this information.

'I shall this day reinforce Lord Stirling with about twelve hundred men, which will make his number about two thousand four hundred. To-morrow I mean to repair to Princeton myself, and shall order the Pennsylvania troops, (who are not yet arrived, except part of the German battalion and a company of Light Infantry,) to the same place.

'By my last advices, the enemy are still at Brunswick; and the account adds that General Howe was expected at Elizabethtown with a reinforcement, to erect the King's standard, and demand a

submission of this State. I can only give this as a report brought from the enemy's camp by some of the country people.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 333.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 202.

SAME to the SAME.

TRENTON, 6 December, 1776.

'SIR, — I have not received any intelligence of the enemy's movements since my letter of yesterday. From every information they still remain at Brunswick, except some of their parties, which are advanced a small distance on this side. To-day I shall set out for Princeton myself, unless something should occur to prevent me which I do not expect. By a letter of the 14th ultimo from a Mr. Caldwell, a clergyman, and a staunch friend to the cause, who has fled from Elizabethtown, and taken refuge in the mountains about ten miles from hence, I am informed, that General or Lord Howe was expected in that town to publish pardon and peace. His words are, "I have not seen his proclamation, but can only say he gives sixty days of grace, and pardons from the Congress down to the Committee.\* No one man in the Continent is to be denied his mercy."

'In the language of this good man, "*The Lord deliver us from his mercy!*"

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 335.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 205.

SAME to the SAME.

MR. BERKELEY'S SUMMER SEAT, 8 December, 1776.

'SIR, — Colonel Reed would inform you of the intelligence which I first met with on the road from Trenton to Princeton yesterday. Before I got to the latter, I received a second express informing me, that, as the enemy were advancing by different routes, and attempting by one to get in the rear of our troops which were there, (and whose numbers were small, and the place by no means defensible,) they had judged it prudent to retreat to Trenton. The retreat was accordingly made, and since to this side of the river.

'This information I thought it my duty to communicate as soon as possible, as there is not a moment's time to be lost in assembling such a force as can be collected; and as the object of the enemy cannot now be doubted in the smallest degree. \* \* \*

'I have no certain intelligence of General Lee, although I have sent frequent expresses to him, and lately a Colonel Humpton, to bring me some accurate accounts of his situation. I last night despatched another gentleman to him, Major Hoops, desiring he would hasten his march to the Delaware, in which I would pro-

\* Lord and General Howe issued such a proclamation, which bore date Nov. 30.

vide boats near a place called Alexandria, for the transportation of his troops. I cannot account for the slowness of his march.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 336.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 206.

SAME to the SAME.

HEAD QUARTERS, TRENTON FALLS, 9 December, 1776.

'SIR, — I did myself the honor of writing to you yesterday, and informing you that I had removed the troops to this side of the Delaware. Soon after, the enemy made their appearance, and their van entered just as our rear guard quitted. We had removed all our stores, except a few boards. From the best information, they are in two bodies, one at and near Trenton, the other some miles higher up, and inclining towards Delaware; but whether with intent to cross there, or throw themselves between General Lee and me, is yet uncertain.

'I have this morning detached Lord Stirling with his brigade, to take post at the different landing places, and prevent them from stealing a march upon us from above; for I am informed, if they cross at Coryell's Ferry or thereabouts, they are as near to Philadelphia, as we are here. From several accounts I am led to think that the enemy are bringing boats with them; if so, it will be impossible for our small force to give them any considerable opposition in the passage of the river. Indeed, they may make a feint at one place, and, by a sudden removal, carry their boats higher or lower before we can bring our cannon to play upon them.

'Under these circumstances, the security of Philadelphia should be our next object. From my own remembrance, but more from information, for I never viewed the ground, I should think that a communication of lines and redoubts might soon be formed from the Delaware to the Schuylkill, on the north entrance of the city, the lines to begin on the Schuylkill side, about the heights of Springatebury, and run eastward to Delaware, upon the most advantageous and commanding grounds. If something of this kind is not done, the enemy might, in case any misfortune should befall us, march directly in, and take possession. We have ever found that lines, however slight, are very formidable to them; they would at least give a check till the people could recover from the fright and consternation, that naturally attend the first appearance of an enemy.

'In the mean time, every step should be taken to collect a force, not only from Pennsylvania, but from the neighboring States. If we can keep the enemy from entering Philadelphia, and keep the communication by water open for supplies, we may yet make a stand, if the country will come to our assistance till our new levies can be collected. If the measure of fortifying the city should be adopted, some skilful person should immediately view the grounds, and begin to trace out the lines and works. I am informed there

is a French engineer of eminence in Philadelphia at this time; if so, he will be the most proper. I have the honor to be, &c.'

'P. S. I have just received the enclosed from General Heath.

\* General Mifflin is this moment come up, and tells me that all the military stores yet remain in Philadelphia. This makes the immediate fortifying of the city so necessary, that I have desired General Mifflin to return to take charge of the stores, and have ordered Major-General Putnam immediately down to superintend the works and give the necessary directions.'

*Falls of Delaware*, 10 December. — 'By a letter received last night from General Lee, of the 8th instant, he was then at Morristown, where he entertained thoughts of establishing a post; but, on receiving my despatches by Major Hoops, I should suppose he would be convinced of the necessity of his proceeding this way with all the force he can bring.'

Lead. ed. vol. i. pp. 337, 339.

Wash. Writ.

#### SAME TO GENERAL LEE.

TRENTON FALLS, 10 December, 1776.

'DEAR SIR, — I last night received your favor by Colonel Hampton, and were it not for the weak and feeble state of the force I have, I should highly approve of your hanging on the rear of the enemy, and establishing the post you mention; but when my situation is directly the opposite of what you suppose it to be, and when General Howe is pressing forward with the whole of his army, (except the troops that were lately embarked, and a few besides left at New York,) to possess himself of Philadelphia, I cannot but request and entreat you, and this too by the advice of all the general officers with me, to march and join me with your whole force with all possible expedition. The utmost exertions that can be made, will not be more than sufficient to save Philadelphia. Without the aid of your force I think there is but little if any prospect of doing it. I refer you to the route, of which Major Hoops would inform you.

'The enemy are now extended along the Delaware at several places. \* \* \* Their object doubtless is to pass the river above us, or to prevent your joining me. I mention this, that you may avail yourself of the information. Do come on; your arrival may be fortunate, and, if it can be effected without delay, it may be the means of preserving a city, whose loss must prove of the most fatal consequence to the cause of America. Pray exert your influence, and bring with you all the Jersey militia you possibly can. Let them not suppose their State is lost, or in any danger, because the enemy are pushing through it. If you think General St. Clair, or General Maxwell, would be of service to command them, I would send either. I am, &c.'

*December 11th.* — 'Nothing less than our utmost exertions will

be sufficient to prevent General Howe from possessing Philadelphia. 'The force I have is weak and entirely incompetent to that end. I must, therefore, entreat you to push on with every possible succor you can bring.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 208, 209.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, FALLS OF DELAWARE, 11 December, 1776.

'SIR, — After I had written you yesterday, I received certain information that the enemy, after repairing Crosswicks bridge, had advanced a party of about five hundred to Bordentown. By their taking this route, it confirms me in my opinion, that they have an intention to land between this and Philadelphia, as well as above, if they can procure boats for that purpose.

'I last night directed Commodore Seymour to station all his galleys between Bordentown and Philadelphia, to give the earliest intelligence of any appearance of the enemy on the Jersey shore.

\* \* \* They had made a forced march from Trenton on Sunday night, to Coryell's Ferry, in hopes of surprising a sufficient number of boats to transport them; but, finding themselves disappointed, had marched back to Pennytown, where they remained yesterday. From their several attempts to seize boats, it does not look as if they had brought any with them, as I was at one time informed. I last night sent a person over to Trenton, to learn whether there was any appearance of building any; but he could not perceive any preparations for a work of that kind; so that I am in hopes, if proper care is taken to keep all the craft out of their way, they will find the crossing Delaware a matter of considerable difficulty.

'I received another letter from General Lee last evening. It was dated at Chatham, (which I take to be near Morristown,) the 8th of this month. He had then received my letter sent by Major Hoops, but seemed still inclined to hang upon the enemy's rear, to which I should have no objection, had I a sufficient force to oppose them in front; but as I have not at present, nor do I see much probability of further reinforcement, I have written to him in the most pressing terms, to join me with all expedition.

'Major Sheldon, who commands the volunteer Horse from Connecticut, waits upon Congress, to establish some mode of pay. I can only say that the service of himself and his troop has been such as merits the warmest thanks of the public, and deserves a handsome compensation for their trouble. \* \* \*

From the experience I have had, this campaign, of the utility of Horse, I am convinced there is no carrying on the war without them; and I would, therefore, recommend the establishment of one or more corps. \* \* \*

If Major Sheldon would undertake the command of a regiment of Horse on the Continental establish-



ment, I believe he could very soon raise them; and I can recommend him as a man of activity and spirit, from what I have seen of him. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 340.

Wash. Writ.

IN CONGRESS, *December 6, 1776.* — 'A letter of the 5th, from General Washington, and one, of the 27th of November, from General Gates, at Albany, with a paper enclosed sent from the commanding officer at St. Johns, were read.

*December 7.* 'A letter of the 6th, from General Washington, at Trenton, and one, of the 21st to 25th November, from General Schuyler, at Saratoga, with sundry papers enclosed, were read:

'*Ordered*, That they be referred to the Board of War.

'*Resolved*, That the Board of War be empowered and directed to exchange such of the Canadians as they shall think proper.

'*Ordered*, That the President write to the four New England governments, and request them to use their utmost influence in raising their respective quotas of troops, and to hasten their march, with all possible diligence, to the places appointed for their rendezvous, by General Schuyler.

'*Resolved*, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be desired to suspend the farther execution of the request made to them on the 2d instant, to procure one thousand wagons:

'That the wagons procured, in consequence of the said request, be sent to the Quartermaster-General.

'*Resolved*, That Mr. Mease be directed to return to Mr. Levy the goods he had from him, and receive back the money advanced on that account; the said goods being sent for by the State of New York, on whose account, and by whose order, they were purchased.' \*

*December 9.* 'A letter of the 8th, from General Washington, one, of the 23d November, from General Ward, enclosing one of the 9th of the same month from General Gates, \* \* were read.

'*Resolved*, That Mr. Risberg, the Assistant Quartermaster in Philadelphia, be directed to send by water to Christiana Bridge, the military stores sent from the army, and that they be safely lodged there till farther orders.

'*Resolved*, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to give the Continental officers, and all others, employed in removing the public stores from Philadelphia, whether by land or water, all the assistance in their power.

'*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of America, and a recommendation

\* The references of this Resolve and the two preceding it, may be found in the last three, December 2, p. 343.

to the several States to appoint a day of Fasting, humiliation, and prayer.

• *Resolved*, That in case this Congress shall be under the necessity of removing from Philadelphia, it shall be adjourned to Baltimore.

• *Whereas* General Washington hath repeatedly applied, and hath yesterday renewed his application, for an immediate reinforcement for the defence of Philadelphia, and the State of Pennsylvania :

*Resolved*, That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested, this day, to send expresses, that can be relied on, to the several counties, earnestly requesting that they march what troops they can collect, armed and provided in the best manner possible, to the army under the command of General Washington.

*Resolved*, That expresses be immediately sent to the Committees of the counties of Cœcil, Baltimore, Hartford, and Frederick, in Maryland, requesting that they apply, without delay, to the militia of their respective counties, and send forward, immediately, for the defence of the city of Philadelphia, and the reinforcement of General Washington's army, as many troops as possible, informing the said Committees that some assistance, in the way of arms, may be furnished here, to such as have no arms to bring with them :

*That* an express be sent to the Council of Safety of Delaware, requesting them to send forward, immediately, for the purpose aforesaid, as many troops as possible, giving them the like information with respect to arms.

*Resolved*, That the Board of War be directed to take care of the arms belonging to the Continent, and have them properly secured.

*December 10.* *A letter*, of the 8th, from General Lee, at Morristown ; one, of the 9th, from General Washington, with a letter, of the 6th, from General Heath, were read :

*Resolved*, That the prisoners sent from the State of New Jersey by General Washington, and ordered to Fredericktown, in Maryland, be conveyed there by Captain Mountjoy Baily, with a guard of eighteen soldiers.

*Resolved*, That General Mifflin be directed to repair immediately to the neighboring counties, and, by all the means in his power, rouse and bring them in, to the defence of Philadelphia.

*As the Congress deem it of great importance to the general good and safety*, that General Mifflin should make a progress through the several counties of the State of Pennsylvania, to rouse the freemen thereof, to the immediate defence of this city and county,

*Resolved*, That the Assembly be requested to appoint a com-

mittee of their body, to make the said tour with General Mifflin, in order to assist him in this good and necessary work.

*'Resolved, That Major-General Putnam be directed to have the several recruits, and other Continental troops in Philadelphia, immediately paraded, and that he proceed, without delay, to make the proper defences for the protection and security of this city:*

*'That the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be requested to give Major-General Putnam all the assistance in their power, for the execution of the above necessary business, by calling forth the inhabitants, and by any other means in their judgment proper.*

*'The Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the inhabitants of America, brought in a draught, which was read; and, being debated by paragraphs, was agreed to.*

*'Ordered, That the said Committee have it published and dispersed.*

*'Resolved, That the President write to General Washington, and desire him to send a party to watch the roads leading from New Jersey to Philadelphia, above Trenton, and give Congress the earliest notice of the enemy's motions.*

*'Resolved, That two of the Continental battalions, now raising in Connecticut, be stationed for the defence of the said State, in such parts thereof, as Governor Trumbull shall judge most conducive to the purpose, till Congress shall order otherwise.*

December 11. *'The Committee appointed to prepare a Resolution for appointing a day of Fasting and humiliation, brought in a Report, which was read and agreed to.*

*'A letter, of the 10th, from General Washington, at the Falls of Delaware, was read;*

*'Resolved, That General Putnam be directed to order parties of active, spirited men, with proper guides, to cross from Philadelphia to New Jersey; and, under the conduct of good officers, to act as harassing parties, and get the best intelligence of the motions and situation of the enemy, directing them to send frequent daily intelligence through him to Congress, of the discoveries they shall be able to make, of the enemy's movements and situation.*

*'Whereas a false and malicious report has been spread by the enemies of America, that the Congress was about to disperse;*

*'Resolved, That General Washington be desired to contradict the said scandalous report, this Congress having a better opinion of the spirit and vigor of the army, and of the good people of these States, than to suppose it can be necessary to disperse; nor will they adjourn from the city of Philadelphia in the present state of affairs, unless the last necessity shall direct it.'*

This last Resolve, with its preamble, may be found in Sparks's *Washington*, vol. iv. p. 210. *Note.* The General's views respecting it, were pretty plainly expressed in the first paragraph of the following letter.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

TRENTON FALLS, 12 December, 1776.

'SIR, — I last night received the favor of Mr. Thompson's \* letter, enclosing the Proceedings of Congress of the 11th instant. As the publication of their Resolve, in my opinion, will not lead to any good end, but, on the contrary, may be attended with some bad consequences, I shall take the liberty to decline inserting it in this day's orders. I am persuaded, if the subject is taken up and reconsidered, that Congress will concur with me in sentiment. I doubt not but there are some who have propagated the report; but what if they have? Their remaining in or leaving Philadelphia, must be governed by circumstances and events. If their departure should become necessary, it will be right; on the other hand, if there should not be a necessity for it, they will remain; and their continuance will show the report to be the production of calumny and falsehood. In a word, Sir, I conceive it a matter that may be as well disregarded; and that *the removal or staying of Congress, depending entirely upon events, should not have been the subject of a Resolve.*

'The intelligence we obtain respecting the movements and situation of the enemy is far from being so certain and satisfactory as I could wish, though every probable means in my power, and that I can devise, are adopted for the purpose. The latest I have received, was from Lord Stirling last night. \* \* \* Upon the whole, there can be no doubt but that Philadelphia is their object, and that they will pass the Delaware as soon as possible. Happy should I be if I could see the means of preventing them; at present, I confess, I do not. All military writers agree that it is a work of great difficulty, nay impracticable, where there is any extent of coast to guard. This is the case with us; and we have to do it with a force, small and inconsiderable, and much inferior to that of the enemy. Perhaps Congress have some hope and prospect of reinforcements; I have no intelligence of the sort, and wish to be informed on the subject. Our little handful is daily decreasing by sickness and other causes; and without aid, without considerable succors and exertions on the part of the people, what can we reasonably look for or expect, but an event that will be severely felt by the common cause, and that will wound the heart of every virtuous American, — the loss of Philadelphia? The subject is disagreeable; but yet it is true. I will leave it, wishing that our situation may become such as to do away the apprehensions which at this time seem to fill the minds of too many, and *with too much justice.*'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 341.

Wash. Writ.

\* The Secretary of Congress.

IN CONGRESS, *December 12.* — ‘ A letter, of the 11th, from General Washington, was read :

‘ *Ordered*, That it be referred to the Board of War.

‘ *Resolved*, That the two companies raised in the town of Westmoreland, be ordered to join General Washington, with all possible expedition.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Continental Apothecary be directed immediately to pack up all the Continental medicines, and send them to the Quartermaster-General :

‘ That the Quartermaster-General be directed to remove all the medicines belonging to the Continent in Philadelphia, to a place of security :

‘ That the frigate Randolph be put under the direction of the Continental General commanding in Philadelphia, to act as he shall direct, for the defence of this city, and preventing the enemy from passing the Delaware :

‘ *Resolved*, That Elisha Sheldon be appointed Lieutenant-Colonel commandant of a regiment of Cavalry on the Continental establishment, with the rank and pay of a colonel of Foot ; and that General Washington be authorized to appoint the other officers to the said regiment ; and that the Colonel, with his officers, proceed, without delay, to raise and discipline the said regiment ; and that they repair to and join the army under the command of General Washington, by companies, as soon as each company shall be complete : \*

‘ That General Washington be empowered to advance to Colonel Sheldon such sums of money as may be necessary for the service.

‘ *Resolved*, That the Continental General commanding in Philadelphia, be directed to defend the same to the utmost extremity, against the attempts of the enemy to get possession of it ; and that, for this end, he apply, from time to time, to the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania for their aid and assistance.

‘ *Resolved*, That Mr. Robert Morris be empowered to borrow a sum, not exceeding 10,000 dollars, for the use of the Marine Committee ; and Congress will indemnify him.

‘ *Resolved*, That the arms, ammunition, and clothing, in or near the city of Philadelphia, be put under the direction of General Putnam ; and that Mr. J. Mease and all other persons, having Continental stores in care, make immediate return of the same to General Putnam, of the quantities and kinds of each, and where the same are placed, that the General may take order therein, either for safety or use, as he shall judge proper.

‘ *Resolved*, That General Putnam be authorized to employ all the *private* armed vessels in this harbor, for the defence and secu-

\* See the closing paragraph of the General's letter, Dec. 11, p. 353.

city of the city; and that he take the most effectual measures for manning them, and putting them in fit condition for the above purpose.

'*Ordered*, That Mr. Wilson inform the Assembly and Council of Pennsylvania of the proposed adjournment of Congress, and the place to which they have resolved to adjourn; and acquaint them, that Congress will, at all times, on their application, be ready to comply with their requisitions for the security of this city and State against the common enemy.

'Whereas the movements of the enemy have now rendered the neighborhood of this city the seat of war, which will prevent that quiet and uninterrupted attention to the public business, which should ever prevail in the great Continental Council:

'*Resolved*, That this Congress be, for the present, adjourned to the town of Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, to meet on the 20th instant, unless a sufficient number to make a Congress shall be there sooner assembled;\* and that, until the Congress shall otherwise order, *General Washington be possessed of full power to order and direct all things relative to the department, and to the operations of war*; and that the several matters to this day referred, be postponed to the day to which Congress is adjourned.'

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, TRENTON FALLS, 13 December, 1776.

'Notwithstanding the extended appearances of the enemy on the other side, made, at least in part, to divert our attention from any particular point as well as to harass us by fatigue, I cannot divest myself of the opinion that their principal design is to ford the river somewhere above Trenton; to which design I have had particular respect in the new arrangement, wherein I am so far happy as to have the concurrence of the general officers at this place. \* \* \* I have ordered small redoubts to be thrown up opposite every place where there is a possibility of fording. I shall remove further up the river to be near the main body of my small army, with which every possible opposition shall be given to any further approach of the enemy towards Philadelphia.

'As General Armstrong has a good deal of influence in this State, and our present force is small and inconsiderable, I think he cannot be better employed than to repair to the counties where his interest lies, to animate the people, promote the recruiting service, and encourage the militia to come in. He will also be able to form a proper judgment of the places suitable for magazines of provision to be collected. I have requested him to wait

\* In connection with this, see their Resolves relating to an adjournment, Dec. 9, 11, pp. 355, 356.



upon Congress on this subject; and if General Smallwood should go to Maryland on the same business, I think it would have a happy effect; he is popular and of great influence, and I am persuaded, would contribute greatly to that State's furnishing her quota of men in a little time. He is now in Philadelphia.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 344.

Wash. Writ.

SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

HEAD-QUARTERS, AT KEITH'S, 14 December, 1776.

'DEAR SIR,— Before this comes to hand, you will have heard of the melancholy situation of our affairs. I do not mean now to detail our misfortunes. With a handful of men, compared to the enemy's force, we have been pushed through the Jerseys, without being able to make the smallest opposition, and compelled to pass the Delaware. General Howe is now on the other side, and beyond all question means, if possible, to possess himself of Philadelphia. His troops are extended from Pennington to Burlington; the main body, from the best advices, at the former, and within the neighborhood of Trenton. I wish it were in my power to tell you, that appearances were much against him; at present I confess they are not. But few of the militia of this State have yet come out, except those belonging to the city, nor have I any great hope of their assistance, unless we can collect a respectable force; in such case, perhaps, they will turn out and afford their aid. I have heard that you are coming on with seven regiments. This may have a happy effect, and let me entreat you not to delay a moment in hastening to Pittstown. You will advise me of your approaches, and of the time you expect to be there, that I may meet you with an express, and inform you of your destination, and such further movements as may be necessary.

'I expect General Lee will be there this evening or to-morrow, who will be followed by General Heath and his division. If we can draw our forces together, I trust, under the smiles of Providence, we may yet effect an important stroke, or at least prevent General Howe from executing his plans. Philadelphia is now the object of our care; you know the importance of it, and the fatal consequences, that must attend its loss. I am persuaded no aid, which you can give, will be withheld a single instant; your arrival may be a most happy circumstance. The Congress have adjourned to Baltimore, but previously resolved that Philadelphia should be defended to the last extremity. Lord Stirling is going over to meet General Lee, and concert with him a plan of operations. I wish you could be there, and would advise you not to wait the slow march of your troops.

'I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 215.

## SAME TO GENERAL SPENCER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 14 December, 1776.

‘SIR, — I have just received advices from Governor Trumbull, that a large fleet of the enemy’s ships-of-war and transports\* were lying off New London, with an intent to make a descent on some part of New England. He desired me to send some general officers to take the command of the militia, who are assembling to make the best opposition in their power. I must therefore request that you will immediately repair to New England, and take the command at such place as you may find your presence most necessary. I have ordered General Arnold upon the same service, and beg you may coöperate with him in such measures, as will be most conducive to the public good.’

Ibid. p. 218.

## SAME TO GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, 14 December, 1776.

‘SIR, — I was last night favored with yours of the 6th instant. In a letter which I did myself the pleasure to write to you two days ago, I gave you a full account of my present situation, and of the occurrences, which have happened since I left the neighborhood of Fort Lee. The want of the means of transportation has hitherto hindered the enemy from making any attempt to cross the Delaware; and, I hope, unless the course of the season entirely changes, that the weather will soon prevent their making use of boats, if they should build them.

‘Your situation at the eastward is alarming; and I wish it were in my power to afford you that assistance which is requisite. You must be sensible, that it is impossible for me to detach any part of my small army, when I have an enemy far superior in numbers to oppose. \* \* \* General Lee’s division is so necessary to support this part of the army, that without its assistance, we must inevitably be overpowered and Philadelphia lost. I have ordered General Arnold, who was on his way down from Ticonderoga, immediately to repair to New London, or wherever his presence will be most necessary. The troops, who came down with him and General Gates, are already, from the advices I have received, so far advanced towards this army, that to countermand them now, would be losing the small remainder of their services entirely, as the time of their enlistment would expire before they could possibly reach you; whereas, by coming on they may, in conjunction with my present force, and that under General Lee, enable us to attempt a stroke upon the forces of the enemy, who lie a good deal scattered, and to all appearance in a state of secu-

\* The British detachment that took possession of Rhode Island, about the time General Washington with his army crossed the Delaware.

city. A lucky blow in this quarter would be fatal to them, and would most certainly rouse the spirits of the people, which are quite sunk by our late misfortunes.

‘In the interval between the dissolution of the old and the enlistment of the new army, we must put our dependence on the public spirit and virtue of the people, who, I am sorry to say, have manifested but too small a regard to their rights and liberties in the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the citizens of Philadelphia excepted. But I hope such a spirit still exists among your people, as will convince the bold invaders, that, although they may by a superior naval force take possession of your seaport towns, yet, that they cannot penetrate and overrun your country with impunity. I have the honor to be,

‘With great respect and esteem, Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 219.

SAME TO GENERAL LEE.

HEAD-QUARTERS, AT KEITH'S, 14 December, 1776.

‘DEAR SIR, — I last night received your letter of the 11th instant, by Major Dehart. I am much surprised, that you should be in any doubt respecting the route you should take, after the information you have had upon that head, as well by letter, as from Major Hoops, who was despatched for that purpose. A large number of boats was procured, and is still retained at Tinicum, under a strong guard, to facilitate your passage across the Delaware. I have so frequently mentioned our situation, and the necessity of your aid, that it is painful to me to add a word upon the subject. Let me once more request and entreat you to march immediately for Pittstown, which lies on the route that has been pointed out, and is about eleven miles from Tinicum Ferry. That is more on the flank of the enemy, than where you now are. Advise me of the time you will arrive there, that a letter may be sent to you about your further destination, and such other movements as may be necessary. \* \* \* Part of the enemy have advanced as far as Burlington, and their main body, from the best information, is in the neighborhood of Trenton and at Pennington. The Congress have adjourned from Philadelphia to meet at Baltimore, on the 20th instant, and, sensible of the importance of the former city, have directed it to be defended to the utmost extremity. The fatal consequences that must attend its loss are but too obvious to every one. Your arrival may be the means of saving it. Nothing but a respectable force, I am certain from melancholy experience, can induce the militia to come in and give their aid.’

Ibid. p. 221.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, AT KEITH'S, 15 December, 1776.

' SIR, — About one o'clock to-day, I received a letter from General Sullivan, a copy of which you have enclosed. I will not comment on the melancholy intelligence which it contains, only adding that I sincerely regret General Lee's unhappy fate, and feel much for the loss of my country in his captivity.

' In respect to the enemy, they have been industrious in their attempts to procure boats and small craft; but as yet their efforts have not succeeded. \* \* \* \*

' Our force, since my last, has received no augmentation; of course, by sickness and other causes, has diminished. But I am advised by a letter from the Council of Safety, which just came to hand, that Colonels Bird and Gilbreath are marching with their battalions of militia, and also that some small parties are assembling in Cumberland county. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 345.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, 15 December, 1776.

' GENTLEMEN, — With the utmost regret, I must inform you of the loss our army has sustained by the captivity of General Lee, who was made a prisoner on the morning of the 13th by a party of the enemy's light-horse, near a place called Vealtown, in the Jerseys. For the particulars, I refer you to the enclosed, from General Sullivan.

' The spirit of disaffection, which appears in this country, I think deserves your serious attention. Instead of giving any assistance in repelling the enemy, the militia have not only refused to obey your general summons and that of their commanding officers, but, I am told, exult at the approach of the enemy, and on our late misfortunes. I beg leave, therefore, to submit to your consideration, whether such people are to be trusted with arms in their hands. If they will not use them for us, there is the greatest reason to apprehend they will against us, if opportunity should offer. But, even supposing they claimed the right of remaining neuter, in my opinion we ought not to hesitate a moment in taking their arms, which will be so much wanted in furnishing the new levies. If such a step meet your approbation, I leave to you to determine upon the mode. If you think fit to empower me, I will undertake to have it done as speedily and effectually as possible. You must be sensible, that the utmost secrecy is necessary, both in your deliberations on, and in the execution of, a matter of this kind; for, if the thing should take wind, the arms would presently be conveyed beyond our reach, or rendered useless. \* \* \*

' I have received information, that the body of the enemy, which

lay at Pennington under Lord Cornwallis, moved this morning back towards Princeton. \* \* \* The troops, who lay at Trenton, are likewise filing off towards Allentown and Bordentown, with their baggage, which makes me conjecture they are taking the road to South Amboy. I have a number of small parties out to make discoveries. \* \* \* In the mean time, my troops are so stationed, as to prevent them from crossing the river at any place without our knowledge. But I am in great hopes, that the disappointment in boats and the lateness of the season, which now begins to put on the face of winter, will prevent their making any attempt on Philadelphia till spring. This, however, should not in the least slacken your exertions in making the necessary preparations for the fortification and defence of the city by land and water; for you may be assured that will be their first and great object in the spring.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 223.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, AT KEITH'S, 16 December, 1776.

‘SIR,—In a late letter which I had the honor of addressing you, I took the liberty to recommend that more battalions should be raised for the new army than what had been voted. Having fully considered the matter, I am more and more convinced, not only of the propriety but of the necessity of the measure. That the enemy will leave nothing unessayed in the course of the next campaign to reduce these States to the rule of a most lawless and insufferable tyranny, must be obvious to every one; and that the militia is not to be depended on, or aid expected from them but in cases of the most pressing emergency, is not to be doubted. The first of these propositions is unquestionable, and fatal experience has given her sanction to the truth of the latter. Indeed, their lethargy of late, and backwardness to turn out at this alarming crisis, seem to justify an apprehension that nothing can bring them from their homes. For want of their assistance, a large part of Jersey has been exposed to ravage and to plunder; nor do I know that Pennsylvania would share a better fate, could General Howe effect a passage across the Delaware with a respectable force. These considerations have induced me to wish, that no reliance, except such as may arise from necessity, should ever be had in them again; and to make further mention to Congress of the expediency of increasing their army. I trust the measure will meet their earliest attention.

‘Had I leisure, and were it necessary, I could say much upon this head; but, as I have not, and the matter is well understood, I will not add much. By augmenting the number of your battalions, you will augment your force; the officers of each will have

their interest and influence ; and, upon the whole, their numbers will be much greater, though they should not be complete. Added to this, from the present confused state of Jersey, and the improper appointment of officers in many instances, I have little or no expectation that she will be able to raise all the troops exacted of her, though I think it might be done, were suitable, spirited gentlemen commissioned, who would exert themselves, and encourage the people, many of whom (from a failure in this instance, and who are well disposed,) are making their submission. In a word, the next will be a trying campaign ; and, as all that is dear and valuable may depend upon the issue of it, I would advise that nothing should be omitted, that shall seem necessary to our success. Let us have a respectable army, and such as will be competent to every exigency.

‘ I will also add, that the critical situation of our affairs, and the dissolution of our present force, (now at hand,) require that every nerve and exertion be employed for recruiting the new battalions. One part of General Howe’s movements at this time, I believe, is with a design to distract us and prevent this business. If the inclemency of the weather should force him into winter-quarters, he will not remain there longer than necessity shall oblige him ; he will commence his operations in a short space of time ; and in that time our levies must be made up, to oppose him, or I fear the most melancholy of all events must take place.

‘ The enclosed extract of a letter from the Commissary-General will show his demands for money, and his plans for procuring salted provisions, and a quantity of flour from the Southward. The whole is submitted to the consideration of Congress ; and I wish the result of their opinion to be transmitted him, with such supplies of money as may be necessary for himself and the departments he mentions.

‘ The clothing of the troops is a matter of infinite importance, and, if it could be accomplished, would have a happy effect. Their distresses are extremely great, many of them being entirely naked, and most so thinly clad as to be unfit for service. I must entreat Congress to write to the agents and contractors upon this subject, that every possible supply may be procured and forwarded with the utmost expedition. I cannot attend to the business myself, *having more than I can possibly do besides.*

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. p. 346.

Wash. Writ.

SAME TO JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

CAMP, NEAR THE FALLS OF TRENTON, 18 December, 1776.

‘ DEAR BROTHER, — Owing to the number of letters I write, the recollection of any particular one is effaced ; but I think my last to you was from Hackinsac, by Colonel Woodford. Since that time, and a little before, our affairs have taken an adverse turn, *but not*



*more than was to be expected from the unfortunate measures* which had been adopted for the establishment of our army. The retreat of the enemy from White Plains led me to think, that they would turn their thoughts to the Jerseys, if not farther, and induced me to cross the North River with some of the troops, in order if possible to oppose them. I expected to meet at least five thousand men of the Flying Camp and militia; instead of which I found less than half of that number, and no disposition in the inhabitants to afford the least aid. This being perfectly well known to the enemy, they threw over a large body of troops, which pushed us from place to place, till we were obliged to cross the Delaware with less than three thousand men fit for duty, owing to the dissolution of our force by short enlistments; the enemy's numbers, from the best accounts, exceeding ten or twelve thousand men.

‘ Before I removed to the south side of the river, I had all the boats and other vessels brought over, or destroyed, from Philadelphia upwards of seventy miles; and, by guarding the fords, I have, as yet, baffled all their attempts to cross. But, from some late movements of theirs, I am in doubt whether they are moving off for winter-quarters, or making a feint to throw us off our guard. Since I came on this side, I have been joined by about two thousand of the city militia, and I understand, that some of the country militia, from the back counties, are on their way; but we are in a very disaffected part of the Province, and, between you and me, I think our affairs are in a very bad condition. \* \* \*

‘ I have no doubt but General Howe will still make an attempt upon Philadelphia this winter. I foresee nothing to oppose him a fortnight hence, as the time of all the troops, except those of Virginia, now reduced almost to nothing, and Smallwood's regiment of Marylanders, equally as low, will expire before the end of that time. In a word, my dear Sir, if every nerve is not strained to recruit the new army with all possible expedition, I think the game is pretty nearly up, owing, in a great measure, to the insidious arts of the enemy, \* \* \* but principally to the ruinous policy of short enlistments, and placing too great a dependence on the militia, *the evil consequences of which were foretold fifteen months ago, with a spirit almost prophetic.* Before you receive this letter, you will undoubtedly have heard of the captivity of General Lee. This is an additional misfortune, and the more vexatious, as it was by his own folly and imprudence, and without a view to effect any good, that he was taken. As he went to lodge three miles out of his own camp, and within twenty of the enemy, a rascally Tory rode in the night to give notice of it to the enemy, who sent a party of light-horse that seized him, and carried him off, with every mark of triumph and indignity.

‘ You can form no idea of the perplexity of my situation. No man, I believe, ever had a greater choice of difficulties, and less means to extricate himself from them. However, under a full

persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea, that it will finally sink, though it may remain for some time under a cloud.

‘ My love and sincere regards attend my sister and the family, with compliments to all inquiring friends. With every sentiment of friendship, as well as love, I am your most affectionate brother.’

Wash., Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 229.

SAME TO GENERAL HEATH.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, 18 December, 1776.

‘ DEAR SIR, — By a letter just received from the State of Massachusetts, I find that they had ordered six thousand militia to be immediately raised, and appointed the place of rendezvous at Danbury in Connecticut, where they are to meet General Lincoln, who is to take the command. You will perceive from the tenor of the letter, that the appearance of the men-of-war and transports off the coast of New England, did not seem to alter their intention of sending the militia forward. \* \* \* If this considerable reinforcement should arrive with you, I do not know how you could better employ them, or render more essential service to the cause, than, after keeping a sufficient force to guard the passes of the Highlands, by throwing such a number over into Jersey, as would cover the upper parts of that Province, and afford such support and assistance to the well affected, as would encourage them to join you and keep the enemy within straiter bounds than they are at present.

‘ You may depend, that the great end they have in view is, to spread themselves over as much country as they possibly can, and thereby strike a damp into the spirits of the people, which will effectually put a stop to the new enlistment of the army, *on which all our hopes depend.* \* \* \*

As soon as you find yourself in a situation to send a force into the upper parts of Jersey, I would have you immediately communicate your intentions to the people, with assurances that you will be ready to back and support them in any movements which they may make in your favor. I am certain, that the *defection* of the people in the lower part of Jersey has been as much *owing to the want of an army to look the enemy in the face*, as to any other cause. \* \* \*

‘ Whatever steps you take in this affair, I would wish you to consult and coöperate with General Lincoln, of whose judgment and abilities I entertain a very high opinion. \* \* \*

\* I enclose to you a letter for General Lincoln, which please to forward to him wherever he may be.

‘ I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.’

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 227.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR TRENTON FALLS, 20 December, 1776.

‘SIR, — I have waited with much impatience to know the determination of Congress on the propositions, made some time in October last, for augmenting our corps of artillery, and establishing a corps of engineers. The time is now come, when the first cannot be delayed without the greatest injury to the safety of these States; and therefore, under the Resolution of Congress bearing date the 12th instant,\* at the repeated instances of Colonel Knox, and by the pressing advice of all the general officers now here, I have ventured to order three battalions of artillery to be immediately recruited. These are two less than Colonel Knox recommends, as you will see by his plan enclosed; but then this scheme comprehends all the United States, whereas some of the States have corps already established, and these three battalions are indispensably necessary for the operations in this quarter, including the Northern Department.

‘The pay of our artillerists bearing no proportion to that in the English or French service, the murmuring and dissatisfaction thereby occasioned, the absolute impossibility, as I am told, of getting them upon the old terms, and the unavoidable necessity of obtaining them at all events, have induced me, also by advice, to promise officers and men, that their pay shall be augmented twenty-five per cent., or that their engagement shall become null and void. This may appear to Congress premature and unwarrantable. But, Sir, *if they view our situation in the light it strikes their officers*, they will be convinced of the utility of the measure, and that the execution could not be delayed till after their meeting at Baltimore. In short, the present exigency of our affairs will not admit of delay, either in council or the field; for well convinced I am, that, if the enemy go into quarters at all, it will be for a short season. But I rather think the design of General Howe is to possess himself of Philadelphia this winter, if possible; and in truth I do not see what is to prevent him, as ten days more will put an end to the existence of our army. That *one great point* is to keep us as much harassed as possible, with a view to injure the recruiting service and hinder a collection of stores and other necessaries for the next campaign, *I am as clear in, as I am of my existence*. If, therefore, in the short interval in which we have to provide for and make these great and arduous preparations, every matter that in its nature is self-evident is to be referred to Congress, at the distance of a hundred and thirty or forty miles, so much time must necessarily elapse, as to defeat the end in view.

‘*It may be said that this is an application for powers that are too dangerous to be entrusted. I can only add, that desperate diseases*

\* The last Resolution passed on that day, p. 361.

*require desperate remedies ; and I with truth declare, that I have no lust after power, but I wish, with as much fervency as any man upon this wide-extended Continent, for an opportunity of turning the sword into the ploughshare. But my feelings, as an officer and a man, have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have. It is needless to add, that short enlistments, and a mistaken dependence on militia, have been the origin of all our misfortunes, and the great accumulation of our debt. We find, Sir, that the enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snow-ball by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check effectually the progress of the enemy's arms. Militia may possibly do it for a little while ; but in a little while, also, and the militia of those States, which have been frequently called upon, will not turn out at all ; or, if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey ! Witness Pennsylvania ! Could any thing but the river Delaware have saved Philadelphia ? Can any thing (the exigency of the case indeed may justify it) be more destructive to the recruiting service, than giving ten dollars' bounty for six weeks' service of the militia, who come in, you cannot tell how, — go, you cannot tell when, — and act, you cannot tell where, — consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment ?*

*'These, Sir, are the men I am to depend upon, ten days hence ; this is the basis on which your cause will and must for ever depend, till you get a large standing army sufficient of itself to oppose the enemy. I therefore beg leave to give it as my humble opinion, that eighty-eight battalions are by no means equal to the opposition you are to make, and that a moment's time is not to be lost in raising a greater number ; not less, in my opinion and the opinion of my officers, than a hundred and ten. It may be urged, that it will be found difficult enough to complete the first number. This may be true, and yet the officers of a hundred and ten battalions will recruit many more men than those of eighty-eight. In my judgment this is not a time to stand upon expense ; our funds are not the only object of consideration. The State of New York have added one battalion (I wish they had made it two) to their quota. If any good officers will offer to raise men upon Continental pay and establishment in this quarter, I shall encourage them to do so, and regiment them when they have done it. If Congress disapprove of this proceeding, they will please to signify it, as I mean it for the best. It may be thought that I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty, to adopt these measures, or to advise thus freely. A character to lose, — an estate to forfeit, — the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake, — and a life devoted, — must be my excuse.*

‘I have heard nothing of the light-horse from Virginia, nor of the regiment from the Eastern Shore. I wish to know what troops are to act in the different Departments, and to have those from the Southward, designed for this place, ordered on as fast as they shall be raised. \* \* \* Unless this is immediately set about, the campaign, if it should be closed, will be opened in the spring before we have any men in the field. Every exertion should be used to procure tents; a Clothier-General should be appointed without loss of time for supplying the army with every article in that way; he should be a man of business and abilities. *A Commissary of Prisoners must be appointed* to attend the army: for want of an officer of this kind, the exchange of prisoners has been conducted in a most shameful and injurious manner.\* We have had them from all quarters pushed into our camps at the most critical junctures, and without the least previous notice. We have had them travelling through the different States in all directions by certificates from Committees, without any kind of control; and have had instances of some going into the enemy’s camp, without my privity or knowledge, after passing in the manner before mentioned.

‘There may be other officers necessary, whom I do not recollect at this time, and who, when thought of, *must be provided*; for this, Sir, you may rely on, that *the commanding officer*, under the present establishment, *is obliged to attend to the business of so many different departments*, as to render it impossible to conduct that of his own with the attention necessary; than which nothing can be more injurious.

‘In a former letter, I intimated my opinion of the necessity of having a brigadier for every three regiments, and a major-general to every three brigades, at most. I think no time is to be lost in making the appointments, that the arrangements may be consequent. This will not only aid the recruiting service, but will be the readiest means of forming and disciplining the army afterwards; which, in the short time we have to do it, is of amazing consequence.

‘*I have labored, ever since I have been in the service, to discourage all kinds of local attachments and distinctions of country, denominating the whole by the greater name of AMERICAN. But, I have found it impossible to overcome prejudices; and, under the new establishment, I conceive it best to stir up an emulation; in order to do which, would it not be better for each State to furnish, though*

\* It is perhaps recollected, that an appointment of this kind was somewhat earnestly recommended, Nov. 8, 1775. The reader may be enabled sufficiently to perceive and compare the course recommended by the General, and that adopted by Congress, as to the care and direction of prisoners, by examining page 299, together with those referred to in the note there; and subsequently, concerning the exchange and superintendence of them, pp. 305, 307, 310, 311, 344, 347.

not to appoint, their own brigadiers? This, if known to be part of the establishment, might prevent a good deal of contention and jealousy; and would, I believe, be the means of promotions going forward with more satisfaction, and quiet the higher officers.

‘ Whilst I am speaking of promotions, I cannot help giving it as my opinion, that, if Congress think proper to confirm what I have done with respect to the corps of artillery, Colonel Knox, at present at the head of that department, (but who, without promotion, will resign,) ought to be appointed to the command of it, with the rank and pay of brigadier. I have also to mention, that, for want of some establishment in the department of engineers agreeably to the plan laid before Congress in October last, Colonel Putnam, who was at the head of it, has quitted, and taken a regiment in the State of Massachusetts. I know of no other man tolerably well qualified for the conducting of that business. None of the French gentlemen, whom I have seen with appointments in that way, appear to know any thing of the matter. There is one in Philadelphia, who, I am told, is clever; but him I have never seen. I must also once more beg leave to mention to Congress the expediency of letting promotions be in a regimental line. The want of this has already driven some of the best officers that were in your army, out of the service. From repeated and strict inquiry I am convinced, that you can adopt no mode of promotion that will be better received, or that will give more general satisfaction. I wish, therefore, to have it announced.

‘ The casting of cannon is a matter that ought not to be one moment delayed; and, therefore, I shall send Colonel Knox to put this in train, as also to have travelling carriages and shot provided, and laboratories established, one in Hartford, and another in York. Magazines of provisions should also be laid in. These I shall fix with the Commissary. As our great loss last year proceeded from a want of teams, I shall direct the Quartermaster-General to furnish a certain number to each regiment to answer the common purposes thereof, that the army may be enabled to remove from place to place differently from what we have done, or could do, this campaign. Ammunition-carts, and proper carts for intrenching-tools, should also be provided, and I shall direct about them accordingly. Above all, a store of small arms should be provided, or men will be of little use. The consumption and waste of these, this year, have been great. Militia and Flying-Camp men coming in without them were obliged to be furnished, or become useless. Many of these threw their arms away; some lost them, whilst others deserted, and took them away. In a word, although I used every precaution to preserve them, the loss has been great; and *this will for ever be the case, in such a mixed and irregular army as ours has been.*

‘ The division of the army, lately under the command of General



Lee, now of General Sullivan, is just upon the point of joining us. A strange kind of fatality has attended it. They had orders on the 17th of November to join,\* now more than a month. General Gates, with four Eastern regiments, is also near at hand; three others from those States were coming on, by his order, by the way of Peekskill, and had joined General Heath, whom I had ordered on with Parsons's brigade, leaving Clinton's brigade and some militia, that were at Forts Montgomery and Constitution, to guard those important passes of the Highlands. But the Convention of the State of New York seeming to be much alarmed at Heath's coming away, a fleet appearing off New London, and some part of the enemy's troops retiring towards Brunswick, induced me to countermand the order for the march of Parsons's brigade, and to direct the three regiments from Ticonderoga to halt at Morristown, in Jersey, (where I understand about eight hundred militia had collected,) in order to inspirit the inhabitants, and, as far as possible, to cover that part of the country. I shall send General Maxwell this day to take the command of them, and, if to be done, to harass and annoy the enemy in their quarters, and cut off their convoys. The care and vigilance, which were used in securing the boats on this river, have hitherto baffled every attempt of the enemy to cross; but, from concurring reports and appearances, they are waiting for ice to afford them a passage.

'Since writing the foregoing, I have received a letter from Governor Cooke, of Rhode Island, of which the enclosed is a copy. Previous to this, and immediately upon the first intelligence obtained of a fleet's going through the Sound, I despatched orders to Generals Spencer and Arnold to proceed without delay to the Eastward. \* \* \* Most of our brigadiers are laid up. Not one has come on with the division under General Sullivan, but they are left sick at different places on the road.

'By accounts from the Eastward, a large body of men had assembled in Rhode Island from the States of Massachusetts and Connecticut. I presume, but I have no advice of it, that the militia ordered from the first to rendezvous at Danbury, six thousand in number, under the command of Major-General Lincoln, for supplying the place of the disbanded men of that State in the Continental army, will now be ordered to Rhode Island.†

'In speaking of General Lincoln, I should not do him justice, were I not to add, that he is a gentleman well worthy of notice in the military line. He commanded the militia from Massachusetts last summer, or fall rather, and much to my satisfaction; having proved himself on all occasions an active, spirited, sensible man. \* \* \*

\* See the Instructions to General Lee, in which the possible or probable expediency of such a junction was intimated, Nov. 10, p. 326.

† In consequence of the before-mentioned invasion.

‘P. S. Generals Gates and Sullivan have this instant come in. By them I learn, that few or no men are recruited out of the regiments coming on with them, and that there is very little reason to expect, that these regiments will be prevailed upon to continue after their term of service expires. If militia then do not come in, *the consequences are but too evident.*’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 348.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 232.

ROBERT MORRIS, a Member of Congress, to GEN. WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 23 December, 1776.

‘It is useless, at this period, to examine into the causes of our present unhappy situation, unless that examination would be productive of a cure for the evils which surround us. In fact, *those causes have long been known to such as would open their eyes. The very consequences of them were foretold and the measures execrated* by some of the best friends of America; but in vain: *an obstinate partiality* to the habits and customs of one part of this Continent *has predominated in the public councils*, and too little attention has been paid to others. *To criminate the authors of our errors would not avail; but we cannot see ruin staring us in the face, without thinking of them.* It has been my fate to make an ineffectual opposition to all short enlistments, to Colonial appointment of officers, and to many other measures, which I thought pregnant with mischief; but these things either suited with the genius and habits, or squared with the interests, of some States, that had sufficient influence to prevail; and *nothing is now left, but to extricate ourselves as well as we can.*’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 237. Note.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to ROBERT MORRIS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 25 December, 1776.

‘DEAR SIR,—I have your obliging favors of the 21st and 23d. The blankets are come to hand; but I would not have any of the other goods sent on till you hear again from me.

‘*I agree with you that it is in vain to ruminate upon, or even reflect upon the authors or causes of our present misfortunes; we should rather exert ourselves, and look forward with hopes that some lucky chance may yet turn up in our favor.* But as our prospects are, I should not have the least doubt of success in the end, did not the late treachery and defection of those, who stood foremost in the opposition while fortune smiled upon us, make me fearful that many more will follow their example, who, by using their influence with some, and working upon the fears of others, may extend the circle so as to take in whole towns, counties, nay, Provinces. Of this we have a recent instance in Jersey; and I wish many parts of Pennsylvania may not be ready to receive the yoke.

‘ The security of the Continental ships-of-war in Delaware is certainly a capital object; and yet to draught the many hands necessary to fit them out, from the militia, might be dangerous, just now; perhaps in a little time hence, their places may be supplied with country militia; and then, if the exigency of affairs requires it, they certainly ought to be spared. I will just hint to you a proposition that was made, or rather talked of, a few days ago, by the officers of two New England regiments, whose time of service will expire on the 1st of January. They are most of them watermen; and they said their men would willingly go on board the frigates, and navigate them round to any of the ports in New England, if it was thought they would be safer there than in Delaware. You may think of this, and let me hear from you on the subject, if the proposition pleases you.

‘ I shall take the earliest opportunity of sending in your letter to General Lee, with the bill drawn upon Major Small.

‘ From an intercepted letter from a person in the secrets of the enemy, I find their intentions are to cross Delaware as soon as the ice is sufficiently strong. I mention this, that you may take the necessary steps for the security of such public or private property as ought not to fall into their hands, should they make themselves masters of Philadelphia, of which they do not seem to entertain the least doubt.

*‘ I hope the next Christmas will prove happier than the present,\** to you, and to, dear Sir, your sincere friend and humble servant.

‘ P. S. I would just ask whether you think Christiana a safe place for our stores. Do not you think they would be safer at Lancaster, or somewhere more inland?’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 358.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, ABOVE TRENTON FALLS, 24 December, 1776.

‘ SIR, — *That I should dwell upon the subject of our distresses cannot be more disagreeable to Congress, than it is painful to myself. The alarming situation to which our affairs are reduced impels me to the measure.* Inquiry and investigation, which in most cases serve to develope and point out a remedy, — in ours, present more and greater difficulties. Till of late, I was led to hope from report, that no inconsiderable part of the troops composing the regiments that were with General Lee, and those from Ticonderoga under General Gates, had enlisted again. This intelligence, I confess, gave me reason to expect that I should have, at the expiration of the present year, a force somewhat more respectable than what I find will be the case.

\* Whether the hope here expressed was realized or not, an opinion may be formed by comparing with these, the records of the scenes at Valley Forge.

‘ Having examined into the state of those regiments, I am authorized to say from the information of their officers, that but very few of the men have enlisted. Those who have, are of the troops from Ticonderoga, and were permitted to visit their friends and homes, as part of the terms on which they would reëngage. In respect to those who marched with General Lee, I cannot learn that any have. Their refusal, I am told, has not proceeded more from an aversion to the service, or any fixed determination not to engage again, than from their wishes to return home, — the non-appointment of officers in some instances, — the turning out of good, and appointing bad, in others, — and the incomplete, or rather no arrangement of them ; — *a work unhappily committed to the management of their States*. Nor have I the most distant prospect of retaining them a moment longer than the last of this month, notwithstanding the most pressing solicitations and the obvious necessity for it.

‘ By the departure of these regiments I shall be left with five from Virginia, Smallwood’s from Maryland, a small part of Rawlings’s, Hand’s from Pennsylvania, a part of Ward’s from Connecticut, and the German battalion, comprising, in the whole, at this time, from fourteen to fifteen hundred effective men. This handful, and such militia as may choose to join me, will then compose our army.

‘ *When I reflect upon these things, they fill me with much concern*, knowing that General Howe has a number of troops cantoned in the towns bordering on and near the Delaware, — his intentions to pass, as soon as the ice is sufficiently formed, to invade Pennsylvania, and to possess himself of Philadelphia, if possible. To guard against his designs and the execution of them, shall employ my every exertion ; but how is this to be done ? As yet but few militia have gone to Philadelphia, and they are to be our support at this alarming crisis. Had I entertained a doubt of General Howe’s intentions to pass the Delaware on the dissolution of our army, and as soon as the ice is made, it would now be done away. An intercepted letter from a gentleman of Philadelphia, (who has joined the enemy,) to his friend and partner in the city, declares that to be their design, — that the army would be there in ten or twenty days from the 16th instant, the time of his writing, if the ice should be made. It advises him by no means to remove their stores, as they would be safe.

‘ *The obstacles, which have arisen to the raising of the new army, from the mode of appointing the officers*, induce me to hope, if Congress resolve on an additional number of battalions to those already voted, that they will devise some other rule by which the officers, *especially the field officers*, should be appointed. In case an augmentation should be made to the Eastern regiments, a deviation from the former mode will operate more strongly as to them

than to other battalions, because there have been many more officers in service from those States, than the regiments voted to be raised would admit of; by which means several deserving men could not have been provided for, had the utmost pains have been used for the purpose; and many others of merit have been neglected in the late appointments, and those of little worth and less experience, put in their places or promoted over their heads. This has been the case with many of their best officers.'

'P. S. If the public papers have been removed from Philadelphia, I hope those which I sent by Lieutenant-Colonel Reed before we left New York, have not been forgot.\* If they have not, I beg the favor of you to break open the chest, and send me the several letter-books sealed up, having frequent occasion to refer to them.'

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 356.

Wash. Writ.

The extreme crisis in the public affairs of the United States in 1776, and the vast energies so unsparingly and so successfully put forth to meet that crisis, appear in various respects to be too imperfectly understood, by a very large portion of our community. To exhibit them with plainness and fulness according to their importance, requires considerable deviation from the general course hitherto pursued in this work, especially in relation to the extent and amount of collateral testimony adduced.

*December 19th, 1776.* 'Intelligence has lately arrived at Headquarters here, that a British fleet, and a detachment of five or six thousand of the Royal army, have taken possession of Newport, in Rhode Island. \* \* By letters from officers, and by other information from our *main army*, we learn, with sorrow, that our affairs in that quarter are in a most deplorable and almost desperate situation. \* \* \*

'On the 16th of November, the British made a bold and successful attack on Fort Washington, situated on York Island. \*

\* \* Fort Lee, on the Jersey shore, was soon after evacuated by General Greene, and the troops saved from being captured, but with the loss of stores, tents, and baggage. Our main army, being now reduced to the lowest ebb, discouraged and dispirited, are retreating through the Jerseys, and the enemy in close pursuit. The Continental army has even crossed the Delaware, and left the whole State of Jersey in the possession of the Royal army.

\* See letter, Aug. 13, p. 278.

20th. ' Another disaster of much importance is the capture of Major-General Lee. \* \* The loss of this favorite general officer, it is feared, will be attended with very serious consequences, as respects the American cause. \* \*

' Such is now the gloomy aspect of our affairs, that the whole country has taken the alarm ; strong apprehensions are entertained that the British will soon have it in their power, to vanquish the whole of the remains of the Continental army. The term of service of a considerable part of our troops has nearly expired, and new recruits do not arrive in sufficient numbers to supply their places. His Excellency General Washington is continually making every possible effort to produce a change of circumstances more auspicious to our country. The critical and distressing situation in which he is placed, is sufficient to overwhelm the powers of any man of less wisdom and magnanimity than our Commander-in-Chief. He has the confidence and the affection of the officers and soldiers of the whole army ; and there is not perhaps another man to be found, so well calculated to discharge the duties of his important and responsible station. It is generally agreed by our officers, that in his retreat through the Jerseys, and over the Delaware, under the most pressing difficulties, he displayed the talents and wisdom characteristic of a great military Commander, possessing unfailing resources of mind. While retreating through the Jerseys with an army not exceeding three thousand five hundred men, and deeming our cause as almost desperate, he said to Colonel Reed, passing his hand over his throat, [the Colonel having expressed doubt of support in his State, Pennsylvania,] " My neck does not feel as though it was made for a halter ; we must retire to Augusta county in Virginia, and, if overpowered, we must pass the Allegany Mountains." General Washington at this time was suffering the most agonizing distress for the fate of his army and his country.'

Thacher's \* Military Journal, pp. 66 - 69.

' In the fall of the year 1776 was one of the darkest and most dispiriting periods of the Revolution. The disaster at Long Island had occurred, \* \* a garrison \* had been taken at Fort Washington, \* and the American General, with the small remainder, disheartened, and in want of every kind of comfort, was retreating through the Jerseys before an overwhelming power, which spread terror, desolation, and death, on every hand. \* \* For a short time, the courage of

\* Dr. Thacher entered the medical department in the army before Boston in July, 1775, and continued in that department, keeping a journal of passing events, during the Revolution. In August, 1776, two regiments, to one of which he was attached, marched from Boston for Ticonderoga, where doubtless this part of his journal was written. He remained there, it appears, from the day he arrived, early in September, till that post was evacuated in July, 1777.



the country fell. Washington alone remained erect, and surveyed with godlike composure the storm that raged around him. Even the heroism of the Virginia Legislature gave way; and, in a season of despair, the mad project of a Dictator was seriously meditated. That Mr. Henry was thought of for this office, has been alleged, and is highly probable; but that the project was suggested by him, or even received his countenance, I have met with no one who will venture to affirm.'

Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry, p. 204.

'The army which was thus pressed slowly through the Jerseys, was aided by no other cavalry than a small corps of badly mounted Connecticut militia, commanded by Major Sheldon; and was almost equally destitute of artillery. \* \* \*

The Commander-in-Chief found himself at the head of this small band of soldiers, dispirited by their losses and fatigues, retreating almost naked and barefooted, in the cold of November and December, before a numerous, well-appointed, and victorious army, through a desponding country, much more disposed to obtain safety by submission, than to seek it by a manly resistance.

\* \* \* \* \*

'Undismayed by the dangers which surrounded him, he did not for an instant relax his exertions, nor omit any thing which could obstruct the progress of the enemy, or improve his own condition. He did not appear to despair of the public safety, but struggled against adverse fortune with the hope of yet vanquishing the difficulties which surrounded him; and constantly showed himself to his harassed and enfeebled army, with a serene, unembarrassed countenance, betraying no fears in himself, and invigorating and inspiring with confidence the bosoms of others. To this unconquerable firmness, to this perfect self-possession under the most desperate circumstances, is America, in a great degree, indebted for her Independence.'

Marshall's Life of Washington, in 2 vols. i. pp. 121, 122.

'When I first learnt the subject of this quarrel, my heart espoused warmly the cause of liberty, and I thought of nothing but of adding also the aid of my banner. \* \* \*

Silas Deane was then at Paris; but the Ministers feared to receive him, and his voice was overpowered by the louder accents of Lord Stormont. \* \* \*

Whilst wishing to address myself in a direct manner to Mr. Deane, I became the friend of Kalb, a German in our employ, who was applying for service with the *Insurgents*, (the expression in use at that time,) and who became my interpreter. \* \* \*

When I presented to Mr. Deane my boyish face, (for I was scarcely nineteen years of age,) I spoke more of my ardor in the cause than of my experience;

but I dwelt much upon the effect my departure would excite in France, and he signed our mutual agreement. \* \* Preparations were making to send a vessel to America, when very bad tidings arrived from thence. New York, Long Island, White Plains, Fort Washington, and the Jerseys, had seen the American forces successively destroyed by thirty-three thousand English [and] Germans. Three thousand Americans alone remained in arms, and these were closely pursued by General Howe. From that moment all the credit of the Insurgents vanished; to obtain a vessel for them, was impossible; the Envoys themselves thought it right to express to me their own discouragement, and persuade me to abandon my project. I called on Mr. Deane, and I thanked him for his frankness. "Until now, Sir," said I, "you have only seen my ardor in your cause, and that may not prove at present wholly useless. I shall purchase a ship to carry out your officers; we must feel confidence in the future, and it is especially in the hour of danger that I wish to share your fortune." My project was received with approbation; but it was necessary afterwards to find money, and to purchase and arm a vessel secretly: all this was accomplished with the greatest despatch.'

*Lafayette's Memoirs, pp. 6 - 10.*

ROBERT MORRIS to the COMMISSIONERS IN FRANCE.\*

PHILADELPHIA, 21 December, 1776.

'GENTLEMEN, -- I am now the only member of Congress in this city, unless Mr. Walton, of Georgia, and Mr. Clymer, my colleague, still remain, which I am not sure of. I cannot pretend to give you a regular detail of our manifold misfortunes, because my books and papers are all gone into the country, as is my family. But these unfortunate events commenced with the loss of Fort Washington. \* \* At this critical time, they, [the enemy,] by treachery, bribery, or accident, intercepted some despatches from General Washington to Congress, also some of the General's private letters, particularly one to Mr. Rutledge, in which he had fully laid open the unfortunate situation he was then involved in, by the short enlistments of our army; for the times of most of them expired on the 1st of December, and the rest on the 1st of January. \* \* All these things he stated fully, and the enemy became possessed of a most authentic account of his real situation. They determined to take advantage of it, and before General Washington had time to make any new arrangements at Fort Lee, on the west side of the North River, to which he had crossed, a large body of troops landed above, and another below him, so that he was near being enclosed with a force vastly superior. \* \* He retreated to Hackinsac, and

\* These Commissioners were Mr. Silas Deane, Dr. Franklin, and Dr. Arthur Lee.

was there in hopes of making a stand, until the militia of the country should come to his assistance, but the vigilance of the enemy did not give him time for this. They pursued, and he retreated all the way through the Jerseys to Trenton, and from thence they forced him across the Delaware, where he still remains, to oppose their passage across the river.

‘ Lord Cornwallis commanded the British forces in the Jerseys, until they reached Brunswick, where General Howe joined them with reinforcements, and determined to make his way to this city, without further loss of time. You may be sure the militia of New Jersey and this State were called upon to turn out, and defend their country in this hour of distress. Alas, our internal enemies had, by various arts and means, frightened many, disaffected others, and caused a general languor to prevail over the minds of almost all men, not before actually engaged in the war. Many are also exceedingly disaffected with the Constitutions formed for their respective States, so that from one cause or other, \* \* it was with the utmost difficulty, that the Associators of this city could be prevailed on to march against them. At length, however, it has been effected; they have been up with the General about two weeks, and the example is likely to produce its effect in the country, as they are now pretty generally on their march towards Trenton.

‘ During General Washington’s retreat through the Jerseys, he wrote for General Lee, who was left to command on the east side of the North River. \* \* He obeyed the summons, and brought with him about three thousand men. \* \* After he had passed a place called Chatham, near Elizabethtown, he lodged at a farm-house. Some treacherous villain gave notice to the enemy, and the General’s ill fate, or some other cause I am not acquainted with, delayed him there, until near 10 o’clock on Friday morning, his army having marched, and their rear about three miles from him, when he was surprised by about seventy light-horse, who made him prisoner, and bore him off in triumph. This is an event much to be lamented. I sincerely pity Lee, and feel for the loss my country sustains; his abilities had frequently been immensely useful; the want of them will be severely felt.

‘ The command of this party devolved on General Sullivan, who continued his route, fell in with General Gates, with five hundred men, returning from the Lakes, and both joined General Washington yesterday. This junction is what we have long impatiently wished for, but still I fear our force is not equal to the task before them, and unless that task is performed, Philadelphia, nay, I may say Pennsylvania, must fall. The task, I mean, is to drive the enemy out of New Jersey, for at present they occupy Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, Pennytown, Bordentown, Burlington,

Morristown, Mount Holly, and Haddonfield, having their main body about Princetön, and strong in all the other places, it is supposed with a design of attacking this city, whenever they can cross the Delaware on the ice, for they have only been kept from it, by our sending up the gondolas and bringing off, or destroying, all the boats along the Jersey shore.

‘ You will think the enemy are now in a situation for us to attack their scattered parties, and cut them off. *This we think too, and are preparing to do it*, but it will be a work of extreme difficulty to get at them; they have excellent intelligence of all our motions; we can hardly come at any certainty about theirs, for Lord Howe and General Howe issued a proclamation on the 30th of November, offering pardon to all, who should submit within sixty days, and subscribe a declaration, that they will not hereafter bear arms against the King’s troops, nor encourage others to do it. This has had a wonderful effect, and all Jersey, or far the greater part of it, is supposed to have made their submission, and subscribed the declaration required; those who do so, of course become our most inveterate enemies; they have the means of conveying intelligence, and they avail themselves of it.

‘ In this perplexing situation of things, the Congress were informed, that an advanced party of Hessians and Highlanders had taken possession of Burlington, \* \* \* and it was thought had the means of crossing the river. \* \*

It was therefore deemed unsafe for Congress to remain here, and absolutely necessary that they should be in a place of safety, where they could deliberate coolly and freely without interruption, and

\* they adjourned to Baltimore, where they are now sitting. This city was, for ten days, the greatest scene of distress that you can conceive; everybody but Quakers were removing their families and effects, and now it looks dismal and melancholy. The Quakers and their families pretty generally remain; the other inhabitants are principally sick soldiers, some few effective ones under General Putnam, who is come here to throw up lines, and prepare for the defence of the place, if General Washington should be forced to retreat hither. You may be sure I have my full share of trouble on this occasion, but having got my family and books removed to a place of safety, my mind is more at ease, and my time is now given up to the public, although I have many thousand pounds worth of effects here, without any prospect of saving them.

‘ This is not the only part of the Continent, that now feels the weight of their resentment; General Clinton, with from three to six thousand men, has invaded Rhode Island, and it is said, has taken possession of it. \* \*

‘ I must add to this gloomy picture one circumstance, more distressing than all the rest, because it threatens instant and total ruin

to the American cause, unless some radical cure is applied, and that speedily; *I mean the depreciation of the Continental currency.*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ For my part I see but two chances for relief; one is from you. If the Court of France open their eyes to their own interest, and think the commerce of North America will compensate them for the expense and evil of a war with Britain, they may readily create a diversion, and afford us succors that will change the face of affairs; but they must do it soon; *our situation is critical, and does not admit of delay. I do not mean by this, that instant submission must ensue, if they do not directly afford us relief;* but there is a great difference between the benefits they will derive from a commercial connection with this country, in full health and vigor, and what they can possibly expect, after it is exhausted by repeated efforts during the precarious process of a tedious war. \* \* Neither can they, after a tedious delay in negotiation, expect that vigorous assistance in prosecuting the war, that they may be assured of, if they join us in its infancy.

‘ Our people knew not the hardships and calamities of war, when they so boldly dared Britain to arms; every man was then a bold patriot, felt himself equal to the contest, and seemed to wish for an opportunity of evincing his prowess; *but now, when we are fairly engaged, when death and ruin stare us in the face, and when nothing but the most intrepid courage can rescue us from contempt and disgrace, sorry am I to say it, many of those who were foremost in noise, shrink coward-like from the danger, and are begging pardon without striking a blow. This, however, is not general, but dejection of spirits is an epidemical disease, and unless some fortunate event or other gives a turn to the disorder, in time it may prevail throughout the community.* No event would give that turn so soon, as the declaration of war on the part of France against Great Britain, and I am sure if they lose this golden opportunity, they will never have such another.

‘ You will doubtless be surprised, that we have not made better progress with our Navy, because you are unacquainted with the many difficulties and causes of delay that have encountered us.

\* \* Above all, we have been hindered by the constant calling out of our militia, in a manner that did not admit of the necessary tradesmen being exempted. You will wonder at this; it would be a long story to unfold the reasons, therefore suffice that it is so. *Dr. Franklin can inform you of many particulars respecting the Flying Camp.*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘ Agriculture and Mechanics have their impediments, by the enlisting of soldiers, and frequent calls on the militia. *In short, nothing but the most arduous exertions, and virtuous conduct in the leaders, seconded by a spirited behavior in the army, and a patient*

*endurance of hardships by the people in general, can long support the contest; therefore the Court of France should strike at once, as they will reap an immediate harvest.* \* \* \*

*'I will not enter into any detail of our conduct in Congress, but you may depend on this, that as long as that respectable body persist in the attempt to execute, as well as to deliberate on, their business, it will never be done as it ought, and this has been urged many and many a time, by myself and others, BUT SOME OF THEM DO NOT LIKE TO PART WITH POWER, or to pay others for doing what they cannot do themselves.*

*'I have Mr. Deane's favor of the 30th of September, to myself, now before me; the letter by the same conveyance from Martinico, under cover of Mr. Bingham's, I sent down to the Committee at Baltimore, and wrote them my mind on the justice of your complaints, for want of intelligence. I had often told it to them before; you know well I was not put in that Committee to carry on the correspondence, but to find out the conveyances; however, I have been obliged to write all the letters, that have been written for some time past; but as Colonel [R. H.] Lee, Mr. Hooper, and the Rev. Dr. Witherspoon are now added to the Committee, I shall excuse myself from that task, although I have thought it proper to give you a just state of our affairs at this time, because I do not suppose the Committee will be got fairly together in Baltimore yet, and when they do, it is probable they may not be fond of laying things before you so fully as I have done. Some of us are of very sanguine complexions, and are too apt to flatter ourselves, that things are not so bad as they appear to be, or that they will soon mend, &c. Now my notion is, that you, Gentlemen Committee, should be fairly and fully informed of the true state of affairs, that you may make a proper use of that knowledge, keeping secret what ought to be so, and promulgating what should be known.*

*'Dr. Franklin will see this letter, and I embrace this opportunity of assuring him of the high respect and esteem I entertain for him. I also beg my compliments to Mr. Lee, if he is with you; tell him I have the commission, in which he is nominated, ready to send, but it is gone into the country with my papers, or I would send it by this conveyance.\* My own affairs necessarily detained me here after the departure of Congress, and it is well I stayed, as I am obliged to set many things right, that would otherwise be in the greatest confusion. Indeed, I find my presence so very necessary, that I shall remain here until the enemy drive me away.*

*'I have the honor to be, &c.'*

Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. i. p. 233-246.

\* Mr. Silas Deane had been commissioned in March, 1776, as Political and Commercial Agent to France; but it was not till the succeeding September, that Dr. Franklin, Mr. Deane, and Arthur Lee were appointed Commissioners to negotiate treaties with foreign powers, particularly with the Court of France.



## GENERAL GREENE to GOVERNOR COOKE.

—, 21 December, 1776.

' We are now on the west side of the Delaware. Our force is small when collected together; *but, small as it is, I hope we shall give the enemy a stroke in a few days.* Should fortune favor the attack, perhaps it may put a stop to General Howe's progress.

' I think, notwithstanding the general disaffection of a certain order of people, that the army will fill up. Should this be the case, nothing is to be feared. Short enlistments have been in a great measure the source of all the misfortunes that we labor under, *though but few to what one at first expected.* Congress, in the infancy of politics, could not be brought to believe many serious truths. *By attending to speculative principles, rather than to those of real life, their maxims of war have been founded in folly.* However, experience ripens judgment, and enables us to correct many an error in business, that at first we could not conceive of.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 542, 545.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to JOSEPH REED, or, in his absence, to JOHN CADWALLADER only, Bristol.

CAMP, ABOVE TRENTON FALLS, 23 December, 1776.

' DEAR SIR, — The bearer is sent down \* \* \* to inform you that Christmas-day, at night, one hour before day, is the time fixed upon for our attempt on Trenton. *For Heaven's sake, keep this to yourself,* as the discovery of it may prove fatal to us;

\* our numbers, sorry am I to say, being less than I had any conception of; but necessity, *dire necessity*, will, *nay must*, justify an attack. Prepare, and in concert with Griffin, attack as many of their posts as you possibly can with a prospect of success; the more we can attack at the same instant, the more confusion we shall spread, and the greater good will result from it.

' If I had not been fully convinced before of the enemy's designs, I have now ample testimony of their intentions to attack Philadelphia, so soon as the ice will afford the means of conveyance.

' As the Colonels of the Continental regiments might kick up some dust about command, unless Cadwallader is considered by them in the light of a brigadier, which I wish him to be, I desired General Gates, who is unwell, and applied for leave to go to Philadelphia, to endeavor, if his health would permit him, to call and stay two or three days at Bristol, in his way. \* \*

' I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.'

' P. S. I have ordered our men to be provided with three days' provisions ready cooked, with which and their blankets they are to march; for, if we are successful, *which Heaven grant*, and the circumstances favor, we may push on. I shall direct every ferry and

ford to be well guarded, and not a soul suffered to pass without an officer's going down with the permit. Do the same with you.'

Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 125.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEWTOWN, 27 December, 1776.

'SIR,—I have the pleasure of congratulating you upon the success of an enterprise, which I had formed against a detachment of the enemy lying in Trenton, and which was executed yesterday morning. The evening of the 25th, I ordered the troops intended for this service to parade back of McKonkey's Ferry, that they might begin to pass as soon as it grew dark, imagining we should be able to throw them all over, with the necessary artillery, by twelve o'clock, and that we might easily arrive at Trenton by five in the morning, the distance being about nine miles. But the quantity of ice made that night, impeded the passage of the boats so much, that it was three o'clock before the artillery could all be got over; and near four, before the troops took up their line of march. This made me despair of surprising the town, as I well knew we could not reach it before the day was fairly broke. But as I was certain there was no making a retreat without being discovered and harassed on repassing the river, I determined to push on at all events. I formed my detachment into two divisions, one to march by the lower or river road, the other by the upper or Pennington road. As the divisions had nearly the same distance to march, I ordered each of them, immediately upon forcing the out-guards, to push directly into the town, that they might charge the enemy before they had time to form.

'The upper division arrived at the enemy's advanced post exactly at eight o'clock; and in three minutes after, I found, from the fire on the lower road, that that division had also got up. The out-guards made but small opposition, though, for their numbers, they behaved very well, keeping up a constant retreating fire from behind houses. We presently saw their main body formed; but, from their motions, they seemed undetermined how to act. Being hard pressed by our troops, who had already got possession of their artillery, they attempted to file off by a road on their right, leading to Princeton. But perceiving their intention, I threw a body of troops in their way, which immediately checked them. Finding from our disposition, that they were surrounded, and that they must inevitably be cut to pieces if they made any further resistance, they agreed to lay down their arms. The number that submitted in this manner was twenty-three officers and eight hundred and eighty-six men. Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer, and seven others were found wounded in the town. I do not exactly know how many were killed; but I fancy not above twenty or thirty, as they never made any regular stand. Our loss

is very trifling indeed, only two officers and one or two privates wounded.\*

‘I find that the detachment of the enemy consisted of the three Hessian regiments of Anspach, Kniphausen, and Rahl, amounting to about fifteen hundred men, and a troop of British light-horse; but, immediately upon the beginning of the attack, all those, who were not killed or taken, pushed directly down the road towards Bordentown. These would likewise have fallen into our hands, could my plan have been completely carried into execution. General Ewing [probably Irvine] was to have crossed before day at Trenton Ferry, and taken possession of the bridge leading out of town; but the quantity of ice was so great, that, though he did everything in his power to effect it, he could not get over. This difficulty also hindered General Cadwallader from crossing with the Pennsylvania militia from Bristol. He got part of his foot over; but, finding it impossible to embark his artillery, he was obliged to desist. I am fully confident, that, could the troops under Generals Ewing and Cadwallader have passed the river, I should have been able with their assistance, to drive the enemy from all their posts below Trenton. But the numbers I had with me being inferior to theirs below me, and a strong battalion of light infantry being at Princeton above me, I thought it most prudent to return the same evening with the prisoners and the artillery we had taken. We found no stores of any consequence in the town.

‘In justice to the officers and men, I must add, that their behavior upon this occasion reflects the highest honor upon them. The difficulty of passing the river in a very severe night, and their march through a violent storm of snow and hail, did not in the least abate their ardor; but, when they came to the charge, each seemed to vie with the other in pressing forward; and were I to give a preference to any particular corps, I should do great injustice to the others.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 360.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 246.

IN CONGRESS, BALTIMORE, *December 20, 1776.* ‘Congress met according to adjournment.

‘Sundry letters were laid before Congress, and read, viz.:

‘Three from General Washington, of the 12th, 13th, and 15th; one, of the 13th, from General Sullivan; four, from R. Morris, at Philadelphia, of the 13th, 14th, 16th, and 17th; one, of the 8th, from General Wooster:

‘*Ordered*, That they be referred to a committee of four.

‘*Resolved*, That the President write to General Washington, and desire him to send a flag to General Howe, and inquire in what manner General Lee, who has been taken prisoner, is treated;

\* Two were frozen to death.

and, if he finds that he is not treated agreeable to his rank and character, to send a remonstrance to General Howe on the subject; and farther, to inquire of General Howe whether he will grant permission to send General Lee such supplies of money as may be necessary to support him during his confinement, in a manner suitable to his rank in the service of the United States:

‘That the President also write to Mr. R. Morris, and request him to send 100 half johannes to General Washington for the use of General Lee.

*December 21.* ‘The Committee to whom were referred the letters from General Washington and Mr. Morris, brought in a Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That proper magazines of provisions for the army, be immediately formed in or near Pennsylvania, and that Congress approve of the General’s sending General Armstrong to fix upon the most secure and convenient places for such magazines, to animate the militia, and facilitate the recruiting service in Pennsylvania: \*

‘That Congress approve of General Washington’s sending General Smallwood to Maryland, to encourage and promote the speedy raising of the new levies therein; and that General Smallwood be requested to use his utmost endeavors in executing that business: \*

‘That Robert Morris, George Clymer, and George Walton, Esqs., be a Committee of Congress, with powers to execute such Continental business as may be proper and necessary to be done at Philadelphia:

‘That the said Committee keep up a regular correspondence with Congress, informing them, from time to time, of their proceedings therein:

‘That the Resolve respecting the appointment of this Committee, and its powers, be transmitted to Messrs. Morris, Clymer and Walton, by Mr. President; and that he inform the said gentlemen, that Congress approve their care of the public business as signified in Mr. Morris’s letters. Also, that Mr. Morris be informed, Congress highly approve his plan of fitting the Continental frigates at Philadelphia regularly for sea, with all possible expedition:

‘*Resolved*, That two Chaplains be appointed to Congress, and that Monday next be assigned for electing them.†

*December 24.* ‘A letter of the 20th, from the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania; one, of the 21st, from Mr. R. Morris; one, of the

\* See the last paragraph of the General’s letter, Dec. 13, p. 359.

† Two Chaplains were elected on the day mentioned in the Resolve. Mr. Duché, their previous Chaplain, abandoned the cause and resigned that appointment, some time before Congress adjourned from Philadelphia. Congress accepted his resignation, and voted 150 dollars for his services, Oct. 17.

10th, from General Schuyler, with sundry papers enclosed, were received and read :

*'Resolved,* That the last be referred to the Committee on the affairs of the Northern army.

*'Resolved,* That a letter be immediately written by Mr. President to the Assemblies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay and Connecticut, informing them, of the critical state of the fortress of Ticonderoga and the other posts in that quarter; and the extreme danger of General Carleton's possessing himself of that fortress as soon as Lake Champlain shall be so frozen, as to be capable of bearing horses; that, by a letter from General Schuyler, Congress is informed, that the troops, now occupying those posts, will not tarry after the 31st of this month; and, in the most pressing terms, urging the necessity of hastening up troops from their respective States, with the utmost despatch, in the following proportions, viz.: 2,500 from Massachusetts-Bay, 1,500 from Connecticut, and 500 from New Hampshire, making 4,500; informing them, that Congress desire they will not wait till the several corps are completed; and that there is now a plentiful stock of provisions at Ticonderoga, and nothing to fear from the enemy till the Lake shall be frozen, as above-mentioned.

*'Resolved,* That two other magazines of ammunition, in addition to that agreed to on the 21st, be formed, one in the Eastern States, and one in the Southern States.

*December 26.* *'Sundry letters were read, viz.:*

*'One,* of the 16th, from General Washington, with an extract of a letter from Commissary-General Trumbull:

*'One,* of the 13th, from Commissary-General Trumbull, at Morristown:

*'One,* of the 20th, from General Washington, with a plan for the establishment of artillery, and a memorandum:

*'One,* of the 21st, from General N. Greene:

*'Two,* of the 22d, from the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania, and sundry letters from Ticonderoga.

*'Resolved,* That J. Trumbull, Esq., Commissary-General, be empowered to import, at the Continental risk, from Virginia and Maryland, and the other Southern States, such quantities of flour and other provisions, as he may judge necessary for the support of the army.

*'Ordered,* That the letters read, be referred to a committee of the whole:

*'Congress then resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into consideration the letters;       \*       \*       \*       .*

*'Resolved,* That a committee of three be appointed to take into consideration the state of the army, and report thereon to-morrow morning.

*'Resolved,* That a committee of five be appointed to prepare a

plan for the better conducting the executive business of Congress, by Boards composed of persons, not members of Congress.

*December 27.* 'Sundry letters were read, viz., one, of the 23d, from R. Morris; one, of the 3d, from General Schuyler, at Saratoga; one, of the 5th, from Jonathan Trumbull; one, of the 25th November, from Joseph Trumbull; \* \* .

'The Committee on the state of the army, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

'*Resolved*, That a brigadier-general of artillery be appointed; and, the ballots being taken,

'Colonel Henry Knox was elected.

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be empowered to use every endeavor, by giving bounties and otherwise, to prevail upon the troops, whose term of enlistment will expire at the end of this month, to stay with the army so long after that period, as its situation shall render their stay necessary:

'That the new levies in Virginia, Maryland, the Delaware State, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, be ordered to march by companies, and parts of companies, as fast as they shall be raised, and join the army under General Washington, with the utmost despatch:

'That the foregoing Resolution be transmitted by the President to the Executive powers of the States before mentioned, who are requested to carry it into execution:

'That General Washington be empowered to appoint a Commissary of Prisoners, and a Clothier-General for supplying the army; to fix their salaries, and return their names to Congress:

'That General Washington be requested to fix upon that system of promotion in the Continental army, which, in his opinion, and that of the general officers with him, will produce the most general satisfaction; that it be suggested to him, whether a promotion of field-officers in the Colonial line, and of captains and subalterns in the regimental line, would not be the most proper:

'That Congress approve of General Washington's directing the Quartermaster-General to provide teams for each regiment, and for other necessary purposes:

'That the 2d and 7th Virginia regiments, with all the convalescents from the other corps left in that State, and now fit for duty, be ordered to march and join the army under General Washington, with the utmost despatch, leaving the arms that they have at present, with the Governor and Council of that State, as they will be provided with others at the Head of Elk:

'That three regiments, upon the new establishment, in North Carolina, be ordered to march immediately to join General Washington:

'That the State of Virginia be empowered to call into service, at the Continental expense, three regiments of militia, or minute-men, if such a measure shall, by that State, be judged necessary.



‘The unjust, but determined purpose of the British Court, to enslave these free States, obvious through every delusive insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation, that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right execution of military powers, and the vigorous, decisive conduct of these, being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies :

‘This Congress, having maturely considered the present crisis ; and having perfect reliance on the wisdom, vigor, and uprightness of General Washington, do, hereby,

‘*Resolve*, That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any or all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress ; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry ; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light-horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay ; to apply to any of the States for such aid of the militia as he shall judge necessary ; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places, as he shall think proper ; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill up all vacancies in every other department in the American armies ; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same ; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the Continental currency, or are otherwise disaffected to the American cause ; and return to the States, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them :

‘That the foregoing powers be vested in General Washington, for and during the term of six months from the date hereof, unless sooner determined by Congress.’

SECRET JOURNAL, *December 27*. ‘*Resolved*, That the Committee of Congress at Philadelphia be desired to contract with proper persons for erecting at Carlisle, in Pennsylvania, a magazine sufficient to contain ten thousand stand of arms, and two hundred tons of gunpowder ; and also for erecting an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine :

‘That the Council of Massachusetts-Bay be desired to contract with proper persons for erecting, in the town of Brookfield in that State, a magazine sufficient to contain ten thousand stand of arms, and two hundred tons of gunpowder, and also for erecting an elaboratory adjacent to such magazine.’

PUBLIC JOURNAL, *December 28*. ‘*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a circular letter to the several

United States, explaining the reasons which induced Congress to enlarge the powers of General Washington, and requesting them to coöperate with him, and give him all the aid in their power.

*December 30.* 'The Committee appointed to prepare a circular letter to the several States, reported a draught, which was read, amended, and agreed to :

'*Ordered*, That copies be made, signed by the President, and transmitted to each of the United States.

*December 31.* '*Resolved*, That General Smallwood be directed to exert his utmost endeavors, and give the necessary orders and instructions to expedite the raising the levies in the State of Maryland ; and that it be earnestly recommended to the Legislature and Council of Safety, the several Committees of Observation, the civil, military and militia officers of said State, and every friend of liberty and the United States, to give General Smallwood every assistance in their power.

'*Resolved*, That a letter be written to General Washington, desiring him to order the Clothier-General to send agents into each State, to buy up linens and other clothing proper for the soldiery ; and that he give similar orders to the Quartermaster-General to pursue the same mode for procuring a sufficient quantity of tent-cloth ; and that they be severally directed to apply to the States to afford all necessary assistance therein. And whereas, great expense hath heretofore arisen from public agents trading against each other, the General is desired to caution the Clothier-General and Quartermaster-General, that their agents aforesaid, fall not into the above mistake in time to come.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEWTOWN, 29 December, 1776.

'SIR, — I am just setting out to attempt a *second* passage over the Delaware, with the troops that were with me on the morning of the 26th. I am determined to effect it if possible ; but I know that it will be attended with much fatigue and difficulty on account of the ice, which will neither allow us to cross on foot, nor give us an easy passage with boats. General Cadwallader crossed from Bristol on the 27th, and, by his letter of yesterday, was at Bordentown with about eighteen hundred men. In addition to these, General Mifflin sent over five hundred from Philadelphia on Friday, three hundred yesterday evening from Burlington, and will follow to-day with seven or eight hundred more. I have taken every precaution in my power for subsisting the troops, and shall, without loss of time, and as soon as circumstances will admit of it, pursue the enemy in their retreat, try to beat up more of their quarters, and, in a word, adopt in every instance, such measures, as the exigency of our affairs requires, and our situation will justify.

\* \* \* \*

‘ Since transmitting the list of prisoners, a few more have been discovered and taken in Trenton; among them a lieutenant-colonel, and a deputy-adjutant general, the whole amounting to about a thousand.

‘ I have been honored with your letter of the 23d, and its several enclosures, to which I shall pay due attention. A flag goes in this morning with a letter to General Howe, and another to General Lee. For the latter, Mr. Robert Morris has transmitted a bill of exchange drawn by two British officers, for a hundred and sixteen pounds, nine shillings, and three pence, on Major Small. • This supply is exclusive of the sum you have resolved to be sent to him, and which Mr. Morris will procure in time.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. i. p. 363.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 250.

#### ROBERT MORRIS to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 30 December, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I have just received your favor of this day, and sent to General Putnam to detain the express, until I collect the hard money you want, which you may depend shall be sent in one specie or other with this letter, and a list thereof shall be enclosed herein.

‘ I had long since parted with very considerable sums of hard money to Congress; and therefore must collect from others, and, as matters now stand, it is no easy thing. I mean to borrow silver, and promise payment in gold, and will then collect the gold in the best manner I can. Whilst on this subject, let me inform you that there is upwards of twenty thousand dollars in silver at Ticonderoga. They have no particular use for it, and I think you might as well send a party to bring it away, and lodge it in a safe place, convenient for any purposes for which it may hereafter be wanted. Whatever I can do, shall be done for the good of the service.\*

I am, dear Sir, &c.

ROBERT MORRIS.†

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 545.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to the OFFICER COMMANDING AT MORRISTOWN.†

HEAD-QUARTERS, TRENTON, 30 December, 1776.

‘ SIR, — I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that the Continental regiments from the Eastern governments have agreed to

\* Chief Justice Marshall says, in a note, p. 130 of his vol. i., before cited, — ‘ In this critical moment, when correct intelligence was so all-important, Mr. Robert Morris raised on his private credit in Philadelphia, five hundred pounds in specie, which he transmitted to the Commander-in-Chief, who employed it in procuring information not otherwise to have been obtained.’

† Commanding those troops ordered to halt at Morristown, as stated in letter, Dec. 20, p. 372.

stay six weeks beyond their time of enlistment, which was to have expired the last day of this month. For this extraordinary mark of their attachment to their country, I have agreed to give them a bounty of ten dollars per man, besides their pay running on. I hope this noble example will be followed by the four regiments under your command. Promise them the same reward, and endeavor to work upon them by every means in your power. Let them know the militia are pouring in from all quarters, and only want veteran troops to lead them on. Since our success at this place, on the 26th, the enemy have evacuated all the country below; they went off in the greatest hurry and confusion. I beg you will collect all the men you possibly can about Chatham, and, after gaining the proper intelligence, endeavor to strike a stroke upon Elizabethtown, or that neighborhood; at any rate, be ready to coöperate with me. Let me hear what success you have with your troops, as soon as possible. I am, Sir, &c.'

Ibid. p. 253.

SAME to ROBERT MORRIS, GEORGE CLYMER, and GEORGE WALTON, a Committee\* of Congress.

HEAD-QUARTERS, TRENTON, 1 January, 1777.

'GENTLEMEN, — The messenger delivered me the two parcels of hard money, which I suppose will turn out agreeably to the list, not having had time to count it. The sum that is lodged at Ticonderoga shall be ordered down, provided the Commander in the Northern Department finds no better use for it there, than I can make of it here.

'The accounts you give me of the good effects, that are likely to flow from our success at Trenton, add not a little to the satisfaction I have felt on that occasion. You are pleased to pay me many personal compliments, as if the merit of that affair was due solely to me; but I assure you, the other general officers, who assisted me in the plan and execution, have full as good a right to your encomiums as myself. We are devising such measures, as I hope, if they succeed, will add as much or more to the distress of the enemy, than their defeat at Trenton; and I promise myself the greatest advantages, from having engaged a number of the Eastern troops to stay six weeks beyond their time of enlistment, upon giving a bounty of ten dollars. \* \* I thought it no time to stand upon trifles, when a body of firm troops, inured to danger, was absolutely necessary to lead on the more raw and undisciplined. I shall know this day how many of Colonel Glover's regiment are willing to continue in the land service. I do not expect many will be prevailed upon to stay, and I will endeavor to procure the rest for the purpose of fitting out the frigates upon the best terms I can. \* \* \*

\* Resolves respecting their appointment, &c., p. 387.

‘Yours of the 31st of last month enclosed to me sundry Resolves of Congress, by which I find they have done me the honor to entrust me with powers, in my military capacity, of the highest nature and almost unlimited in extent.\* Instead of thinking myself freed from all civil obligations, by this mark of their confidence, I shall constantly bear in mind, that as *the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties*, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside, when those liberties are firmly established. I shall instantly set about making the most necessary reforms in the army; but it will not be in my power to make so great a progress, as if I had a little leisure time upon my hands. Mr. Morris has my sincere thanks for the advice and assistance he promises to give Commissary Wharton; and I beg he would remind him, that all his exertions will be necessary to support an army in this exhausted country. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Ibid. vol. iv. p. 256.

ROBERT MORRIS to GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 1 January, 1777.

‘I was honored with your favor of yesterday, by Mr. Howell, late last night; and, ever solicitous to comply with your requisitions, I am up very early this morning to despatch a supply of fifty thousand dollars to your Excellency. You will receive that sum with this letter; but it will not be got away so early as I could wish, for none concerned in this movement except myself are up. I shall rouse them immediately. It gives me great pleasure, that you have engaged the troops to continue; and if further occasional supplies of money are necessary, you may depend on my exertions either in a public or private capacity.’

Ibid. p. 546.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

TRENTON, 1 January, 1777.

‘SIR, — Your Resolves of the 27th ultimo were transmitted to me last night, by Messrs. Clymer, Morris, and Walton. The confidence, which Congress have honored me with by these Proceedings, has a claim to my warmest acknowledgments. At the same time I beg leave to assure them, that *all my faculties shall be employed to direct properly the powers\** they have been pleased to vest me with, *and to advance those objects, and only those*, which gave rise to this honorable mark of distinction. *If my exertions should not be attended with the desired success*, I trust the failure will be

\* See those Resolves of the 27th, pp. 389, 390, passed on the Report of that Committee who, after the reading of the letters before Congress on the 26th, were appointed ‘to take into consideration the state of the army.’ It would be well, also, to review, with reference to those Resolves, the General’s letters, Dec. 5, 12, 16, 20, 24, pp. 348, 357, 364, 368, 374; two of which, at least, probably the last three, were then immediately before Congress.

imputed to *the true cause, the peculiarly distressed situation of our affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat*, rather than to a want of zeal for my country, and the closest attention to her interest, to promote which has ever been my study.

‘ On Monday morning I passed the Delaware myself; the whole of our troops and artillery not till yesterday, owing to the ice, which rendered their passage extremely difficult and fatiguing. Since their arrival, we have been parading the regiments whose term of service is now expired, in order to know what force we should have to depend on, and how to regulate our views accordingly. After much persuasion, and the exertions of their officers, half or a greater proportion of those from the Eastward, have consented to stay six weeks on a bounty of ten dollars. I feel the inconvenience of this advance, and I know the consequences which will result from it; but what could be done? Pennsylvania had allowed the same to her militia; the troops felt their importance, and would have their price. Indeed, as their aid is so essential, and not to be dispensed with, it is to be wondered at, that they had not estimated it at a higher rate. I perceive that Congress, apprehensive of this event, had made unlimited provision for it.

‘ General Mifflin is at Bordentown with about eighteen hundred men, and General Cadwallader at Crosswicks with about the same number. We are now making our arrangements, and concerting a plan of operations, which I shall attempt to execute as soon as possible, and which I hope will be attended with some success.

\* \* \* \* \* I have sent into different parts of Jersey, men of influence to spirit up the militia; and I flatter myself that the many injuries they have received, will induce some to give their aid. If what they have suffered does not rouse their resentment, they must not possess the common feelings of humanity. To oppression, ravage, and a deprivation of property, they have had the more mortifying circumstance of insult added; after being stripped of all they had without the least compensation, protections have been granted them for the free enjoyment of their effects. I have the honor to be, with due respect, &c.’

Load. ed. vol. ii. p. 1.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 253.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

PLUCKEMIN, 5 January, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I have the honor to inform you, that, since the date of my last from Trenton, I have removed with the army under my command to this place. The difficulty of crossing the Delaware, on account of the ice, made our passage over it tedious, and gave the enemy an opportunity of drawing in their several cantonments, and assembling their whole force at Princeton. Their large pickets advanced towards Trenton, their great preparations, and some intelligence I had received, added to their knowledge, that



the 1st of January brought on a dissolution of the best part of our army, gave me the strongest reasons to conclude, that an attack upon us was meditating.

‘ Our situation was most critical, and our force small. To remove immediately, was again destroying every dawn of hope which had begun to revive in the breasts of the Jersey militia; and to bring those troops who had first crossed the Delaware and were lying at Crosswicks under General Cadwallader, and those under General Mifflin at Bordentown, (amounting in the whole to about three thousand six hundred,) to Trenton, was to bring them to an exposed place. One or the other, however, was unavoidable. The latter was preferred; and they were ordered to join us at Trenton, which they did by a night march, on the 1st instant. On the 2d, according to my expectation, the enemy began to advance upon us; and, after some skirmishing, the head of their column reached Trenton about four o’clock, whilst their rear was as far back as Maidenhead. They attempted to pass Assanpink Creek, which runs through Trenton, at different places; but finding the fords guarded, they halted, and kindled their fires. We were drawn up on the other side of the creek. In this situation we remained till dark, cannonading the enemy, and receiving the fire of their field-pieces, which did us but little damage.

‘ Having by this time discovered, that the enemy were greatly superior in number, and that their design was to surround us, I ordered all our baggage to be removed silently to Burlington soon after dark; and, at twelve o’clock, after renewing our fires, and leaving guards at the bridge in Trenton, and other passes on the same stream above, marched by a roundabout road to Princeton, where I knew they could not have much force left, and might have stores. One thing I was certain of, that it would avoid the appearance of a retreat, which was of consequence, or the hazard of the whole army being cut off; whilst we might by a fortunate stroke withdraw General Howe from Trenton, and give some reputation to our arms. Happily we succeeded. We found Princeton about sunrise, with only three regiments and three troops of light-horse in it, two of which were on their march to Trenton. These three regiments, especially the two first, made a gallant resistance; and, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, must have lost five hundred men; upwards of one hundred of them were left on the field; and, with what I have with me, and what were taken in the pursuit and carried across the Delaware, there are near three hundred prisoners, fourteen of whom were officers, all British.

‘ This piece of good fortune is counterbalanced by the loss of the brave and worthy General Mercer, Colonels Hazlet and Potter, Captain Neal of the artillery, Captain Fleming, who commanded the first Virginia regiment, and four or five other valuable officers,

who, with about twenty-five or thirty privates, were slain in the field. Our whole loss cannot be ascertained; as many, who were in pursuit of the enemy (who were chased three or four miles,) are not yet come in. The rear of the enemy's army lying at Maidenhead, not more than five or six miles from Princeton, was up with us before our pursuit was over; but, as I had the precaution to destroy the bridge over Stony Brook, about half a mile from the field of action, they were so long retarded there, as to give us time to move off in good order for this place. We took two brass field-pieces; but, for want of horses, could not bring them away. We also took some blankets, shoes, and a few other trifling articles, burned the hay, and destroyed such other things, as the shortness of the time would admit.

' My original plan, when I set out from Trenton, was, to push on to Brunswick; but the harassed state of our troops, many of them having had no rest for two nights and a day, and the danger of losing the advantage we had gained by aiming at too much, induced me, by the advice of my officers, to relinquish the attempt. But, in my judgment, six or eight hundred fresh troops upon a forced march would have destroyed all their stores and magazines, taken (as we have since learned) their military chest, containing seventy thousand pounds, and put an end to the war. The enemy, from the best intelligence I have been able to get, were so much alarmed at the apprehension of this, that they marched immediately to Brunswick without halting, except at the bridges, (for I also took up those at Millstone, on the different routes to Brunswick,) and got there before day.

' From the best information I have received, General Howe has left no men either at Trenton or Princeton. The truth of this I am endeavoring to ascertain, that I may regulate my movements accordingly. The militia are taking spirits, and, I am told, are coming in fast from this State. But I fear those from Philadelphia will scarcely submit to the hardships of a winter campaign much longer, especially, as they very unluckily sent their blankets with their baggage to Burlington. I must do them the justice however to add, that they have undergone more fatigue and hardship, than I expected militia, especially citizens, would have done at this inclement season. I am just moving to Morristown, where I shall endeavor to put them under the best cover I can. Hitherto we have been without any; and many of our poor soldiers quite barefoot, and ill clad in other respects.

' I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 3.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 258.

As General Wilkinson, who removed to the Northern Department, in command of one of the companies composing the detachment under General Sullivan, (mentioned, p. 218,) participated to no inconsiderable extent in the transactions of that crisis, and witnessed several of the most important in the whole series of them, — his Narrative which immediately follows, seems entitled to much attention and regard,

‘ Shortly after his [General Gates’s] arrival at Albany, he received orders \* from General Schuyler to reinforce General Washington; and accordingly the command of Brigadier-General St. Clair, with Greateon’s, Bond’s, Porter’s, and Bedel’s regiments were directed to descend the North River to New Windsor, on their route to the main army. These last corps were intercepted by General Lee, and ordered to join his division; and those under St. Clair went home, their term of service having expired. General Gates, accompanied by General Arnold, embarked at Albany, and determined to march with Stark’s, Reed’s, Poor’s, and Patterson’s regiments by Esopus. At this place, I presented myself to him on the 5th of December, in very feeble health. He had at that time heard of General Washington’s crossing the North River and the loss of Fort Washington, but had received no satisfactory information of posterior incidents or movements, though a thousand vague reports were in circulation. Thus circumstanced, his instructions led him to take the back route from Esopus, by the Delaware and the Minissink, and we reached Van Kempt’s near the Wallpeck, in very intemperate weather. In this sequestered valley we were thrown out of the ordinary current of intelligence, and out off from all authentic information respecting the adverse armies. \* \* We were halted on the 11th by a heavy fall of snow, which increased the General’s anxiety for information from General Washington; and to relieve his solicitude, I volunteered my services to find him. The proposition was adopted, and a letter † prepared, with which I was despatched on the morning of the 12th December.

\*

“ SARATOGA, Nov. 24th, 1776.

“ DEAR GENERAL, — Notwithstanding my orders to the Colonels, or Commanding Officers of the several regiments which passed this, to repair to their respective States, &c., you will please to order them to join his Excellency General Washington, with all possible despatch; as also the others that may arrive in Albany from Ticonderoga, sending recruiting officers to the different States they come from.

“ If the express that brought Mr. Harrison’s letter, is already returned, you will please to send the enclosed by another. \* \* \*

“ Stark’s and Patterson’s leave this to-day. Sloops should be provided for them.

“ I am, dear General, sincerely yours, &c.,

“ PH. SCHUYLER.”

“ Hon. General Gates.”

†

“ VAN KEMPT’S, 15 miles from Sussex Court-House, 12 Dec., 1776.

“ SIR, — In obedience to General Schuyler’s command, I left Albany the 2d instant, with Stark’s, Poor’s, Reed’s, and Patterson’s regiments; Greateon’s, Bond’s, and Porter’s having sailed from thence the day before; Bedel’s remaining to embark the next day, as sloops were not then ready to receive them. Upon my arrival at Esopus, I sent Brigade-Major Stoddart to New Windsor, to order Greateon’s, Bond’s, and Porter’s regiments, to join me upon the march by the way of Goshen. I therefore marched from Esopus, and sent my Aid-de-camp, Major Pierce, to Goshen, to direct the march of those regiments. He met me yesterday, and informed me that General Lee had sent an order to those regiments, to join him by a prescribed route. I therefore pursued my march by this route, with the four other regiments, and hope to rendezvous them all the day after to-morrow at Sussex Court-House.

“ I send the bearer, Brigade-Major Wilkinson, for your Excellency’s orders, in re-

‘I crossed the hills to Sussex Court-House, where I received advice that General Washington had passed the Delaware several days before, and that the enemy had reached Trenton. In consequence of this information I employed a guide, and proceeded down the country. On the road I casually met an officer of my acquaintance, who informed me the boats had been removed from the ferries, and that I should find some difficulty in getting across the Delaware, and that Major-General Lee was at Morristown. Finding such obstacles in my way to the Commander-in-Chief, I determined to seek his second, and to ask orders from him for General Gates; and although dark, I continued my journey without halt, \* \* \* and about four o’clock in the morning reached his quarters, at White’s tavern, on Baskingridge.

‘I was presented to the General as he lay in bed, and delivered into his hands the letter of General Gates. He examined the superscription, and observed it was addressed to General Washington, and declined opening it, until I apprised him of the contents and the motives of my visit; he then broke the seal and read it, after which he desired me to take repose. I lay down on my blanket before a comfortable fire, amidst the officers of his suite.

\* I arose at the dawn, but could not see the General,  
\* before eight o’clock. After some inquiries respecting the conduct of the campaign on the Northern frontier, he gave me a brief account of the operations of the *grand army*, which he condemned in strong terms. \* \* \* General Lee wasted the morning in altercation with certain militia corps who were of his command, particularly the Connecticut light-horse: † \* the call of the Adjutant-General for orders, also occupied some of his time, and we did not sit down to breakfast before ten o’clock. General Lee was engaged in answering General Gates’s letter, and I had risen from the table, and was looking out of an end window, down a lane about one hundred yards in length, which led to the house from the main road, when I discovered a party of British dragoons turn a corner of the avenue at a full charge. Startled at this unexpected spectacle, I exclaimed, “Here, Sir, are the British cavalry.” “Where?” re-

spect to the route you would have me take at present; I propose to march by that delivered to Major Wilkinson.

“I shall strictly observe the directions contained in Mr. Secretary Harrison’s letter to Major-General Schuyler, \* a copy of which is now before me. There was a deep snow last night at this place. \* \* With every ardent wish for your Excellency’s prosperity,  
I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient humble servant,  
“HORATIO GATES.”

“His Excellency General Washington.”

† ‘One wanted forage, another his horse shod, another his pay, a fourth provisions, &c. — to which the General replied, “Your wants are numerous; but you have not mentioned the last, — you want to go home, and shall be indulged, for damn you, you do no good here.” See the closing paragraph of letter, Dec. 11, p. 353.

plied the General, who had signed his letter in the instant. "Around the house;" for they had opened files, and encompassed the building. General Lee appeared alarmed, yet collected, and his second observation marked his self-possession: "Where is the guard?—damn the guard, why don't they fire?" and after a momentary pause, he turned to me and said, "Do, Sir, see what has become of the guard."—I caught up my pistols, which lay on the table, thrust the letter he had been writing into my pocket, and passed into a room at the opposite end of the house, where I had seen the guard in the morning. Here I discovered their arms; but the men were absent. \* \* I accordingly sought a position where I could not be approached by more than one person at a time, and with a pistol in each hand I awaited the expected search, resolved to shoot the first and second person who might appear, and then to appeal to my sword. I did not remain long in this unpleasant situation, but was apprised of the object of the incursion by the very audible declaration, "*If the General does not surrender in five minutes, I will set fire to the house;*" which after a short pause was repeated with a solemn oath; and within two minutes I heard it proclaimed, "*Here is the General, he has surrendered.*" A general shout ensued, the trumpet sounded, \* and the unfortunate Lee mounted on my horse, which stood ready at the door, was hurried off in triumph, bare-headed, in his slippers and blanket-coat, his collar open, and his shirt very much soiled from several days' use.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 'So soon as Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt \* retreated with his prize, I repaired to the stable, mounted the first horse I could find, and rode full speed to General Sullivan, whom I found under march towards Pluckemin.† I had not examined General Lee's letter, but believing a knowledge of the contents might be useful to General Sullivan, who succeeded him in command, I handed it to him, who after the perusal, returned it with his thanks, and advised me to rejoin General Gates without delay, which I did the next morning at Sussex Court-House; whither he had led the troops from Van Kempt's.

\* Commander of the party who took General Lee.

† General Wilkinson relates,—'When Colonel Scammel, the Adjutant-General, called on him from General Sullivan, who was encamped with the troops, for orders of march on the morning of his capture, after musing a minute or two, he asked the Colonel if he had with him the manuscript map of the country, which was produced and spread on a table; it attracted my attention, and I observed General Lee trace with his finger, the route from Vealtown to Pluckemin, thence \* to Princeton; he then returned to Pluckemin, and traced the route in the same manner \* to Brunswick, and, after a close inspection, carelessly said to Scammel, "Tell General Sullivan to move down towards Pluckemin; that I will soon be with him." This was off his route to Alexandria on the Delaware, where he had been ordered to cross, and directly on that towards Brunswick and Princeton.'

" BASKINGRIDGE, Dec. 13th, 1776.

" MY DEAR GATES, — The ingenious manœuvre of Fort Washington has unbinged the goodly fabric we had been building. There never was so damned a stroke. *Entre nous a certain GREAT MAN is most damnably deficient.* He has thrown me into a situation, where I have my choice of difficulties: if I stay in this Province, I risk myself and army; and if I do not stay, the Province is lost for ever. I have neither guides, cavalry, medicines, money, shoes, or stockings. I must act with the greatest circumspection. Tories are in my front, rear, and on my flanks; the mass of the people is strangely contaminated; in short, unless something, which I do not expect, turns up, we are lost; *our counsels have been weak to the last degree.* As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the General, I would have you by all means go; you will at least save your army. It is said that the Whigs are determined to set fire to Philadelphia: if they strike this decisive stroke, the day will be our own; but unless it is done, all chance of liberty in any part of the globe is forever vanished. Adieu, my dear friend! God bless you!"

" CHARLES LEE."

' Lee's misfortune affected Gates profoundly: they had been long acquainted, had served together in the British army, and were personally attached; their politics and political connections were in unison, and their sympathies and antipathies ran in the same current; \* ..

' The troops were soon put in motion, Brigadier-General Arnold \* leading the column by the direct road to Easton; General Gates with his suite and a light guard, proceeded on a devious route, and by a rapid march, reached the Delaware some distance above Easton, about eight o'clock. \* .. The next morning we breakfasted at Nazareth, and reached Bethlehem in the afternoon; where we found General Arnold and our own corps, and also that of General Sullivan, who had changed his route the moment he found himself in command, and pressed forward to join the Commander-in-Chief.

' The troops marched the next morning; the general officers followed in a day or two, and joined General Washington in the neighborhood of Coryell's Ferry. The affairs of the United States were reduced at that awful period to the lowest ebb; and, although foreign to the design of these Memoirs, a summary view of our situation on the western bank of the Delaware, and the circumstances which led to it, may not be unacceptable to the reader.

\* When General Arnold received the order mentioned, p. 361, 372, he had advanced so far, that he continued with the Northern regiments in their march to the Commander-in-Chief.



‘ The irregular composition of the army of General Washington in the campaign of 1776, \* \* \* baffled solid calculations, and forbade his reliance on the execution of specific enterprises. \* . \* At a period of the season, when, in former wars, it had been customary for the combatants to seek winter quarters, our difficulties were about to commence; and may be traced, distinctly and unequivocally, to the insufficiency of our Continental force, and the short term of our enlistments. These were the main sources of those losses and misfortunes, which pursued General Washington in the campaign of 1776. \* \* \*

‘ The loss of Forts Washington and Lee would not have been felt, nor would Sir Wm. Howe have penetrated the Jerseys, if General Washington had commanded an army of twenty, or even ten thousand men, well found and engaged for the war; but instead of a permanent force, his troops, for they deserved not the name of an army, were composed of levies for twelve months, and militia engaged, some for six months, and others for a shorter period; who, to use the language of General Washington, in his letter to the President of Congress, Dec. 20th, 1776, “*come in, you cannot tell how, — go, you cannot tell when, — and act, you cannot tell where; consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment.*” \* \* \*

‘ With an army of sixfold numerical force, and tenfold effective strength, well proportioned in the several arms appropriate to the theatre of the war, \* \* \* Sir William Howe, four days after the capture of Fort Washington, detached Lord Cornwallis to cross the North River between Dobbs’s Ferry and Fort Lee.

\* \* \* A landing was accordingly made on the morning of the 20th November; and soon after ascending the height, the enemy found themselves in the presence of 3,000 militia, who were suffered to escape across the Hackinsac River; \* and his Lordship took possession of Fort Lee, its artillery and stores.

\* \* \* General Washington remained at the village of Hackinsac \* the 21st of November, and on the 22d retired to Newark by Aquakenunck bridge. At this place he reposed until the 28th, on which day the approach of the British corps obliged him to change position; and as the rear-guard left one end of the town the British van entered the other. \* \*

With this overwhelming force at his heels, General Washington was allowed to retreat in safety, and to reach Brunswick the next day without molestation.

‘ After two days’ halt at Newark, Lord Cornwallis on the 30th November advanced upon Brunswick, and arrived the next evening on the opposite bank of the Raritan, which is fordable at low water. A spirited cannonade ensued across the river, in which our artillery was served by Captain Alexander Hamilton. \* General Washington made a show of resistance, but after night-fall

decamped,\* and reached Princeton the next morning, where he left Lord Stirling with one German and five Virginia regiments, making in the whole 1,200, as a covering party; and with his main body he prosecuted his march without delay to Trenton, where he arrived in the evening. He lost no time in transporting his scanty stock of baggage and stores to the west bank of the river to Philadelphia, and adopted the necessary precautions to remove the river-craft beyond the reach of the enemy. He was reinforced at this place by about 2,000 volunteer militia, chiefly from the city of Philadelphia, with a detachment of Proctor's artillery, and six field-pieces under Captain Thomas Forest. . \* \* But the British army \* \* \* advancing the next morning at four o'clock, obliged Lord Stirling to retire from Princeton one hour before they entered it, at four o'clock, P. M. Sir William Howe \* \* \* marched in pursuit of General Washington at nine the next morning, and reached Trenton at four o'clock in the afternoon, just as our last boat was crossing the river.

\* \* \* \* \*  
 ' About the period of this irruption of the enemy into the Jerseys, the Commissioners, Lord and Sir William Howe, issued a proclamation of pardon to all offenders, civil and military, \*

\* who within sixty days should make submission and take the oath of allegiance to the British Sovereign.

' In the Jerseys a general defection took place, and in Pennsylvania, it was considerable. \* Indeed, the splendid appearance and triumphant march of the British battalions in pursuit of our half-naked, sickly, shattered force, overspread the country with terror; and patriots and sages agonized under the apprehension, that the moment was at hand, when the Congress would be compelled to rescind their pretensions and pass under the yoke. \*

' When the divisions of Sullivan and Gates joined General Washington, he found his numbers increased, yet his difficulties were not sensibly diminished; nor were his prospects brightened: ten days would disband his corps, and leave him about fourteen hundred men, miserably provided in all things. I saw him in that gloomy period, dined with him, and attentively marked his aspect; always grave and thoughtful, he appeared at that time pensive and solemn in the extreme. \* \* \* \*

' When I joined the troops under General Washington, I found General St. Clair near Head-Quarters, and resumed my station of Brigade-Major in his family; but at General Gates's particular request, I obtained permission to accompany him to Newtown, Buck's county, where he took quarters. On the 23d December, he informed me he should the next day set out for Baltimore, and pressed me to accompany him as far as Philadelphia. \* \*

\* Relative to those occurrences at Brunswick, see the second letter, Dec. 1, p. 342.

On the road the General appeared much depressed in mind, and frequently expressed the opinion, that while General Washington was watching the enemy above Trenton, they would privately construct batteaux, pass the Delaware in his rear, and take possession of Philadelphia before he was aware of the movement; and that, instead of vainly attempting to stop Sir William Howe at the Delaware, General Washington ought to retire to the south of the Susquehanna, and there form an army: he said it was his intention to propose this measure to Congress at Baltimore, and urged me to accompany him to that place. The proposition, after eighteen months' absence from home,\* was tempting, but my duty forbade the thought. \* \* We alighted at the City Tavern, (now the Coffee House,) where some unpleasant altercation took place between the General and several gentlemen who called on him. \* After they retired, he wrote a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, with which he charged me; and I took leave of him. I was on horseback early the next morning, and reached Newtown about two o'clock. On my arrival there I discovered, to my surprise, that General Washington had transferred his quarters to that place, and had himself marched with the troops in that neighborhood. From Colonel Harrison, the General's Secretary, who had been left in charge of his papers, I received the necessary directions, and proceeded in quest of the troops, whose route was easily traced; as there was a little snow on the ground, which was tinged here and there with blood from the feet of the men who wore broken shoes. I got up with my brigade near McKonkey's Ferry about dusk, and, inquiring for the Commander-in-Chief, was directed to his quarters. I found him alone with his whip in his hand, prepared to mount his horse; which I perceived as I entered, when I presented the letter of General Gates to him. Before receiving it, he exclaimed with solemnity, "What a time is this to hand me letters!" I answered that I had been charged with it by General Gates. "By General Gates! where is he?" "I left him this morning in Philadelphia." "What was he doing there?" "I understood him that he was on his way to Congress." He earnestly repeated "On his way to Congress!" then broke the seal; and I made my bow, and joined General St. Clair on the bank of the river.

'Boats were in readiness, and the troops began to cross about sunset; but the force of the current, the sharpness of the frost, the darkness of the night, the ice which was made during the operation, and a high wind, rendered the passage of the river extremely difficult; and but for the stentorian lungs and extraordinary exertions

\* It appears that General Wilkinson, prompted by the stirring events in June, 1775, relinquished the practice of medicine which he had just commenced in Maryland, his native Province; soon repaired to the army before Boston, and joined Colonel Thompson's rifle corps, as a volunteer.

of Colonel Knox, it could not have been effected in season to favor the enterprise ; \* for it was four o'clock before the troops were formed and put in motion, at which time it began to hail and snow.

'The disposition of attack was made for two columns; the left led by the Commander-in-Chief, who was accompanied by Generals Lord Stirling, Geene, Mercer, and Stevens, to make a circuit by the Pennington road ; \* the right, under Major-General Sullivan, which included the brigade of St. Clair, to keep the river road. \* General Sullivan was ordered to halt for a few minutes at the cross road. \* Soon after the halt, it was discovered, \* that the best secured arms \* were wet, and not in firing condition. \* \* An officer was despatched to apprise the General of the state of our arms, who returned for answer by his Aid-de-camp, Colonel Samuel Webb, that we must "advance and charge." It was now broad day, and the storm beat violently in our faces; the attack had commenced on the left, and was immediately answered by Colonel Stark in our front, who forced the enemy's picket, and pressed it into the town. The enemy made a momentary show of resistance, by a wild and undirected fire from the windows of their quarters, which they abandoned as we advanced, and made an attempt to form in the main street; which might have succeeded, but for a six-gun battery opened by Captain T. Forest under the immediate orders of General Washington, \* and the decision of Captain William Washington, who, seconded by Lieutenant James Munroe, led the advance guard of the left column.

\* \* These officers were both wounded in this charge.

\* \* \* After some fluctuation in their movements, they halted, formed in order of battle, with their front to the south, and ordered their arms, which after a summons from the General, and a short pause, they agreed to surrender at discretion.\* I had been despatched to General Washington for orders, and

\* ' Captain Forest commanded our artillery on that memorable occasion, and followed the advance of the left column: General Washington kept near the front. As he approached the village, he inquired of an inhabitant, who was chopping wood by the roadside, "Which way is the Hessian Picket?" "I do n't know," replied the citizen, waiving an answer. "You may speak," said Captain Forest, "for that is General Washington." The astonished man raised his hands to heaven and exclaimed, "God bless and prosper you, Sir,—the picket is in that house, and the sentry stands near that tree." Captain Washington immediately received an order to dislodge it, which he executed with promptitude, and the artillery being unlimbered, the column proceeded. When Forest's battery was opened, the General kept on the left, and advanced with it, giving objects of direction to his fire; his position was an exposed one, and he was frequently entreated to fall back, of which he took no notice. He had turned the guns on the retreating enemy, when, to an order for the discharge of cannister, Captain Forest observed, "Sir, *they have struck.*" "Struck!" replied the General. "Yes," said Forest, "*their colors are down.*" "So they are," observed the Chief, and galloped towards them; followed by Forest and his whole command.'

rode up to him at the moment Colonel Rahl, supported by a file of sergeants, was presenting his sword. On my approach, the Commander-in-Chief took me by the hand, and observed, "Major Wilkinson, this is a glorious day for our country!" his countenance beaming with complacency. \* \* \*

The execution of this enterprise, reflected high honor on General Washington, but his triumph was abridged by the failure of two simultaneous attacks; one from Bristol \* , the other by Trenton Ferry \* , which made a part of his plan: \*

\* otherwise, these German cantonments would have been swept.\*

'This was a desperate undertaking, justified by the deplorable state of our affairs, and worthy the Chief who projected it. I have never doubted that he had resolved to stake his life on the issue. The joy diffused throughout the Union by the successful attack against Trenton, reanimated the timid friends of the Revolution, and invigorated the confidence of the resolute. Perils and dangers still in prospect, were considered the price of Independence; and every faithful citizen was willing to make the sacrifice. Success had triumphed over despondency. \* \* \*

'Pursuant to his resolution, General Washington on Monday morning the 30th of December, 1776, again crossed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton; but owing to the drifting ice, the passage of the river had become extremely difficult and fatiguing, and the rear of the troops did not join him before the next morning. In the course of that day, Colonel Joseph Reed, with a reconnoitering party of twelve dragoons, was sent out to inquire for the enemy, of whom General Washington had no certain advice; and, being well acquainted with the country, he surprised a Commissary and foraging party, consisting precisely of equal numbers, whom he charged and made prisoners without the loss of a man; and after a few hours' absence, returned with every trooper his prisoner behind him. \* \* \*

'The information received from the prisoners, separately examined, left no doubt of the enemy's superiority, and his intention to advance upon us; which would put General Washington in a critical situation. To make a safe retreat was impracticable, should the enemy act with energy; and if it could be effected at all, it would depreciate the influence of antecedent successes, and check the rising spirit of the community; on the other hand, to give battle under the circumstances of the manifest inequality which existed, would be to hazard the annihilation of the *Grand Army*, an event the most dangerous of all to the public cause: in this awful conjuncture, the resolution adopted was the most acceptable to the feelings of a soldier. \* \* \*

\* In regard to those parts of his plan, and the causes of their failure, see the letter to Congress, Dec. 27, p. 386.

Such was the position of the two armies on the night of the 1st of January, 1777.\* Great exertions had been made the preceding evening to induce the Continental troops, whose term of service expired at twelve o'clock, P. M., to remain with the General, and stick by the cause of the country; the men were addressed by companies, regiments, brigades, and divisions, and finally after all the persuasive arts were exhausted, 1,200, or 1,400 consented to engage for an additional six weeks, on the receipt of ten dollars' bounty. This was, of necessity, conceded by the General, whose whole force then consisted of this number of Continental troops, engaged for six weeks [with the few mentioned, pp. 366, 375, and one company or two of artillery from New York], and 3,500 or 3,600 Pennsylvania volunteer militia. — That of the enemy was estimated at 8,000 combatants; artillery, dragoons, and infantry, duly proportioned: how dreadful the odds; how eventful the succeeding day; on which the fate of General Washington, and his army, might have been decided, but for the obstinate resistance of a handful of brave men, and the workings of Heaven!

\* \* \* \* \*

'If General Washington by a false step, from which mortal man is not exempt, had committed himself to an almost hopeless condition, the dispositions he adopted to harass and retard the advance of the enemy, were the most sagacious his situation admitted; and the zealous, active, courageous agents of his will, on the 2d [and 3d] of January, 1777, should be distinguished by grateful recollections and the public favor. Of those Revolutionary worthies, known to the writer, [were] HAND, SCOTT, LAWSON; JOSIAH and RICHARD PARKER, and DAVID HARRIS of Baltimore; MILLER, and FOREST, and HAMILTON.

'Immediately after dark, a council of war was convened at General St. Clair's Quarters; \* for General Washington had been driven out of his own quarters by the enemy.

\* \* It was this officer who in council suggested the idea of marching by our right and turning the left of the enemy; the practicability of the route was well understood by Colonel Reed, Adjutant-General; and the Commander-in-Chief, as soon as satisfied on this point, adopted the proposition. The more effectually to mask the movement, he ordered the guards to be doubled; a strong fatigue party to be set to work on an intrenchment across the road near the mill, within distinct hearing of the sentinels of the enemy; the baggage to be sent to Burlington; the troops to be silently filed off by detachments; and the neighboring fences to be used for fuel to our guards, to keep up blazing fires until toward day, when they had orders to retire.

'The night, although cloudless, was exceedingly dark; and,

\* Respecting the 'resolution adopted, [and] the position of the two armies,' see p. 396.



though calm, most severely cold. The movement was so cautiously conducted as to elude the vigilance of the enemy.\*

\* \* \* \* \*

‘In this affair, [the battle of Princeton,] our numerical loss was inconsiderable: it did not exceed thirty; \* but it was of great magnitude in worth and talents; Colonels Haslet and Porter, Major Morris, and Captain William Shippen were respected in their grades; Captains Fleming and Neal presented fair promise of professional excellence; but in General Mercer, we lost a chief, who, for experience, talents, disposition, integrity, and patriotism, was second to no man but the Commander-in-Chief, and was qualified to fill the highest trusts of the country. \* \*

‘The loss of the enemy was more considerable in point of numbers; and Captain Leslie’s death appeared to afflict the prisoners very sensibly. At their instance his body was conveyed to Pluckemin, and was there interred with the honors of war; on which occasion it was remarked, that many of the men, and particularly those of his company, wept bitterly. \* \* \*

‘When the troops were assembled in Princeton, the absence of the General, who had been led away some distance in the pursuit of the fugitives, excited strong emotions of alarm for his safety; † which he soon relieved by his presence. \* \* \*

‘Pressed as we were for time, it was the desire of the Commander-in-Chief, and the inclination of every officer, to make a stroke at Brunswick, which had been left with a small garrison, in charge of General Matthews; but our physical force could not bear us out: the men had been under arms eighteen hours, and had suffered much from cold and hunger. The Commander and several general officers halted at the forks of the road in Kingston, whilst our troops were filing off to Rocky Hill; when the exclamation was general, “O that we had five hundred fresh men to beat up their quarters at Brunswick!” But the measure was found to be impracticable, and therefore we proceeded down Millstone River, and halted at Somerset Court-House; where many of the militia, whose baggage had been sent to Burlington, lay in the

\* See General Washington’s description in his letter to Congress, Jan. 5, pp. 396, 397.

† A Captain of riflemen in that engagement, informed a friend twenty years afterwards, ‘That the General, whilst encouraging the pursuit, exclaimed, “*It is a fine fox-chase, my boys.*”

It was also stated, that when they approached Princeton preparatory to the engagement, ‘Washington pushed forward and placed himself between the two armies, with his horse’s head fronting the enemy, that his example might encourage his troops to make a bold stand and return the enemy’s fire.’

The next day after the army arrived at Morristown, one of the officers who were in the actions at Trenton and Princeton, wrote to an acquaintance, — ‘Our army love their General very much, but they have one thing against him; which is the little care he takes of himself in any action. His personal bravery, and the desire he has of animating his troops by example, make him fearless of danger. This occasions us much uneasiness. But Heaven, which has hitherto been his shield, I hope will still continue to guard so valuable a life.’

open air without blankets. We marched the next day to Pluckemin, and halted until the 5th. It had been previously determined by the General, on the advice of General St. Clair,\* after the plan of visiting Brunswick had been abandoned, to take quarters at Morristown; but the troops were so much exhausted, that they required a short respite from fatigue. I think it was on the 5th, during our halt at Pluckemin, that General Washington made a pretext for sending a flag to Brunswick, of which his Aid-de-camp, Colonel Fitzgerald, was the bearer: he was courteously received, and introduced to most of the general officers, who spoke freely of the trick General Washington had played them, and the race they had run, as they had made a forced march to Brunswick,—such was their alarm for the safety of their magazine. \* \*

The recital of Captain Leslie's death, and the respect with which his body had been treated, affected General Leslie so sensibly, that he retired to a window and shed tears; and when Colonel Fitzgerald returned, he sent his acknowledgments to General Washington.

'We arrived at Morristown on the 6th, and the troops were cantoned in the vicinity.

\* \* \* \* \*

'If the yeomanry of the Jerseys, panic struck by the triumphant march of a victorious army, and seduced by the blandishments and fair promises of the British Commissioners, shrunk from their duty and abandoned the standard of their country, in November and December, 1776; they discovered before January, 1777, that the powers of the invaders were limited, and the promises of the Commissioners perfidious. \* Henceforward the militia of the Jerseys stood preëminent among the defenders of the public cause; they hovered around the enemy, and harassed him whenever he stepped beyond his stationary guards. The aged watched, explored, designed,—the youth, alert, courageous, and ever ready for the onset, planted a hedge of pickets in General Washington's front, to abate his painful solitudes, to conceal his nakedness, and support the Revolution.'

Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i. pp. 98–155.

'*January 5th.*—At the close of the last year, the situation of our main army was gloomy and discouraging; a large proportion of the troops had retired from service, as their term of enlistment expired; and the small remains of our army was retreating before the enemy, and passed the Delaware for safety. It is now announced in our general orders, to our inexpressible joy and satisfaction, that the scene is in some degree changed: the fortune of

\* 'He was the only general officer acquainted with that quarter of the country.'

war is reversed ; and Providence has been pleased to crown the efforts of our Commander-in-Chief with a splendid victory, [the victory at Trenton.] \* \* \* This very brilliant achievement is highly honorable to the Commander-in-Chief, and to all that were engaged in the enterprise. We are sanguine in the hope, that this most auspicious event will be productive of the happiest effects, by inspiriting our dejected army, and dispelling that panic of despair into which the people have been plunged.

'15th. We are now informed of another very important advantage which General Washington has gained over the royal army, [at Princeton,] by means of a well concerted stratagem. \*

'It is often exultingly remarked in our camp, [at Ticonderoga,] that Washington was born for the salvation of his country ; and that he is endowed with all the talents and abilities necessary to qualify him for the great undertaking. The militia of Jersey, immediately on their being liberated from the control of the British, flew to arms, exasperated and stimulated by a recollection of their sufferings, and have become their most bitter and determined enemies ; and are very active and vigilant in harassing them on all occasions, keeping a continual watch, and cutting off small parties whenever opportunities offer. It is gratifying to the army that Congress have conferred on their Generalissimo more ample powers, and appointed him *Dictator* for the limited term of six months ; to reform and new model the military arrangements, in such manner as he may judge most advantageous for the public service. Much good is expected to result from this measure.'

Thacher's Military Journal, pp. 70 - 74.

## COURSE OF EVENTS, ETC., IN 1777.

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Is the reader disposed now to look somewhat eagerly forward, and inquire how much the experience of '76 served to correct and to prevent error in '77;—how far jealous conceit, and the consequent enfeebling division, gave place to confiding wisdom and vigorous, united action;—how soon the want of officers was supplied, and all difficulty respecting them removed;—how speedily the battalions voted in September were raised, armed, and provided with all things necessary, to be substituted for those fragments of battalions that remained after the battles of Trenton and Princeton? In relation to all these, we offer the best evidences which circumstances have placed within our power.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL LINCOLN.

MORRISTOWN, 7 January, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR,—I am glad to hear by yours of the 4th instant, that you had arrived at Peekskill; and I hope, from the measures you have taken to hasten up your troops, that they will soon be all with you. General Heath will communicate mine of this date to you, by which you will find, that the greater part of your troops are to move down towards New York, to draw the attention of the enemy to that quarter; and, if they do not throw a considerable body back again, you may in all probability carry the city, or at least blockade them in it. I believe they are not prepared for the latter; for, as they have for some time past made themselves sure of holding Jersey, they have not taken proper precautions to establish large magazines at any one place. I leave it entirely to the determination of you and General Heath, whether you shall continue on the east side of Hudson’s River, or come on with the troops that are to join me. I have only to beg of you to be as expeditious as possible in moving forward; for the sooner a panic-struck enemy is followed, the better. If we can oblige them to evacuate Jersey, we must drive them to the utmost distress; for, as I mentioned above, they have depended upon the supplies from that State for their winter support.\*

I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 266.

\* It may be observed, that the date of this letter was the next day after General Washington with his small army arrived at Morristown.

SAME to the COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 19 January, 1777.

‘GENTLEMEN, — The readiness which the militia of Pennsylvania have shown by engaging in the service of their country, at an inclement season of the year, when my army was reduced to a handful of men, and our affairs were in the most critical situation, does great honor to them and to your State. But, although they have contributed greatly to the success which has lately attended our arms, I must inform you, that with pain I hear they have determined to return home. Most of the city militia have resolved to stay some days longer; they must then be discharged, as I am well informed they are generally in want of almost every necessary. I must depend chiefly this winter on the militia, to enable me to act offensively, or even to make a stand; and therefore I sincerely wish they could have been prevailed upon to serve, till they might have been relieved by the troops now raising by the Continent.

*‘There is now the fairest opportunity of totally destroying the British army, or, at least, of delaying their operations in the spring, till we may be prepared to oppose them by regular forces. As it is a matter of the highest importance, that your militia should be put on such a footing as will fully answer the exigency of our affairs at this time, I do most earnestly recommend, that such spirited and effectual measures be adopted, as will soonest accomplish this great and necessary work. As there is not the least doubt, at present, that the principal object of the enemy is to get possession of the city of Philadelphia, it is absolutely necessary that every person, able to bear arms, except such as are conscientiously scrupulous against it in every case, should give their personal service, and, whenever a part of the militia is required only, either to join the army, or find a man in their place. In order to effect this, I beg you will order the whole militia of your State to be enrolled and completely equipped, that one half at least may proceed to join the army with all possible expedition. Let those who have done their tour of duty already, be excused; but those who have not, should be obliged to come forth, or hire a proper person in their place, to remain till the 1st of April, unless sooner discharged by the Commander-in-Chief. You may be assured, that nothing but the united efforts of every State in America can save us from disgrace, and too probably from ruin. The army is much reduced since we left Trenton; and the many that will be discharged in a few days will so weaken our force, that it will be impossible to oppose the enemy with success, should they advance towards us; or do any essential service, if they should move towards Philadelphia. As I cannot expect our situation can long be a secret to the enemy, there is no doubt but they will avail themselves of it, and take advantage of our weakness. When any of your militia are*

coming forward, I beg you will inform them, that the time for which they engage to serve is to begin when they join the army. The want of a regular well-established government in your State has greatly obstructed the public service. I therefore recommend, that some authority be immediately exerted to draw forth your whole strength.

I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 281.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 19 January, 1777.

'SIR, — The fluctuating state of an army composed chiefly of militia bids fair to reduce us to the situation in which we were some little time ago; that is, of scarce having any army at all, except reinforcements speedily arrive. One of the battalions from the city of Philadelphia goes home to-day, and the other two only remain a few days longer by courtesy. The time for which a country brigade under General Mifflin came out is expired; and they stay from day to day by dint of solicitation, their numbers much reduced by desertions. We have about eight hundred of the Eastern Continental troops, remaining, of twelve or fourteen hundred who at first agreed to stay; part engaged to the last of this month, and part to the middle of next. The five Virginia regiments are reduced to a handful of men, as are Colonel Hand's, Smallwood's, and the German battalion. A few days ago, General Warner arrived with about seven hundred Massachusetts militia, engaged to the 15th of March.

'Thus you have a sketch of our present army, with which we are obliged to keep up appearances before an enemy already double in numbers.

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'I have ordered away every officer that could be spared, some to recruit, and some to collect the scattered men of the different regiments, who are dispersed almost over the Continent; for, of the vast numbers sent to the hospitals at different times, few ever returned after they got well. As militia must be our dependence till we can get the new army raised and properly arranged, I must entreat you to continue your endeavors with the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to turn out every man they possibly can, and for some time longer than they have generally stipulated for. If they agree for a month or any limited time, it should commence from the time they actually join the army, and not from the time they leave their homes; otherwise, the marching backwards and forwards consumes the term of engagement. I think these demands of aid should be made as quietly as the nature of the case will admit, especially at this time, when we are deceiving our enemies with false opinions of our numbers; for, to boast of our superiority in that respect on one hand, and to call publicly on the people for assistance on the other, is an impropri-



ety too glaring: indeed, it has been already noticed in some publications that I have seen from New York.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 10.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 283.

SAME TO GOVERNOR COOKE.

MORRISTOWN, 20 January, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I am exceedingly sorry to hear, that your State has ordered several *battalions to be raised for the defence of the State only*, and this *before proper measures are taken to fill the Continental regiments*. You cannot be insensible how unequal any one State is, unconnected with the others, to defend itself, if the enemy makes a descent against it with any considerable part of their force. Neither have you the least reason to think that you would derive less protection from the troops, if they were raised upon the Continent’s account, than on that of the State. *If each State were to prepare for its own defence, independent of each other, they would all be soon conquered, one by one. Our success must depend upon a firm Union, and a strict adherence to the general plan.* Other measures may produce a partial relief, but never can remove the principal evil.

‘ You must be sensible, that the season is fast approaching, when a new campaign will open; nay, the former is not yet closed, nor do I intend it shall be, unless the enemy quits the Jerseys. It is of the last importance to the interest of America, that the new regiments be speedily levied. It would give me an opportunity in the fore part of the campaign, before the enemy can collect their force, or receive any reinforcement from home, to give them a fatal blow, which might terminate the campaign to great advantage. I am sure, that the necessity of having the Continental regiments immediately completed, is too obvious to need any further arguments. I hope the powers of government are such, as to complete the new levies by draft, if they cannot be filled seasonably by voluntary enlistments.

‘ Necessity obliges me to call upon you, as I shall upon every other State, in the most pressing terms, to complete, without delay, your proportion of the eighty-eight battalions. I am confident, that the raising of the two regiments at the expense of the State, before the Continental regiments are complete, can answer no valuable purpose. If the enemy make a descent upon Rhode Island with any considerable force, the opposition of two regiments will be inconsiderable. If they only infest the coast with their ships, the militia would answer a much better purpose, and at a far less expense. I must confess, that I am ignorant of the reasons which induced the Assembly to adopt the measure; neither can I conceive of the use and policy of the scheme. I wish it may not be productive of more injury than benefit, by introducing innovations

and changes that must retard the filling of the Continental regiments, and, consequently, prejudice the general interest, which every State must have an eye to; and the obligation on you is stronger than on any one else, being the most exposed, and the least capable of making a separate defence.

‘Our affairs here are in a very prosperous train. Within a month past, in several engagements with the enemy, we have killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, between two and three thousand men. \* \* \* If I am properly supported, I shall hope to close the campaign gloriously for America.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 285.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 22 January, 1777.

‘I shall be glad to know what stock of small arms you at present have, and what are your expectations shortly. The necessity that we have been and are now under, of calling in and arming the militia, scatters our armory all over the world, in a manner. Their officers are so irregular, that they generally suffer their men to carry home every thing that is put into their hands, which is for ever lost to the public. The new-raised regiments will call for a great number of arms; and I do not at present see how they are to be supplied.

‘I would again beg leave to recall the attention of Congress to the appointment of general officers.\* I will not suppose the nomination of them is postponed upon a saving principle, because the advantage in having proper officers to examine the pay-rolls \*; to see that the regiments are provided with what is proper, and that no more than a sufficiency is allowed; to keep officers to their duty \* \* \*, — I say, if the appointments are withheld upon parsimonious principles, the Congress are mistaken; for I am convinced, that, by the correction of many abuses which it is impossible for me to attend to, the public will be benefited in a great degree in the article of expense. But this is not all. We have very little time to do a very great work in. The arranging, providing for, and disciplining a hundred and odd battalions is not to be accomplished in a day; nor is it to be done at all with any degree of propriety, when we have once entered upon the active part of the campaign. These duties must be branched out, or they will be neglected, and the public injured. Besides, were the brigadiers appointed, they might be facilitating the recruiting service; they would have time to get a little acquainted with their brigades and the wants of them, and ease me of the great weight and burden which I at present feel.

\* See second and third paragraphs, p. 370.

‘ On whom the choice will or ought to light, I cannot undertake to say. In a former letter, I took the liberty of submitting to the consideration of Congress the propriety of appointing, out of each State, brigadiers to command the troops of that State, *thinking, as a distinction is now fixed, a spirit of emulation might arise by this means.*\* At any rate, I shall take the liberty of recommending General Cadwallader as one of the first for the new appointments. I have found him a man of ability, a good disciplinarian, firm in his principles, and of intrepid bravery. I shall also beg leave to recommend Colonel Reed to the command of the horse, as a person, in my opinion, every way qualified; for he is extremely active and enterprising; many signal proofs of which he has given this campaign. For the rest, the members of Congress can judge better than I can. I can only say, that, as the army will probably be divided in the course of the next campaign, there ought, in my opinion, to be three lieutenant-generals, nine major-generals, and twenty-seven brigadiers; in other words, there ought, at least, to be a brigadier to every four regiments, and a major-general to every three brigades. The lieutenant-generals will, I presume, be appointed out of the oldest major-generals, and the major-generals from the oldest brigadiers. Nine brigadiers will then be to nominate.

‘ I forgot before this to inform Congress, that, including the regiment of light dragoons from Virginia, and Colonel Sheldon’s to be raised in Connecticut, I have only commissioned officers for four regiments. I was willing to try how these could be equipped, before I put more officers into commission. It is apprehended we shall find difficulty in providing necessaries, or even horses, for these four regiments. If we should not, I shall immediately set about the residue.                   \*                   •

‘ The treasury has been for some time empty, and the army has labored under the greatest inconvenience for want of money.                   •

\* If we are not supplied with that necessary article, all matters must be at a stand.

P. S. ‘ I did not recollect Major-General Lincoln, in the Provincial service of Massachusetts. He is an excellent officer, and worthy of your notice in the Continental line.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 14.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 200.

SAME to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

MORRISTOWN, 24 January, 1777.

‘ SIR, — The situation to which I am reduced for want of a regular body of troops on whom I can depend for a length of time, makes it indispensably necessary for me to call upon you, and entreat you to exert yourself in levying and equipping the number of battalions allotted to your State by the Resolutions of Congress

\* See fourth paragraph, p. 370.

in September last.\* You must be fully sensible of the hardship imposed upon individuals, and how detrimental it must be to the public, to have farmers and tradesmen frequently called into the field as militia-men; whereby a total stop is put to arts and agriculture, without which we cannot possibly long subsist. But great as this inconvenience is, we must put up with it, or submit to a greater, — the total loss of our liberties, — until our regular Continental army can be brought into the field. The above reasons alone, I hope, will be sufficient to induce you to exert yourself; for, if our new army is not ready to take the field early in the spring, we shall lose all the advantages which I may say we have *providentially* gained this winter. While our dependence is upon the militia, we have a full army one day, and scarce any the next; and I am much afraid, that the enemy one day or other, taking advantage of one of these temporary weaknesses, will make themselves masters of our magazines of stores, arms, and artillery. Nothing but their ignorance of our numbers protects us at this very time; when, on the contrary, had we six or eight thousand regular troops, or could the militia, who were with me a few days ago, have been prevailed upon to stay, we could have struck such a stroke, *as would have inevitably ruined the army of the enemy*, in their divided state. \* \* \* While the men are raising, I beg you will spare no pains to make a collection of all things necessary for their equipment; not only with such as they can carry with them into the field, but for their use and convenience while they are there; such as spare shoes, stockings, and shirts, — the want of which has been the ruin of the old army. \* I expect the Clothier-General will be with the army in a few days, when I shall give him directions to allot a proportion of the clothing lately taken, and purchased for the public, to each State.†

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 294.

SAME TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

MORRISTOWN, 24 January, 1777.

‘SIR, — The irregular and disjointed state of the militia of this Province, makes it necessary for me to inform you, that, unless a law is immediately passed by your Legislature to reduce them to some order, and oblige them to turn out in a different manner from what they have hitherto done, we shall bring very few into the field, and even those few will render little or no service. Their officers are generally of the lowest class of the people; and, instead of setting a good example to their men, are leading them into every kind of mischief; one species of which is plundering the inhab-

\* See p. 298.

† This letter was sent also to each of the other New England States.

itants, under the pretence of their being Tories. A law should, in my opinion, be passed, to put a stop to this kind of lawless rapine; for, unless there is something done to prevent it, the people will throw themselves, of choice, into the hands of the British troops. But your object should be a well-regulated militia law. The people, put under good officers, would behave in quite another manner, and not only render real service as soldiers, but would protect, instead of distressing, the inhabitants. What I would wish to have particularly insisted upon, in the new law, should be, that every man, capable of bearing arms, should be obliged to turn out, and not buy off his service by a trifling fine. I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 206.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 26 January, 1777.

'The want of accurate maps of the country which has hitherto been the scene of war, has been of great disadvantage to me. I have in vain endeavored to procure them, and have been obliged to make shift with such sketches as I could trace out from my own observation, and that of gentlemen around me. I really think, if gentlemen of known character and probity could be employed in making maps, from actual survey, of the roads, — of the rivers, and bridges and fords over them, — and of the mountains, and passes through them, it would be of the greatest advantage.

'I had, previous to the receipt of your letter, written to General Howe, and proposed the fixing of an agent for prisoners at New York.\* I have not received an answer; but, if he accedes to the proposal, I shall appoint Mr. Lewis Pintard. \* \* \*

'Reinforcements come up so extremely slow, that I am afraid I shall be left without any men before they arrive. The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers, or they have not horses to move their artillery; or they would not suffer us to remain undisturbed. I have repeatedly written to all the recruiting officers, to forward on their men as fast as they could arm and clothe them; but they are so extremely averse to turning out of comfortable quarters, that I cannot get a man to come near me, though I hear from all parts that the recruiting service goes on with great success. It would be well if the Board of War, in whose department it is, would issue orders for all officers to equip and forward their recruits to Head-Quarters with the greatest expedition.

'By a Resolve of Congress passed some time ago, General Schuyler is directed to apply to me for ninety-four tons of powder, — a quantity which it is impossible I should have by me, and for which I do not know where to direct him to apply. I could wish

\* An agent to provide for the wants of the American prisoners then in possession of the enemy.

that returns were made to me of the quantity of powder on hand, and where it is to be found; that I may not be at a loss at any time of emergency.

' Since the resignation of Colonel Reed, the important office of adjutant-general has been left unfilled, I mean as to a principal; and I am much at a loss how or where to find a person in every way capable and proper to execute the office. \* \* \* I shall wait the result of a determination of Congress, before I proceed further in this appointment; and I wish to be favored with their advice as speedily as possible; for the remains of the old army are much disarranged for want of a good adjutant-general, and the formation of the new one in a great measure depends upon an able officer in that line. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 18.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 300.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 5 February, 1777.

' SIR, — By a letter from General Heath, of the 30th of last month, I find that he had decamped from the neighborhood of Kingsbridge, and removed back towards the White Plains. His reasons for doing so were, that the troops could not stand the inclemency of the weather, and that he feared the troops expected from Rhode Island would land upon his back. I have, however, directed him to leave a body of light troops under an active officer, in order to harass their foraging parties, and to cover our own, who are to remove as much of the forage from Westchester county as they can; and, after leaving as many men as will secure the passes in the Highlands, the remainder are to be sent over here to join me; for I am apprehensive that the enemy are reinforcing themselves at Brunswick. I shall, to-morrow send out parties from every quarter, to remove all the wagons, horses, cattle, and sheep, or as many as possible, from the neighborhood of the enemy's lines. They are to attend particularly to the horses; for, if we can reduce those that they at present have, and can hinder them from getting fresh ones from the adjacent country, it will be impossible for them to move their artillery and wagons forward, should they incline to make another push towards Philadelphia.

' I observe by your last Resolves, that the militia of Baltimore, Hartford, and Cecil counties in Maryland, are ordered out and to march this way. Let me entreat you to suffer none to go forward to Philadelphia, but what are equipped with arms, accoutrements, and blankets; they hurt the service much by taking those things only for a short time from the Continental troops, many of whom would otherwise be enabled to take the field.

' The Secretary of the Board of War has transmitted to me extracts of General Schuyler's letters, in which he calls pressingly for some general officers to be sent to his assistance. This will show



you the necessity of immediately making the promotions recommended in mine of the 22d of January;\* for at present I cannot spare a general officer from this quarter, without injuring the service.

'The small-pox has made such head in every quarter, that I find it impossible to keep it from spreading through the whole army in the natural way. I have therefore determined, not only to inoculate all the troops now here that have not had it, but shall order Dr. Shippen to inoculate the recruits as fast as they come to Philadelphia. They will lose no time, because they will go through the disorder while their clothing, arms, and accoutrements are getting ready.

'From the first institution of civil government, it has been the national policy of every precedent State, to endeavor to engage its members to the discharge of their public duty, by the obligation of an oath. Its force and happy influence have been felt in too many instances to need any arguments to support the policy or prove its utility. I have often thought the States have been too negligent in this particular, and am more fully convinced of it, from the effect General Howe's excursion has produced in New Jersey. An oath is the only substitute that can be adopted to supply the defect of principle. By our inattention in this article, we lose a considerable cement to our own force, and give the enemy an opportunity to make the first tender of the oath of allegiance to the King. Its baneful influence is but too severely felt at this time. The people generally confess they were compelled to take protection, and subscribe the *Declaration*; yet it furnishes many with arguments to refuse taking any active part; and further, they allege themselves bound to a neutrality at least. Many conscientious people, who were well-wishers to the cause, had they been bound to the States by an oath, would have suffered any punishment, rather than have taken the oath of allegiance to the King; and are now lost to our interest for want of this necessary tie. Notwithstanding the obligation of the *Association*,† they do not conceive it to have the same effect as an oath. The more united the inhabitants appear, the greater difficulty General Howe will have in reconciling them to regal government, and consequently the less hope of conquering them. For these reasons, and many more that might be urged, I should strongly recommend to every State to fix upon some oath or affirmation of allegiance, to be tendered to all the inhabitants without exception, and to outlaw those that refuse it.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 23.

Wash. Writ.

\* See the part of that letter, p. 415, which relates to the promotion and appointment of officers, and in which the General referred to his previous communications on the subject, pp. 370, 276, &c.

† See p. 29.

Fully satisfied that the circumstances of the time required an immediate adoption of such a measure to counteract the effects above described, General Washington, on the 25th of January, issued a proclamation 'in behalf of the United States,' commanding and requiring every person who had accepted the conditions proposed in that of the British Commanders, mentioned p. 350, 'to repair [within thirty days] to Head-Quarters, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer of the Continental army, or militia, *until further provision can be made by the civil authority*, and there deliver up such protection, certificate, and passports, and take the oath of allegiance to the United States of America; nevertheless hereby granting full liberty to all such as prefer the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country, forthwith to withdraw themselves and families within the enemy's lines.'

However it may appear at the present time, there were men, whose patriotic zeal was undoubted,—not a few of them in high stations,—found uprising against that proclamation as being inexpedient and, in important respects, exceptionable. It was alleged that, in these requirements, the General had transgressed the 'Resolve of Congress of the 9th of March,'\* and violated their 'civil rights.' In Congress, a motion to call the procedure in question was made and formally referred to a committee. The committee reported in favor of the proclamation; but, in order to prevent the consequences of an apprehended debate, it seems, they managed successfully to get their Report laid on the table.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

MORRISTOWN, 9 February, 1777.

'DEAR SIR,—I should hope that General Carleton will not attempt to pass the Lakes, before we can get a sufficient force to oppose him. The enterprise, I think, will be dangerous, and attended with many difficulties. However, as the defence and security of our posts in that quarter is an object of the first importance, I have written in the most urgent manner to the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, to forward on their regiments with all possible expedition; desiring that they may not wait till they are complete, but that suitable officers may be left to recruit for deficiencies. As to forming the Northern army out of a mixture of troops, I think it cannot be done, under the peculiar situation of our affairs. The posts on the Lakes are much more convenient to the Eastern forces, than to any other; and they can be there sooner than at any other places, where the aid of the rest is indispensably necessary.

'Another objection to the measure is, that *prejudices and jealousies have prevailed*, where the troops of different States have acted together; notwithstanding every possible exertion on my part to induce them to harmonize, and consider themselves as the same people, engaged in the same noble struggle, and having one common and general interest to defend, and to lay aside and bury all attachments and distinctions of a local and Provincial nature. These, I think, are not likely to be entirely done away, especially if general officers should be appointed by Congress from each State for their respective troops. *Indeed, as their difficulties have not been reconcilable heretofore, I hope their acting separately will produce a laudable spirit of emulation to excel, and raise the repu-*

\* See that Resolve, p. 203.

*tation of their respective States, tending in the end to advance the interest and weal of the whole.\**

*I am, &c.'*

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 315.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 11 February, 1777.

'SIR, — I was yesterday waited upon by two French gentlemen, Monsieurs Remand de Lisle and Robillard. The first produced a commission signed by you in November last, appointing him a Major of artillery; but, by the enclosed letter from him to me, he claims much higher rank under the promise of Congress, — that of commandant of the Continental artillery. Whether any such promise was made, I leave you to determine. Robillard claims a captaincy of artillery; but, upon what he grounds his pretensions, I do not know. I never saw him but once before; and that was on his way from Boston to Philadelphia.

'You cannot conceive what a weight this kind of people are upon the service, and upon me in particular. Few of them have any knowledge of the branches which they profess to understand; and those that have, are entirely useless as officers, from their ignorance of the English language. I wish it were possible to make them understand, when commissions are granted to them, that they are to make themselves masters of the English language in some degree, before they can be attached to any particular corps.

*'I am, Sir, with the greatest respect, &c.'*

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 26.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 14 February, 1777.

'SIR, — General Lincoln is just arrived with a regiment of Massachusetts militia, about two hundred and fifty. This, he says, is succeeded by three more, which will make in the whole near eighteen hundred; but in this I think he must be mistaken, unless those on the march are much fuller and larger than what they usually are. The whole are of the troops that were with General Heath.

'General Knox, by a letter of the 1st instant, informs me, that, on mature inquiry and examination, he finds Springfield to be more convenient and much better calculated for a laboratory and cannon-foundry, than any other part of the New England States. He adds, that a quantity of copper, tin, and other useful materials, can be had there; and that the necessary works and preparations, from these and other advantages, can be accomplished at least three or four months sooner there, than anywhere else. In consequence

\* In connection with this paragraph, see again the fourth, p. 370. See also the like expression, p. 416.

of this opinion, which I esteem of weight, particularly in this instance, and knowing the importance of these establishments and how essential they are, I have ventured to order the works to be begun there, without regard to what had been done at Brookfield,\* which was of but little consequence. The former, besides the many advantages mentioned by General Knox, stands on Connecticut River, and has a good navigation; yet is entirely secure against any attempts of the enemy, being twenty miles above Hartford, where the river is narrow, and too shoal to admit vessels that can give the least annoyance. As nothing but the good of the service could have led to this measure, I trust it will be approved.

‘I have written to the Assembly of Massachusetts State, and the Convention of New Hampshire; requesting their good offices and exertions to promote the raising of their regiments as expeditiously as possible, and forward the whole of the quotas first exacted from them to Ticonderoga.† \* \* I find the Council of the former, on General Schuyler’s earnest application, before my letter reached them, had determined to send four regiments as soon as they could be completed. I only wish the whole may be made up in a short time, and that their arrival may be early enough to prevent those inconveniences and fatal consequences which the want of a sufficient force in that quarter would subject us to, were the enemy to pass the Lakes at this time. \* \* It is with much concern, that the situation of our affairs obliges me to mention so frequently the want of money, especially when I am persuaded every means are used to furnish it. Our distress on this account is great indeed; and the injury the service receives, almost inconceivable. \* \*

*Ten o’clock, P. M.* — ‘Just now a flag returned, that went to Brunswick to-day, who brought the enclosed letters from General Lee, which I do myself the honor to transmit you, with a copy of one to myself. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 27.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 322.

*February 14th, second letter.* — ‘SIR, — I do myself the honor to enclose you a plan drawn up by Dr. Shippen in concert with Dr. Cochran, for the arrangement and future regulation of the general hospital. As this plan is very extensive, the appointments numerous, and the salaries affixed to them at present large, I did not think myself at liberty to adopt any part of it, before I laid it before Congress for their approbation. I will just remark, that, though the expense attending an hospital upon the enclosed plan will be very great, it will in the end not only be a saving to the public, but the only possible method of keeping an army on foot.

\* See Resolves from the Secret Journal, Dec. 27, p. 390.

† Relative to those quotas, see last note, p. 313.

‘ We are now, at an enormous bounty, and with no small difficulty, recruiting an army of upwards of a hundred battalions. The ensuing campaign may, from the same causes, prove as sickly as the last; and if the hospitals are in no better condition for the reception of the sick, our regiments will be reduced to companies by the end of the campaign; and those poor wretches who escape with life will be either scattered up and down the country, and not to be found, or, if found, totally enervated and unfit for further duty. By these means not only the bounty is lost, but the man is lost also; and I leave you to judge whether we have men enough to allow of such a consumption of lives and constitutions as have been lost the last campaign. For my own part, I am certain, that, if the army which I hope we shall have in the field this year, is suffered to moulder away by sickness as did the last, we must look for reinforcements to some other places than our own States.

‘ The number of officers mentioned in the enclosed plan, I presume, are necessary for us, because they are found so in the British hospitals; and, as they are established upon the surest basis, — that of long experience under the ablest physicians and surgeons, — we should not hesitate a moment in adopting their regulations, when they so plainly tend to correct and improve our former want of method and knowledge in this important department.

‘ The pay affixed to the different appointments is, as I said before, great, and perhaps more than you may think adequate to the service. In determining upon the sum that is to be allowed to each, you ought to consider that it should be such as will induce gentlemen of character and skill in their profession to step forth, and in some manner adequate to the practice which they have at home; for, unless such gentlemen are induced to undertake the care and management of our hospitals, we had better trust to the force of nature and constitution, than suffer persons entirely ignorant of medicine to destroy us by ill-directed applications. \*

‘ As no time is to be lost in appointing the necessary officers, fixing upon the proper places for hospitals, and many other preparations, I could wish that Congress would take this matter under their immediate consideration, and favor me with their sentiments thereon as soon as possible. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 29.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 20 February, 1777.

‘ SIR, — The principal design of this is to inform you, that we have strong reasons to believe, that the enemy are on the point of making some push. What their object is, — whether to beat up our quarters and to extend their own, to make a large forage and collection of provender of which they are in great want, — or to turn their views towards the Delaware, is a matter of uncertainty; but it

seems probable that one of these things they have in contemplation. \* \* I have ordered the utmost vigilance and attention to be observed at our several posts, to guard against surprises, and every preparation to be made, that the feeble state of our little army will admit of. At this time we are only about four thousand strong, — a force, you will suppose, unequal to a successful opposition, if they were not militia, and far too small for the exigencies of our affairs. \* \*

‘I wish to be informed how the regiments that are raising are to be armed, and of the provision that has been made for the same. I have reason to fear, indeed I am convinced, that there is a great deficiency in many, if not in the whole, of the States, in this article. Every letter that I receive from them mentions their want, and calls for supplies. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 31.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 325.

*February 20th*, second letter. — ‘SIR, — Monsieur Faneuil, who some time ago laid a plan before you for raising and officering a corps of Frenchmen, waited upon me yesterday. His success, as I expected, has been small in enlisting or rather engaging Canadians. I cannot find that he has met with more than thirty or forty, who would be willing to serve with him. He is now upon another scheme, — that of raising, arming, and clothing a number of men in the French Islands. \* \*

‘I have often mentioned to you the distress I am every now and then laid under, by the application of French officers for commissions in our service. This evil, if I may call it so, is a growing one; for, from what I learn, they are coming in swarms from old France and the Islands. \* \*

‘Some general mode of disposing of them must be adopted; for it is ungenerous to keep them in suspense, and at great charge to themselves; but I am at a loss how to point out this mode. Suppose they were told in general, that no man could obtain a commission, except he could raise a number of men in proportion to his rank. This would effectually stop the mouths of common appliers, and would leave us at liberty to make provision for gentlemen of undoubted military character and merit, who would be very useful to us as soon as they acquired our language. If you approve of this, or can think of any better method, be pleased to inform me as soon as you possibly can; for, if I had a decisive answer to give them, it would not only save me much trouble, but much time, which I am now obliged to bestow in hearing their different pretensions to merit, and their expectations thereupon.’ \*

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 32.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 327.

\* See letter, Feb. 11, p. 422. In a letter of the previous October, the General had equally urged the adoption of some proper regulation in regard to French applicants for office; using, in that instance, the same arguments as in these two letters. See Sparks, vol. iv. p. 146.



SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 23 February, 1777.

‘ Our delicate and truly critical situation, for want of a sufficient force to oppose the enemy, who are now ready, and, before many days elapse, will take the field, induced me to expect that the troops raising in the Southern States, and intended for this army, would march in companies or half companies as they were made up, without waiting for their regiments to be complete. Policy strongly suggested the propriety of the measure, and I requested it; but, to my great anxiety and surprise, I am told that this line of conduct is totally neglected, though a great number of recruits are actually engaged. I must entreat Congress to interpose again with their utmost pressing applications and commands, that this expedient may be adopted without a moment’s delay. No injury can result from it, because a sufficient number of proper officers can and must be left, to recruit the corps to their full complement.

‘ Nor will my fears respecting the state of our arms allow me to be silent on that head. Let the States be urged to send their men equipped with them and every other necessary, if possible. I know not what supplies may be in store elsewhere, or in the power of Congress; but they must not depend upon their being furnished here with any, or but with very few: no human prudence or precaution could secure but a small part of those belonging to the public, and in the hands of the soldiery, from being embezzled and carried off when their term of service expired.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 35.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 28 February, 1777.

‘ I was in hopes, that, by the time the militia who are now in service would be discharged, we should have a considerable number of the new levies in the field; but, though I have reports from all quarters of the great success of recruiting, I cannot get a man of them into service. General Johnson’s militia all go the 5th of March (many are gone already), and General Lincoln’s on the 15th. These two bodies form so considerable a part of our force, that, unless they are replaced, I shall be left in a manner destitute; for I have no great hopes of seeing an equal number of Continental troops by that time. I have written to Pennsylvania, to endeavor to get a reinforcement of militia from thence; and I am told the militia from the counties of Baltimore, Hartford, and Cecil, in Maryland, are on their march; but, as I have it not from any authority, I know not when to expect them, or in what numbers. They are about passing a militia law in this State, which may perhaps have some effect; but at present they are under no regulation at all.

‘ I have in my late letters recommended several things to your consideration, particularly that of a promotion of general officers. The very well-being of the new army depends upon its being done speedily. Not only this, but we are now suffering for want of brigadiers. General Schuyler has written most pressing for the assistance of general officers; and I have none to send him, without injuring the service in this quarter. The hospital plan, too, requires an answer, as nothing can be done in the nomination of the proper officers till I have your determination. There are several other matters of consequence before you, to which I am waiting your answers before I can proceed upon the respective points to which they refer. \* \*

‘ P. S. By some gentlemen just arrived from Boston, Dr. Franklin’s arrival in France is mentioned with certainty.’

Ibid. p. 36.

SAME to the COUNCIL OF MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

MORRISTOWN, 28 February, 1777.

‘ GENTLEMEN, — I yesterday received a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell \* of the 71st regiment, dated in Concord Jail on the 4th of this month. The Colonel, in his letter, gives me an account of such severity of his confinement, as is scarcely ever inflicted upon the most atrocious criminals. The following extract from his letter shows the reasons, that were given to him upon his being confined: — “ The first of this month, I was carried and lodged in the common jail of Concord, by an order of Congress, through the Council of Boston, intimating for a reason, that a refusal of General Howe to give up General Lee for six field-officers, of whom I was one, and the placing of that gentleman under the charge of the Provost at New York, were the motives of their particular ill-treatment to me.” He then proceeds to give a description of the place in which he is confined, which, if true, is shocking to humanity, and not to be justified upon the most strict interpretation of the Resolve of Congress. \* \* By this you will observe, that exactly the same treatment is to be shown to Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, that General Howe shows to General Lee; and, as he is only confined to a commodious house, with genteel accommodations, we have no right or reason to be more severe upon Colonel Campbell, who, I would wish, should immediately, upon the receipt of this, be removed from his present situation, and put into a house where he may live comfortably.

Colonel Campbell mentions the case of Captain John Walker, of Colonel Gorham’s corps, who, he says, is confined in the same jail and in the apartment with the common men. I know not what crime is alleged against Captain Walker; but I will only observe, that, unless there is a very good foundation, such treat-

\* The same Colonel Campbell described in the note, p. 251.

ment is impolitic; for the enemy have three hundred of our officers, whom we have little chance of exchanging, and upon whom they may retaliate.

‘ Before I had closed my letter, I was honored with yours of the 11th and 13th instant. Nothing distresses me more, than the universal call that is made upon me from all quarters for fire-arms, which I am totally unable to supply. The scandalous loss, waste, and private appropriation of public arms, during the last campaign, are beyond all conception. Every State must exert itself, and call upon its Colonels to produce receipts, or to account for the arms that were delivered out to them last year. I beg you will not only do this, but purchase all, fit for the field, that can be procured from private persons, of which there must be a vast number in the government. I am, &c.

‘ P. S. I desire, for particular reasons, that the contents of the above letter may not be suffered to go beyond the Council for the present. Colonel Campbell’s confinement may be enlarged without assigning the reasons publicly.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 330.

The reader who duly attends to the following Proceedings will probably have little difficulty in satisfactorily understanding both the preceding letter to the Council of Massachusetts, and the next following one to Congress.

IN CONGRESS, *January 2, 1777.* ‘ *Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to propose an exchange of the six Hessian field-officers, taken at Trenton, for General Lee.\*

*January 6, 1777.* ‘ Congress being informed that Major-General Lee hath, since his captivity, been committed to the custody of the Provost, instead of being enlarged on his parole, according to the humane practice that has taken place with officers of the enemy who have fallen into the hands of the American troops; a treatment totally unworthy of that gentleman’s eminent qualifications, and his rank in the service of these United States, and strongly indicative of farther injuries to his person :

‘ *Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to send a flag to General Howe, and inform him, that, should the proffered exchange of General Lee for six Hessian field-officers not be accepted, and the treatment of him, as above mentioned, be continued, the principles of retaliation shall occasion five of the said Hessian field-officers, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Campbell, or any other officers that are, or shall be, in our possession, equivalent in number or quality, to be detained, in order that the same treatment which General Lee shall receive, may be exactly inflicted upon their persons.\*

\* The proposition was made by General Washington, according to the first Resolve; but that Congress were uninformed as to its result, when they passed the second, may be perceived by the language of the preamble, as well as by the short interval between these dates.

*'Ordered,* That a copy of the above Resolution be transmitted to the Council of Massachusetts-Bay, and that they be desired to detain Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and keep him in safe custody till the farther order of Congress; and that a copy be also sent to the Committee of Congress, in Philadelphia; and that they be desired to have the prisoners, officers and privates, lately taken, properly secured in some safe place.'

*February 20. 'Resolved,* That the Board of War be directed immediately to order the five Hessian field-officers and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell into safe and close custody; it being the unalterable resolution of Congress to retaliate on them the same punishment as may be inflicted on the person of General Lee.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 1 March, 1777.

*'SIR,* — I was this evening honored with your favor of the 23<sup>d</sup> ultimo, accompanied by sundry Proceedings of Congress. Those respecting General Lee, which prescribe the treatment of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the five Hessian officers, are the cause of this letter. Though I sincerely commiserate the misfortunes of General Lee, and feel much for his present unhappy situation, yet, with all possible deference to the opinion of Congress, I fear that these Resolutions will not have the desired effect, are founded in impolicy, and will, if adhered to, produce consequences of an extensive and melancholy nature. Retaliation is certainly just, and sometimes necessary, even where attended with the severest penalties; but, when the evils which may and must result from it exceed those intended to be redressed, prudence and policy require that it should be avoided. Having premised thus much, I beg leave to examine the justice and expediency of it in the instances now before us.

*'From the best information I have been able to obtain, General Lee's usage has not been so disgraceful and dishonorable as to authorize the treatment decreed to those gentlemen, were it not prohibited by many other important considerations. His confinement, I believe, has been more rigorous than has been generally experienced by the rest of our officers, or those of the enemy who have been in our possession; but, if the reports received on that head be true, he has been provided with a decent apartment, and with most things necessary to render him comfortable. This is not the case with one of the officers comprehended in the Resolves, if his letter, of which a copy is transmitted, deserves your credit. Here retaliation seems to have been prematurely begun; or, to speak with more propriety, severities have been and are exercised towards Colonel Campbell, not justified by any that General Lee has yet received.*

*'In point of policy, under the present situation of our affairs, this*

doctrine cannot be supported. 'The balance of prisoners is greatly against us; and a general regard to the happiness of the whole should mark our conduct. Can we imagine, that our enemies will not mete the same punishments, the same indignities, the same cruelties, to those belonging to us, in their possession, that we impose on theirs in our power? Why should we suppose them to possess more humanity than we have ourselves? Or why should an ineffectual attempt to relieve the distresses of one brave, unfortunate man, involve many more in the same calamities? However disagreeable the fact may be, the enemy at this time have in their power, and subject to their call, near three hundred officers belonging to the army of the United States. In this number there are some of high rank; and most of them are men of bravery and of merit. The quota of theirs in our hands bears no proportion, being not more than fifty, at most. Under these circumstances, we should certainly do no act to draw upon the gentlemen belonging to us, and who have already suffered a long captivity, greater punishments than they have experienced and now experience. If we should, what will their feelings be, and those of their numerous and extensive connections? Suppose the treatment prescribed for the Hessians should be pursued, will it not establish what the enemy have been aiming to effect by every artifice and the grossest misrepresentations; I mean, an opinion of our enmity towards them, and of the cruel conduct they experience when they fall into our hands,—a prejudice which we on our part have heretofore thought it politic to suppress and to root out by every act of lenity and of kindness? It certainly will. The Hessians would hear of the punishment with all the circumstances of heightened exaggeration,—would feel the injury, without investigating the cause, or reasoning upon the justice or necessity of it. The mischiefs, which may and must inevitably flow from the execution of the Resolves, appear to be endless and innumerable.

'On my own part, I have been much embarrassed on the subject of exchanges already. Applications are daily made, by both friends and enemies, to complete them as far as circumstances of number and rank will apply. Some of the former have complained, that a discrimination is about to be adopted, perhaps injurious to their reputation, and certainly depriving them of their right of exchange in due course, as established upon the principles of equality proposed last year, acceded to by both parties, and now subsisting.\* The latter charge me with a breach of faith, and call on me to perform the agreement.

'Many more objections might be subjoined, \* \* \* I shall only observe, that the present state of the army, if it deserves

\* See the Resolve alluded to, in accordance with which the mode of exchange was established, July 22, p. 267.

that name, will not authorize the language of retaliation, or the style of menace. This will be conceded by all, who know that the whole of our force is weak and trifling, and composed of militia (very few regular troops excepted), whose service is on the eve of expiring. There are several other matters which might be mentioned upon this subject, would time and opportunity permit; but, as they will not, I beg leave to refer you to Colonel Walker,\* who will deliver this, and give satisfaction to any inquiries that may be deemed necessary. Persuading myself that Congress will indulge the liberty I have taken upon this occasion, I have only to wish for the result of their deliberations after they have considered the Resolves, and to assure them that I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 37.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 334.

ROBERT MORRIS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

PHILADELPHIA, 27 February, 1777.

'I do not like to be sanguine, and yet it is necessary, in a contest like this we are engaged in, to view the best side of the picture frequently. Remember, good Sir, that few men can keep their feelings to themselves, and that it is necessary, for example's sake, that all leaders should feel and think boldly, in order to inspire others who look up to them. Heaven, no doubt for the noblest purposes, has blessed you with a firmness of mind, steadiness of countenance, and patience in sufferings, that give you infinite advantages over other men. This being the case, you are not to depend on other people's exertions being equal to your own. One mind feeds and thrives on misfortunes, by finding resources to get the better of them; another sinks under their weight, thinking it impossible to resist; and, as the latter description probably includes the majority of mankind, we must be cautious of alarming them.

'I hate deception, and cannot wish any thing like it should ever escape you; but I really think, if the bright shade of our affairs were sometimes to be painted by your pen, or sanctioned by your name, it would draw forth the exertions of some good men, sooner than distress does from others. I hope you will excuse me for this style of writing, which almost amounts to confidential; and, were I sure of such being received in the same light in which I write it, I should lament to you the absence of many great, good, and valuable men from Congress; for, if great care is not taken, that body, so respectable from the nature of the appointment, the importance of its objects, and the respectable characters of its heretofore individual members, will lose great part of its weight and consequence in the eyes of our own people. We have now to lament the absence from the public councils of America, of Johnson, Jay, R. R.

\* One of General Washington's Aids-de-camp.



Livingston, Duane, Deane, W. Livingston, Franklin, Dickinson, Harrison, Nelson, Hooper, Rutledge, and others not less conspicuous, without any proper appointments to fill their places; and this, at the very time they are most wanted, or would be so, if they had not very wisely supplied the deficiency by delegating to your Excellency certain powers, that they durst not have entrusted to any other man. But what is to become of America and its cause, if a constant fluctuation is to take place among its counsellors, and at every change we find reason to view it with regret ?'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 339. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to ROBERT MORRIS.

MORRISTOWN, 2 March, 1777.

'DEAR SIR, — The freedom with which you have communicated your sentiments on several matters, is highly pleasing to me. For be assured, that nothing would add more to my satisfaction than an unreserved correspondence with a gentleman of whose abilities and attachment to the cause we are contending for, I entertain so high an opinion as I do of yours. Letters, however, being liable to various accidents, make a communication of thoughts that way rather unsafe. But, as this will be conveyed by a gentleman on whom I can depend, I need not scruple to disclose my mind and situation more freely, than I otherwise should do.

'The reasons, my good Sir, which you assign for thinking General Howe cannot move forward with his army, are good, but not conclusive. It is a descriptive evidence of the difficulties he has to contend with, but no proof that they cannot be surmounted. It is a view of one side of the picture, against which let me enumerate the advantages on the other, and then determine how we would act in his situation.

'General Howe cannot, by the best intelligence I have been able to get, have less than ten thousand men in the Jerseys and on board of transports at Amboy. Our number does not exceed four thousand. His are well disciplined, well officered, and well appointed; ours, raw militia, badly officered, and under no government. His numbers cannot in any short time be augmented. Ours must be very considerably, and by such troops as we can have some reliance upon, *or the game is at an end*. His situation with respect to horses is bad, very bad, I believe; but will it be better? No; on the contrary, worse, and therefore an inducement, if no other, to shift quarters. General Howe's informants are too numerous, and too well acquainted with all these circumstances, to suffer him to remain in ignorance of them. With what propriety, then, can he miss so favorable an opportunity of striking a capital stroke against a city, from whence we derive so many advantages, the carrying of which would give such eclat to his arms, and strike such a damp upon ours? Nor is his difficulty of moving so great as is imagined.

All the heavy baggage of the army, their salt provisions, flour, and their stores, might go round by water; whilst their superior numbers would enable them to make a sweep of the horses for many miles around them, not already taken off by us.

‘In addition to all this, his coming himself to Brunswick, his bringing troops which cannot be quartered, and keeping them on shipboard at Amboy, with some other corroborating circumstances, did induce a firm belief in me, that he would move, and towards Philadelphia. I candidly own, that I expected it would happen before the expiration of my Proclamation.\*

‘The longer it is delayed, the better for us: and happy shall I be, if I am deceived. My opinions upon these several matters are known only to those who have a right to be informed. As much as possible I have endeavored to conceal them from every one else; and, that no hasty removal of the public stores should take place, thereby communicating an alarm, I early recommended this measure, and have since been urging it; well knowing that a measure of this kind, set hastily about, when the enemy were advancing, would give unfavorable impressions, and be attended with bad consequences. To deceive Congress, or you, through whose hands my letters to them are to pass, with false appearances and assurances, would, in my judgment, be criminal, and make me responsible for the consequences. I endeavor, in all these letters, to state matters as they appear to my judgment, without adding to or diminishing aught from the picture. From others my sentiments are hidden.

‘I wish, with all my heart, that Congress had gratified General Lee in his request. If not too late, I wish they would do it still. I can see no possible evil that can result from it; some good, I think, might. The request to see a gentleman or two came from the *General*; not from the *Commissioners*. There could have been no harm, therefore, in hearing what *he* had to say on *any* subject; especially as he had declared, that his own personal interest was deeply concerned.

‘The Resolve to put in close confinement Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, in order to retaliate upon them Gen. Lee’s punishment, is, in my opinion, injurious in every point of view, and must have been entered into without due attention of the consequences. Does Congress know how much the balance of prisoners is against us; that the enemy have, at least, three hundred officers of ours in their possession, and we not fifty of theirs; that Generals Thompson and Waterbury are subject to be recalled at any time? Do they imagine that these officers will not share the fate of Campbell? Or, possibly, by receiving very different treatment, mixed with artful insinuations, their resentment may be roused to acts highly injurious to our cause. It is much easier to raise a fer-

\* See pp. 420, 421.

ment of this kind than to allay it. Do they know that every artifice is now practising to prepossess the Hessians with an idea of our maltreatment of their countrymen in our possession; that we are treating them as slaves; nay, that we mean to sell them? And will not the close confinement of their first officers be adduced as strong evidence of this? Congress, therefore, should be cautious how they adopt measures which cannot be carried into execution, without involving a train of evils that may be fatal in their consequences. In a word, common prudence dictates the necessity of duly attending to the circumstances of both armies, before the style of conquerors is assumed by either; and sorry I am to add, that this does not appear to be the case with us; nor is it in my power to make Congress fully sensible of the real situation of our affairs, and that it is with difficulty, if I may use the expression, that I can, by every means in my power, keep the life and soul of this army together. In a word, when they are at a distance, they think it is but to say, *Presto begone*, and every thing is done. They seem not to have any conception of the difficulty and perplexity attending those who are to execute. Indeed, Sir, *your observations on the want of many capital characters in that Senate are but too just. However, our cause is good, and I hope Providence will support it.* \* \* \* \*

‘I have written you a much longer letter than I expected to do when I sat down; and yet, if time would permit, I would enlarge greatly on the subject of it; but, at present, shall beg pardon for taking up so much of your time, and only assure you that I am, most sincerely, dear Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 338.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 6 March, 1777.

‘SIR, — I do myself the honor to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a letter from General Lee, received by a flag on Tuesday last. You will perceive from thence his wishes and expectations of seeing some members of Congress, in consequence of his letter upon that subject.† \* \* I should be happy to relieve his anxiety, as far as I can, by sending in Major Morris; but this I cannot do till a safe conduct is granted.

‘The more I consider the Resolves respecting Lieutenant-

† In his letter to Congress, mentioned p. 423, General Lee requested that two or three members might be sent to New York in order to afford him an opportunity of communicating something which he could not explain by letter, but which, in his estimation, was of great moment. This was his second letter forwarded by General Washington for the same object. Whatever considerations governed the decision of Congress in regard to the request, they resolved, Feb. 21, ‘That Congress judge it altogether improper to send any of their body to communicate with him;’ and again, March 29, after receiving from him a third letter on the subject, they resolved, ‘That Congress still judge it improper to send any of their members to confer with General Lee upon the subjects mentioned in his letter.’

Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers, the more convinced I am of their impolicy. The proposition made by Congress for the exchange of prisoners, and which by their direction was transmitted to General Howe, was founded on principles of equality in number and in rank. From hence no demand, as a matter of right, can be made of General Lee's releasement for any officer or number of officers of inferior rank: whatever is or might be done in such instance, would be of favor and indulgence. The only cartel that now subsists, is the one I have mentioned. This, so far as it goes, is a beneficial one; it recognises the rank of our officers, and insures their discharge from captivity whenever we are possessed of a like number belonging to them, and of the same rank. If on our part it should be violated,—if it is not observed,—surely it will and must cease to be obligatory on General Howe. What consequences may then ensue, I leave to your conjecture.

'If it be objected, that the above observations, and what I said in my former letter [of March 1], prove that no treatment received by our officers should be retaliated on theirs,—my answer is, that the proportion of officers in their hands is at least six to one in ours. This consideration, supposing we had a right to demand General Lee's liberty, would be of great weight, and sufficient to prevent, in my opinion, the execution of the Resolves. I have the honor to be, in haste, your most obedient servant.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 40.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 349.

Whether Congress were greatly influenced by the General's plain and full expressions on the main subject of this letter and that of March 1, p. 429, sufficiently appears from the records below.

IN CONGRESS, *March 14.* '*Ordered*, That the letters of the 1st and 6th from General Washington, be referred to a committee of the whole Congress.

'Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole; after some time, the President resumed the chair, and Mr. L. Morris reported, that the committee have had under consideration the letters to them referred, and come to a Resolution thereon, which he was ordered to report:

'The Resolution being read, was agreed to, and is as follows:

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be informed, that Congress cannot agree to any alteration in the Resolve [p. 428] passed on the 6th of January, 1777. And as to the complaints of Colonel Campbell, it was never their intention that he should suffer any other hardship than such confinement as is necessary to his security for the purpose of that Resolve:

'*Ordered*, That a copy of the above Resolve, together with a copy of the letter from Colonel Campbell to General Washington, be sent to the Council of Massachusetts-Bay.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

MORRISTOWN, 6 March, 1777.

‘SIR, — I am anxious to know whether General Arnold’s non-promotion was owing to accident or design; and the cause of it. Surely a more active, a more spirited and sensible officer fills no department in your army. Not seeing him, then, in the list of major-generals, and no mention made of him, has given me uneasiness; as it is not to be presumed, being the oldest brigadier, that he will continue in service under such a slight. I imagine you will lose two or three other very good officers, *by promoting yours, or any one’s*, over them. My public letters will give you the state of matters in this quarter, and my anxiety to be informed of the reason of Arnold’s non-promotion gives you the trouble of this letter.

‘I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 351.

SAME to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

MORRISTOWN, 6 March, 1777.

‘SIR, — I flattered myself, that I should never again be under the necessity of trespassing upon the public spirit of your State, by calling upon her for another supply of militia; but, such has been the unaccountable delay in the recruiting of the Continental battalions, *chiefly owing to the long time* which unhappily elapsed *before the officers were appointed*, I see no prospect of keeping the field till the new levies can be brought into it, but by a reinforcement of militia.

‘For want of proper laws in the Southern governments, their militia were never well regulated; and since the late troubles, in which the old governments have been unhinged, and new ones not yet firmly established, the people have adopted a mode of thinking and acting for themselves. It is owing to this, that, when a summons is issued for militia, those only turn out that please, and they for what time they please, by which means they sometimes set off for their homes in a few days after they join the army. From this state of facts, you will perceive, that I put no great dependence on the militia from the Southward; and I must therefore once more entreat you to endeavor to prevail upon two thousand of the militia of your State to march immediately to Peekskill, and there wait for further orders; their time of service to continue at least six weeks after they arrive there.

‘I am persuaded, from the readiness with which you have ever complied with all my demands, that you will exert yourself in forwarding the aforementioned number of men, upon my bare request. But I hope you will be convinced of the necessity of the demand, when I tell you in confidence, that, after the 15th of this month, when the time of General Lincoln’s militia will expire, I

shall be left with the remains of five Virginia regiments, not amounting to more than as many hundred men, and parts of two or three other Continental battalions, all very weak. The remainder of the army will be composed of small parties of militia from this State and Pennsylvania, on which little dependence can be put, as they come and go when they please. I have issued peremptory orders to every Colonel in the regular service, to send in what men he has recruited, even if they amount to but one hundred to a regiment. If they will do this, it will make a considerable force in the whole.

‘The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers and situation, or they would never suffer us to remain unmolested; and I almost tax myself with imprudence, in committing the secret to paper; not that I distrust you, of whose inviolable attachment I have had so many proofs, but for fear this letter should by any accident fall into other hands, than those for which it is intended. \* \*

‘I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 351.

#### COLONEL HAMILTON to the CONVENTION OF NEW YORK.

MORRISTOWN, March 6, 1777.

‘GENTLEMEN,—It is necessary I should inform you of the changes which have happened in your company of artillery; which should have been done long ago, had I not been prevented by sickness, from which I am but lately recovered.

‘General Washington has been pleased to appoint me one of his Aids-de-camp. Captain-Lieutenant James Moore, a promising officer, and who did credit to the State he belonged to, died about nine weeks ago. Lieutenant James Gilleland, some time before that, resigned his commission, prompted by domestic inconveniences, and other motives best known to himself. There remain now only two officers, Lieutenants Bean and Thompson, and about thirty men. The reason that the number of men is so reduced, besides death and desertions, was owing to a breach of orders in Lieutenant Johnson, who first began the enlistment of the company; and who, instead of engaging them during the war, according to the intention of the State, engaged them for the limited term of a twelvemonth. The time of those enlisted by him has expired; and for want of powers to reëngage them, they have mostly entered into other corps. I have to request you will favor me with instructions as to your future intentions. If you design to retain the company on the particular establishment of the State, it will be requisite to complete the number of officers, and make provision to have the company filled by a new enlistment. In this case, I should beg leave to recommend to your notice, as far as a Captain-Lieutenancy, Mr. Thompson. Mr. Bean is so incurably addicted to a *certain failing*, that I cannot, in justice, give my



opinion in favor of his preferment. But if you should determine to resign the company, as I expect you will, considering it as an extraordinary burthen, without affording any especial advantages, the Continent will readily take it off your hands, so soon as you shall intimate your design to relinquish it. I doubt not you will see the propriety of speedily deciding on the matter, which the good of the service requires.

‘ I am, with the sincerest respect, Gentlemen,

‘ Your most obed’t and most humble servant,

‘ ALEX. HAMILTON.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 235.

COMMITTEE OF THE CONVENTION TO COLONEL HAMILTON.

KINGSTON, 17 March, 1777.

‘ DEAR SIR, — We are to inform you, that Robert R. Livingston is, with us, a Committee appointed by Convention to correspond with you at Head-Quarters. You will give us pleasure in the information that his Excellency is recovered from the illness which had seized him the day before Messrs. Cuyler and Taylor left Head-Quarters. Any occurrences in the army which may have happened, you will please to communicate.

‘ In answer to your letter to the Convention, of the 6th instant, we are to inform you, that it is determined to permit that company to join the Continental army, for which you will take the necessary steps. At the same time, you will take some notice of the disposition of our guns, which, as you well know, are all in the Continental service; and, unless some little attention is paid to them, we may, perhaps, never see them again. We are, Sir,

‘ Your most obed’t and humble servants,

‘ GOUV. MORRIS,

‘ WM. ALLISON.’

Ibid. p. 237.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

MORRISTOWN, 8 March, 1777.

‘ SIR, — How can an Assembly of gentlemen, eye-witnesses of the distresses and inconveniences, which have their principal source in the want of a well-regulated militia, hesitate to adopt the only remedy that can remove them; and, stranger still, think of a law, that must necessarily add to the accumulated load of confusion? For Heaven’s sake, entreat them to lay aside their present opinions; and, waiving every other consideration, let the public good be singly attended to. The ease they design their constituents, by composition, must be delusive. Every injurious distinction between the rich and the poor ought to be laid aside now. The enemy cannot remain much longer in their present situation. Their peace, for some days past, indicates preparations to move.

When they do, your Assembly may perhaps wish, that their militia were in the field.

I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 354.

SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

MORRISTOWN, 12 March, 1777.

'SIR, — It is of the greatest importance to the safety of a country involved in a defensive war, to endeavor to draw their troops together at some post at the opening of a campaign, so central to the theatre of war, that they may be sent to the support of any part of the country, which the enemy may direct their motions against.

\* \* Some principal object should be had in view, in taking post, to cover the most important part of the country. \*

\* There is not a State upon the Continent, but thinks itself in danger; and scarcely an officer at any one post, but conceives a reinforcement necessary. To comply with the demands of the whole is utterly impossible; and, if attempted, would prove our ruin.

'From the enemy's situation in Jersey, collecting their force at Amboy and Brunswick, and from their intentions last fall, confirmed by every piece of intelligence we obtain this spring, it scarce admits a doubt, that Philadelphia is the object in view at the opening of this campaign. \* \* \*

'It appears to me of great importance to the success of the next campaign, that we should give this army some capital stroke in the early part of the season. Nothing can enable me to do this, but a junction of the Eastern and Southern forces. The recruiting service to the Southward has been so protracted, for want of a regular arrangement amongst the recruiting officers, that, with the difficulty of clothing and arming the troops, it must unavoidably be late in the season, before a sufficient force can be drawn together to check their progress, without the assistance of a very considerable part of the Eastern troops. \* \* \*

'The disaffection of Pennsylvania, which I fear is much beyond any thing you have conceived, and the depression of the people of this State, render a strong support necessary to prevent a systematical submission; besides, the loss of Philadelphia would prove a very great injury, as we draw from thence almost all our supplies. It will signify nothing to have our frontiers strongly guarded, while the enemy are ranging at large in the heart of the country.

'For these and many other reasons that will occur to you upon reflection, I have come to a resolution to alter the route of some part of the Massachusetts forces, and to draw eight regiments of them to Peekskill, from whence by water they can soon proceed to Albany, if occasion shall require, or move elsewhere, according to circumstances. This measure I have been the more inclined to

adopt, as I find part of the New York regiments are gone to Ticonderoga, contrary to my expectation or design.

‘ I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Ibid. p. 358.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 14 March, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I was honored several days ago with your letter of the 25th ultimo, with its enclosures, the receipt of which was omitted to be acknowledged in my last.

‘ Could I accomplish the important objects so eagerly wished by Congress, — “confining the enemy within their present quarters, preventing their getting supplies from the country, and totally subduing them before they are reinforced,” — I should be happy indeed. But what prospect or hope can there be of my effecting so desirable a work at this time? The enclosed return, to which I solicit the most serious attention of Congress, comprehends the whole force I have in Jersey. It is but a handful, and bears no proportion, in the scale of numbers, to that of the enemy. Added to this, the major part is made up of militia. The most sanguine in speculation cannot deem it more than adequate to the least valuable purposes of war. The reinforcements mentioned to be drawn from General Heath were merely ideal; nearly the whole of the Eastern troops, who were with him, being here before. They were only engaged till to-day; and to-day they leave the camp. Their service has been of pretty long continuance, and almost the whole of the winter months. What prospect there may be of immediate succors from other quarters, I know not; but from the militia of this State I cannot expect to derive much more aid. Those who are well affected have been so frequently called from their homes, that they are tired out, and almost profess an abhorrence of the service; nor have I heard as yet, that any Continental troops are on their way. I have written to the brigadier-generals in most of the States upon the subject, and also to the Colonels, urging them by every motive to exert themselves in filling the regiments, and to forward them on.

‘ I confess, Sir, I feel the most painful anxiety when I reflect on our situation and that of the enemy. Unless the levies arrive soon, we must, before long, experience some interesting and melancholy event. I believe the enemy have fixed on their object, and the execution will surely be attempted as soon as the roads are passable. The unprepared state in which we are, favors all their designs; and it is much to be wished that they may not succeed to their warmest expectations.

‘ On recurring to the late promotions of brigadiers, I find the number appointed to be short of what I took the liberty to recom-

mend,\* and not competent to the exigencies of the service, supposing the whole in office before, and those lately created, consent to act,—which I have reason to believe will not be the case. I shall only beg leave to refer you to my former letters upon this subject; and to assure you that many disadvantages will result from not having a sufficient number of officers of this rank. *We have always been deficient in this instance; and certain I am, that the service has been greatly injured by it.* The proportion I mentioned was full small, and, in my opinion, should not be dispensed with.

‘I would also take the liberty of mentioning again (having received no answer upon the subject), that settling the hospital plan and establishment becomes more and more necessary.† It is an object of infinite importance; and the difficulties of doing it on a proper foundation will be great, if not almost insurmountable, should it be deferred till the campaign opens, and the enemy begin their operations. The benefits of the institution will soon be known;—the want was severely felt in the course of the last year.

‘There is one thing more which claims, in my opinion, the earliest attention of Congress,—I mean the pay of the regimental surgeons, and that of the mates. These appointments are so essential, that they cannot be done without. The pay, in the first instance, is so low, so inadequate to the services which should be performed, that no man sustaining the character of a gentleman, and who has the least medical abilities, or skill in the profession, can think of accepting it; that in the latter is so paltry and trifling, that none, of the least generosity of sentiment, or pretensions to merit, can consent to act for it. In a word, these are inconveniences of an increasing nature. They amount to an exclusion of persons who could discharge the duties of those offices; and, if not redressed, there is not the smallest probability that any can be prevailed on to enter them again.

‘There are several matters also which I referred to Congress some time since, and upon which I have not received the result of their deliberations. One inquiry, about the state of arms and ammunition, I am peculiarly anxious to be satisfied in.

‘From the inconveniences and injuries to the service of late for want of money, I am induced to request that the strictest regard should be had to furnishing the Paymaster with constant and sufficient supplies. \* \* By his report, the Commissary here requires an immediate draught for a hundred thousand [dollars]; and the militia returning and about to leave camp, a hundred and twenty thousand more. The expense incurred by calling on them so frequently is almost incredible. Besides these,

\* See p. 416.

† See second letter, Feb. 14, p. 423; see also p. 427.

there are several arrears due to the old troops, and to most of the general and staff officers. I have the honor to be, &c.

‘P. S. From the most accurate estimate that I can form, the whole of our numbers in Jersey, fit for duty at this time, is under three thousand. These, nine hundred and eighty-one excepted, are militia, and stand engaged only till the last of this month. The troops under inoculation, including their attendants, amount to about one thousand.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 41.

Wash. Writ.

Let at least the postscript and the forepart of the preceding letter be noticed, with special reference to the closing part of the following Resolves.

*February 24, 1777.* ‘Congress took into consideration the Report of the Board of War of the 14th; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That the several States be requested to take the most effectual steps for immediately collecting from the inhabitants not in actual service, all Continental arms, and give notice of the number they shall collect, to General Washington :

‘That it be recommended to the Legislatures of the several States, to enact proper laws for the punishment of those who shall unlawfully take, secrete, refuse or neglect to deliver, any Continental arms or accoutrements which they may have in their possession.

‘A letter, of the 23d of December last, from Major-General Ward; one, of the 22d, from the Committee of Congress, at Philadelphia; one, of the 20th,\* from General Washington, were read :

‘*Ordered*, That the letter from the Committee of Congress, and that from General Washington, be referred to a committee of the whole :

‘The Resolutions reported by the committee of the whole Congress being read, and the question put on each, were agreed to as follows :

‘*Resolved*, That General Washington be informed, that it will be agreeable to Congress, that he call over to him such farther aid from the troops under General Heath, as he shall think proper; and that he order all the Continental troops that are at Providence, immediately to join him :

‘That the Convention of New York be desired to place as many militia on the Highlands as may be sufficient to defend those passes against any attempts of the enemy, during the absence of the regular troops.

‘And, in order farther to strengthen the hands of the General,

‘*Resolved*, That the Board of War be directed to send letters by express to the colonels or other commanding officers of the several regiments, now raising and recruiting in the States of Pennsyl-

\* See first letter, Feb. 20, p. 424.

vania, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, ordering them immediately to march the troops enlisted under their command, by companies and parts of companies, to join the army under General Washington; proper officers being left behind, to recruit the companies or corps that are not yet completed, and to bring up the recruits:

‘That General Washington be directed to write similar letters to the colonels or other commanding officers of the regiments now raising and recruiting in the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, excepting such regiments as he shall destine for the service of the Northern Department:

‘That the Governor of New Jersey be requested to order the militia of that State, properly armed and equipped, immediately to join the General; and that the Council of Safety of Pennsylvania be also requested to send to the aid of the General, such of their militia, properly armed and equipped, as are contiguous to New Jersey, — it being the *earnest desire of Congress* to make the army, under the immediate command of General Washington, sufficiently strong, *not only to curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters, and prevent them from drawing support of any kind from the country, but, by the Divine blessing, totally to subdue them before they can be reinforced.*’

Immediately below appear the Proceedings next alluded to in the foregoing letter, those relating to the promotion and appointment of general officers.

*February 19.* ‘Congress proceeded to the election of five major-generals; and, the ballots being taken, the following gentlemen were duly elected, viz.: Lord Stirling, Thomas Mifflin, Arthur St. Clair, Adam Stephen, Benjamin Lincoln.

*February 21.* ‘Agreeable to the order of the day, Congress proceeded to ballot for the brigadiers; \* \* \* and the ballots being taken, and counted, the following gentlemen were elected:

‘Col. Enoch Poor, Col. J. Glover, Col. J. Patterson, Col. Anthony Wayne, Col. James Mitchel Varnum, Col. J. P. De Haas, Col. G. Weedon, Col. P. Muhlenberg, Col. J. Cadwallader, and Col. W. Woodford.

For a sufficiently comprehensive view on the subject of general officers, see, with careful regard to the above appointments and the part of the preceding letter relating to them, pp. 101, 105, 108, 121, 147, 154, 228, 247, 415, 420, 427, and, especially, 276, 370, 416.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GREENE.

##### *Instructions.*

‘SIR, — The necessity of having the Congress well informed of many matters essential to the well-being of this army, and the



impracticability of doing this fully by letter, have induced me to request you, who intimately know our circumstances, to repair immediately to Philadelphia for this purpose; and, at the same time, to ascertain how we are to be supplied with arms, and many other articles, in which we are exceedingly deficient. To enumerate the several matters of information necessary to be given, and the inquiries proper to be made, would be as needless as endless: your own good sense, assisted by such hints as you have received, will be abundantly sufficient.

‘Two or three things, however, I must in a more particular manner recommend to your attention: one is the embarrassment I am laid under, with respect to carrying the exchange of prisoners into execution agreeably to the cartel settled with General Howe by order of Congress, on account of the confinement of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers. I would have you inquire of the Quartermaster-General how he stands provided with tents, ammunition-carts, wagons for intrenching tools, and hatchets or tomahawks; also of the Commissary of Stores, how he proceeds with his casting of cannon and making of cartridges, of which numbers should be in readiness; and, in general, what forwardness the business of the laboratory is in; and urge him to the most diligent discharge of the duties thereof.

‘One thing in particular I beg of you to impress strongly upon Congress, and that is, the necessity of keeping the Paymaster regularly supplied with cash. Without it, every thing moves slowly; and many and great disadvantages flow from the want of it, as we have most wofully experienced of late in numberless instances.

• • • Given at Head-Quarters, Morristown, this 18th day of March, 1777.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 367.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 18 March, 1777.

‘SIR, — The difficulty, if not impossibility, of giving Congress a just idea of our situation (and of several other important matters requiring their earliest attention) by letter, has induced me to prevail on Major-General Greene to wait upon them for that purpose. This gentleman is so much in my confidence, so intimately acquainted with my ideas, with our strength and our weakness, with every thing respecting the army, that I have thought it unnecessary to particularize or prescribe any certain line of duty or inquiries for him. I shall only say, from the rank he holds as an able and good officer in the estimation of all who know him, he deserves the greatest respect; and much regard is due to his opinions in the line of his profession. He has upon his mind such matters as appear to me most material to be immediately considered; and many more will probably arise during the intercourse you may

think proper to honor him with : on all which I wish to have the sense of Congress, and the result of such deliberations as may be formed thereupon.

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 44.

I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 368.

SAME to ELIAS BOUDINOT.

MORRISTOWN, 1 April, 1777.

'SIR, — I am authorized by Congress to appoint a *Commissary of prisoners*. The pay will, I expect, be about sixty dollars a month ; the duty, except as to confinement, not hard, at least after the business is once put into a proper train. Close attendance on the army will be requisite, in order to receive and distribute the prisoners to places assigned for their confinement ; at each of which some person should be stationed to see that they are taken care of, that they receive what is allowed them, and that proper accounts are kept of the expenses. The most troublesome part of this office will be to obtain accounts of the expenses already incurred ; for, after this is once done, the business may be put upon such a footing, as to be managed with regularity and ease.

'I intend to annex another duty to this office, and that is the procuring of intelligence. The person engaged in the department of Commissary of Prisoners will have as much leisure, and better opportunities, than most other officers in the army, to obtain knowledge of the enemy's situation, motions, and, as far as may be, designs. Thus, Sir, in concise terms, have I given you a sketch of the duties of a Commissary of Prisoners, and my expectations from him ; and now give me leave to ask if you will accept the appointment. With very great esteem and regard,

'I am, Sir, yours, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 372.

Mr. Boudinot accepted the appointment ; and, as appears by the following Resolves, Congress confirmed it.

IN CONGRESS, *June 6*. '*Resolved*, That a commission be granted to Elias Boudinot, Esq., as Commissary-General of Prisoners ; the said commission to be dated the 15th day of May last, and Mr. Boudinot to be allowed the pay and rations of a Colonel :

'That Elias Boudinot, Commissary-General of Prisoners, be empowered to appoint two Deputy Commissaries of Prisoners ; the said Deputies to be allowed the pay and rations of Majors.'

Here may be seen the time and manner of that kind of appointment which was with some earnestness recommended, Nov. 8, 1775. See the expressions and also the actions concerning prisoners, pp. 122, 165, 170, 203, 227, 299, 305, 307, 310, 311, 344, 347, 370, 389.

## GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR COOKE.

MORRISTOWN, 3 April, 1777.

‘SIR, — The late ample arrivals of arms at Philadelphia and at Portsmouth,\* added to those we before had, puts me out of all further uneasiness on account of that necessary article. \* \* \*

‘The effects of granting extravagant bounties, *and of raising bodies of men upon Colonial establishments*, now appear, from the returns of the low state of your Continental battalions. From the first cause, the men are taught to set a price upon themselves, and refuse to turn out, except that price be paid; and I am informed, in some instances, in Massachusetts, one hundred pounds lawful money per man have been paid. It is also evident, that the raising of the Colonial brigade for fifteen months retards the Continental enlistments; for General Spencer, in a letter of the 26th of March, writes to me, that the first has five hundred men, and the last but three hundred and eighty, about half of whom have had the small-pox. \* \* \*

You certainly overrate the number of men upon Rhode Island, if they consist of only six Hessian and two British regiments. The Hessian regiments, when they came out complete, did not exceed six hundred men each; and the British, two hundred and fifty each. Now, if they have decreased by casualties in proportion to the other troops in the British army, they are scarcely more than three thousand; a number too small to make any attempt upon the main. \* \* \* So far, therefore, from being able to consent that your Continental battalions should remain at home, supposing the enemy should continue upon the island, that I am obliged, in the most positive terms, to order every man, who has had the small-pox, to come immediately forward; and those who have not, so soon as they are recovered. I have written to General Varnum to the same effect.

‘As it is my duty to afford equal protection to every part of the Continent, you may be assured, if I thought there was any real danger to be apprehended from the enemy at Rhode Island, instead of drawing the Continental troops from that quarter, I would add to their numbers. But when there is every probability of their coming away, and supposing they should stay, as the internal strength of the country would hinder them from setting foot upon the main, I think I am excusable in drawing every man in the Continental service (excepting those intended for the Northern Department) to this point, to make opposition to the grand army of the enemy; who, unless they are checked, will, in turn, overrun every State in the Union.

‘As the safety of the whole Confederacy depends upon each

\* The arrival of two vessels from France, in March, fortunately brought a full supply of arms; a considerable quantity of powder, blankets, and a variety of military stores besides.

State's furnishing the quota of men allotted to it, I must call upon you in the most pressing manner to endeavor to complete your allotment by the usual methods; but, if your men will not turn out voluntarily, notwithstanding the great encouragement given by the State, I beg you will, if your powers are adequate, insist upon each district's furnishing a certain number, as they have done in Massachusetts. If neither of these modes can be fallen upon, to good effect, we may as well give up the cause.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 375.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 10 April, 1777.

'SIR, — I was just now honored with your letter of the 9th instant, covering sundry Resolutions of Congress. Those for regulating the hospital and medical department, I trust, will prove of the most salutary consequences. It is only to be regretted, that this necessary and liberal institution had not been gone into and completed at an earlier period.\*

'The honors Congress have decreed to the memory of Generals Warren and Mercer afford me the highest pleasure. Their character and merit had a just claim to every mark of respect; and I heartily wish that every officer of the United States, emulating their virtues, may by their actions secure to themselves the same right to the grateful tribute of their country.

'Since writing to you yesterday, I have received further intelligence from the enemy's preparations in York, indicating a movement before long. It is contained in the enclosed letter, and corroborates the opinion I have long entertained, that they would make a push against Philadelphia.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 52.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

MORRISTOWN, 12 April, 1777.

'DEAR BROTHER, — To my great surprise, we are still in a calm. How long it will, how long it can, remain, is beyond my skill to determine. That it has continued much beyond my expectation already, is certain. But, to expect that General Howe will not avail himself of our weak state is, I think, to say in so many words, that he does not know how to take advantage of circumstances, and of course is unfit for the trust reposed in him. From all accounts it appears, that the remaining part of the troops at Rhode Island were preparing to embark; and that Philadelphia is the object, I have not myself the smallest doubt. Other opinions do,

\* The action of Congress alluded to was on the 7th of April. In relation to the hospital department, see pp. 423, 427, 441.

however, prevail. A little time will determine the point. For some days past, there has been considerable movement among the enemy's shipping. It seems next to impossible to make our officers in any of the States exert themselves in bringing their men to the field, as if it were a matter of moonshine whether they come to-day, to-morrow, a week, or a month hence. The campaign will be opened without men on our side, unless they come in much faster than I have reason to expect them.

'The unfortunate policy of short enlistments is daily and hourly exemplified. *Thoroughly convinced I am, that, if the troops, who were enlisted last year, had been engaged for the war, or even three years, I could with them, and such aids as might have been drawn to our assistance, have driven the British army and their auxiliary troops out of the Jerseys, in the course of last winter. I do not know but they might also have been driven from New York.* Instead of that, we have at this late day an army to assemble for self-defence. But past errors cannot be rectified. We must guard as much as possible against future evils. *The ridiculous and inconsistent orders given by the Executive powers in some of the States, and even by the officers therein, for the rendezvous of their men, are scarcely to be thought of with patience.* It would seem as if to harass the troops and delay their junction were the ends in view.

'I am glad to hear that my sister and the little ones are well. I thank her for the trouble she has taken in knitting the stockings you speak of. My love to you all, in which Mrs. Washington, who is now with me, joins. I am your most affectionate brother.'

Ibid. p. 387.

SAME to PATRICK HENRY, Governor of Virginia.

MORRISTOWN, 13 April, 1777.

'SIR, — It gives me much concern to hear, that the recruiting service proceeds so slowly in most of the States. That it is the case in Virginia affects me in a peculiar manner. I feel much obliged by the polite respect your honorable Board of Council are pleased to show to my opinion; and am under the necessity of observing, that the volunteer plan, which you mention, will never answer any valuable purposes; and that I cannot but disapprove the measure. To the short engagements of our troops may be fairly and justly ascribed almost every misfortune which we have experienced. *By that cause, and that alone, have the liberties of our country been put in question, and the most obvious advantages lost. This I speak from painful experience;* and, assured of the facts, I cannot countenance, in the smallest degree, what I know to be pernicious in the extreme. Short enlistments, when founded on the best plan, are repugnant to order, and subversive of discipline; and men, held upon such terms, will never be equal to the important ends of war; but, when they are of the *volunteer* kind, they are still more destructive.

‘Those who engage in arms under that denomination, let them agree upon what conditions they may, are uneasy, impatient of command, ungovernable; and, claiming to themselves a sort of superior merit, generally assume not only the privilege of *thinking*, but of *doing*, as they please. Added to these considerations, such corps are long in forming, and half of their time is taken up in marching to and from camp at a most amazing expense; nor are the injuries, to which a country is exposed by the frequent marching and countermarching of men, to be disregarded. Further, whilst they are in service, the States to which they belong have but little if any chance to engage them for a longer term. When that is out, they will return; though the exigency of affairs should be ever so pressing, and though you should be on the point of action, or perhaps of grasping a victory. Their departure has a most baneful and unhappy influence upon those who remain; who consider themselves, notwithstanding their engagements, as subjected to peculiar hardships, become uneasy and discontented; and many desert. Their return, too, having seen only service sufficient to create disgust, and experienced in the course of it a few difficulties, produces the same disposition through the circle of their connections. In a word, Sir, I cannot advise the volunteer plan, as I conceive the adoption of it would have the most fatal and pernicious tendency; and, in my opinion, the interest of the States would be more advanced by regular enlistments for the war, though it should take a considerable time to complete them.’

Ibid. p. 388.

SAME TO LANDON CARTER.

MORRISTOWN, 15 April, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR,—I should have been very happy in seeing your grandson enlisted under the banners of his country. \* \* \*

High as the militia accounts will run, I have had but few men with me all winter. With these, however, we have greatly harassed and distressed the enemy, by continually skirmishing with their foraging parties, and attacking their picket guards; but, if I am to judge from the present appearance of things, the campaign will be opened by General Howe before we shall be in any condition to oppose him. No men have yet joined me from the Eastward, and but a small number from the Southward; whilst the hard and fatiguing duties of a winter’s campaign have reduced the few old regiments which remained after the dissolution of the army in January, to a mere nothing.

‘The designs of the enemy are not as yet clearly unfolded; but Philadelphia, I conceive, is the object in view. However, this may or may not be the case, as the North River must also be an object of very great importance to them. \* \* \*

‘Your friendly and affectionate wishes for my health and suc-



cess have a claim to my most grateful acknowledgments. That the God of armies may incline the hearts of my American brethren to support the present contest, and bestow sufficient abilities on me to bring it to a speedy and happy conclusion, thereby enabling me to sink into sweet retirement, and the full enjoyment of that peace and happiness which will accompany a domestic life, is the first wish and most fervent prayer of my soul. \* \* \*

‘I remain, dear Sir, your most obedient, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Ibid. p. 391.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 19 April, 1777.

‘SIR, — I was honored with your letter of the 17th, between twelve and one o’clock yesterday, accompanied by sundry Resolutions. I hope the measures Congress have adopted will produce the salutary consequences they had in view; but I fear that the States, unless they are delicate in exercising the powers they are invested with for filling vacancies in instances of removal from office, and pay strict attention to a proper line of succession where there are no capital objections, will renew much of that confusion and disorder we have been endeavoring to extricate ourselves from. Nor will this be of small difficulty, if they displace many officers; for, supposing them to have kept the most accurate lists of their original appointments, changes have taken place in several instances from various causes, unknown to them, and of which they cannot be apprised.

‘I can assure Congress, the appellations given to the regiments officered by me was without my consent or privity. As soon as I heard it, I wrote to several of the officers in terms of severe reprobation, and expressly charged them to suppress the distinction, adding that all the battalions were on the same footing, and all under the general name of Continental.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 59.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 393.

The Resolutions alluded to, in respect to the filling of vacancies, were the following.

IN CONGRESS, *April 14.* ‘Resolved, That it be recommended to the Executive powers of each of the United States, to inquire into the conduct of all officers on the recruiting service within their respective States; to remove such as belong to the battalions of their respective quotas, who have neglected their duty, or abused the trust reposed in them, and shall be found within their respective jurisdiction; and to fill up all vacancies which may happen by such removals; to transmit to Congress all such testimony as shall be taken against any officer or officers who may have marched or removed from the State to whose battalions he or they belong, and against any officer or officers belonging to the quota of another

State, who may have been guilty of neglect or misbehavior in the State where the inquiry shall be made.

‘ That it be recommended to the said Executive powers to procure exact returns of the Continental troops in each, and transmit the same to Congress, without delay. And all officers and soldiers of the Continental army are hereby required to pay the strictest regard to the orders of the Executive powers of the several States touching the aforesaid premises.’

The meaning of ‘ the appellations given to the regiments,’ is somewhat explained by the following record.

IN CONGRESS, *April 15.* ‘ Whereas the Continental battalions are all on a footing, liable to the same kind of services, and entitled to equal privileges :

‘ *Resolved,* That the appellations, “ Congress’s own regiment,” “ General Washington’s Life Guards,” &c., given to some of them, are improper, and ought not to be kept up ; and the officers of the said battalions are required to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves accordingly.’

GENERAL GREENE to ———.

MORRISTOWN, 20 April, 1777.

‘ On Sunday last, Lord Cornwallis, from Brunswick, made an attempt to surprise General Lincoln at Boundbrook. He in part effected it, owing to the valorous conduct of the militia, who were posted at a fording place on the Raritan. They deserted their post, without giving the General the least notice. The enemy were at the General’s quarters before he had any knowledge of their approach. We lost three pieces of cannon, and about thirty men ; they had about as many killed and wounded. The enemy had five Generals, and four thousand troops ; our General Lincoln had but about four hundred. Lord Cornwallis and General Grant breakfasted at the house at which I dined. The enemy halted but an hour and a half. I marched from Baskenridge upon the first intelligence ; but the distance was twelve miles, and the enemy had retreated before I got down. The next night we surprised one of their pickets, killed one officer and seven privates, and took sixteen prisoners. Pray, how goes on recruiting with you ? I am sure the Continent must come to drafting at last ; the sooner, the better. Very late news from Europe mentions that a French and Spanish war is inevitable. \* \* \* Our strength now is trifling. *It is to be regretted that the cause of freedom rests upon the shoulders of so few.* General Howe is preparing with all imaginable diligence to take the field. His bridge to cross the Delaware, so much talked of, is arrived at Brunswick, as I am informed by a spy who left that place last night. I would thank the British myrmi-

dons to protract the opening of the campaign for about three weeks ; but that is not to be expected. Our army will appear like Gideon and his pitchers. God grant us the same success : the cause is equally righteous, and claims his heavenly protection.'

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 96.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

MORRISTOWN, 24 April, 1777.

'DEAR SIR, — I have been favored with two or three letters from you lately. The last that came to hand was without date, but contained an extract from Doctor Lee's \* letter to the Secret Committee, and the French General's ideas of the measures necessary for us to pursue in prosecuting the war with Great Britain, for both of which I thank you. \* \*

'The great delay in appointing the general officers, the resignation of some of them, the non-acceptance of others, and I might add the unfitness of a few, joined to the amazing delay in assembling the troops, and the abuses which I am satisfied have been committed by the recruiting officers (both of which being consequences of the want of officers in the line to superintend those duties in the respective States), have distressed me and the service exceedingly ; and *they will amply prove, what I foretold to Congress, — that the pay of these officers (for I could account for the delay of appointing them on no other principle) would be an ill-timed saving. Convinced I am, that thousands of pounds would have been saved to the public, if the measure had been adopted upon my first recommendation of it.* But the extra expense is the smallest part of the evil. The backwardness in assembling the troops is truly alarming. *This, however, is not a singular instance of our suffering by delay in the adoption of measures, which were early recommended.* \* \*

Doctor Lee's opinion on the propriety of attacking the enemy upon their first arrival, under a supposition of their being raw and undisciplined, is certainly well founded, if our own circumstances will admit of it ; but the Doctor little apprehended, I believe, that we ourselves should have an army to raise, at this late hour, of men equally raw, and officers probably much more so.

'Please to make a tender of my compliments to your brother, and other delegates from Virginia.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 395.

COLONEL HAMILTON to GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 29 April, 1777.

'SIR, — The enclosed was intended to be sent with the prisoners mentioned in the list ; but, before this could be conveniently done,

\* Dr. Arthur Lee, one of the Commissioners then in France, and a brother of R. H. Lee.

Mr. Sims, one of the Chief Justices of the State, came to this town, and informed me, that the Governor and Council were upon the point of adjourning, and that the sending of the prisoners to them would only be an embarrassment, without answering, at present, any valuable purpose. He considered himself authorized to take the matter under his direction, and desired a sight of the papers relating to it. After perusing them, he determined it was best the prisoners should remain here, until he should receive your further orders on the subject; and delivered me a letter for you, containing a representation of their cases, as they appear to him, in order to know your sense, in what manner they shall be disposed of.

‘ He admits two of them, Woolverton, and Silas Howell, to bail.

‘ In addition to the former, I send you a second list of four others that have been lately committed to jail. These are high offenders, and among the number of those who, it were to be wished, could have an immediate trial and punishment. Isaac Ogden, in particular, is one of the most barefaced, impudent fellows that ever came under my observation. He openly acknowledged himself a subject of the King of Great Britain; and flatly refused to give any satisfaction to some questions that were put to him respecting one Moses Nichols, an emissary from the enemy; assigning no other reason for his refusal, than that he had given his word to be silent.

‘ A spirit of disaffection shows itself with so much boldness and violence in different parts of this State, that it is the ardent wish of his Excellency, no delay, which can be avoided, might be used in making examples of some of the most atrocious offenders. If something be not speedily done to strike a terror into the disaffected, the consequences must be very disagreeable.

‘ Among others, all security to the friends of the American cause will be destroyed; and the natural effect of this, will be an extinction of zeal in seconding and promoting it. Their attachment, if it remain, will be a dead, inactive, useless principle. And the disaffected, emboldened by impunity, will be encouraged to proceed to the most dangerous and pernicious lengths.

‘ I have the honor to be, with great respect,

‘ Your Excellency’s most ob’t servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 250.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 28 April, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I last night received the favor of your letter of the 26th, with the Resolves to which it alludes.

‘ The views of Congress, in sending general officers to the Eastward to hasten on the troops, have been long anticipated. General Poor is in New Hampshire for the purpose; General Heath,

in Massachusetts-Bay, with Brigadiers Nixon, Glover, and Patterson; General Varnum, in Rhode Island; and General Parsons, in Connecticut. Generals Spencer and Arnold, too, have been desired to attend to the business. To these gentlemen I have written repeatedly in the most pressing terms upon the subject, and I have no reason to doubt but every exertion on their part has been employed to promote the end. \* \* \* So early as the 6th of March, I wrote to Governor Trumbull, earnestly requesting two thousand militia to be sent to General McDougall to be employed at Peekskill and on the communication in West-Chester county for six weeks. With this requisition he most readily complied, so far as his orders were necessary, and, I am certain, his influence extended. This I have repeated, and this supply he has exerted himself to furnish; yet so ineffectual have his endeavors been, that not more than eight hundred had come out, by General McDougall's return on the 17th instant; nor did he expect more from the accounts he had. In a word, Sir, no expedient or pains have been unattempted by me to bring on troops, and to keep our affairs on a favorable footing.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 63.

Wash. Writ.

The Resolve of Congress, principally alluded to in this letter, was the following.

*April 25. 'Resolved, That General Washington be requested to send a general officer into the Eastern States, to forward all the troops already raised to their respective places of destination, with the utmost despatch.'*

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO COLONEL ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD.

MORRISTOWN, 30 April, 1777.

'SIR,—I want to form a company for my guard. In doing this, I wish to be extremely cautious; because it is more than probable that, in the course of the campaign, my baggage, papers, and other matters, of great public import, may be committed to the sole care of these men. This being premised, in order to impress you with proper attention in the choice, I have to request that you will immediately furnish me with four men of your regiment; and, as it is my farther wish that this company should look well and be nearly of a size, I desire that none of the men may exceed in stature five feet ten inches, nor fall short of five feet nine inches; sober, young, active, and well made. When I recommend care in your choice, I would be understood to mean men of good character in the regiment, that possess the pride of appearing clean and soldier-like. I am satisfied there can be no absolute security for the fidelity of this class of people; but yet I think it most likely to be found in those who have family connections in the country. You will, therefore, send me none but natives, and men of some

property, if you have them. I must insist that, in making this choice, you give no intimation of my preference of natives, as I do not want to create any invidious distinctions between them and the foreigners.

I am yours, &c.\*  
Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 407.

DOCTOR KNOX† to COLONEL HAMILTON.

St. Croix, 31 April, 1777.

‘MY DEAR FRIEND, — A pretty fair opportunity just offering for Philadelphia, I could not omit acknowledging the receipt of your very circumstantial and satisfactory letter of the 14th February. The thing has happened which I wished for. We have been amazed here by vague, imperfect, and very false accounts of matters from the Continent; and I always told my friends, that, if you survived the campaign, and had an hour of leisure to write to me, I expected a more true, circumstantial, and satisfactory account of matters in your letter, than by all the public papers and private intelligence we had received here. I have but a moment to command at present, and have not time to remark upon your letter. I can only inform you, that it has given high satisfaction to all friends here. We rejoice in your good character and advancement, which is, indeed, only the just reward of merit. May you still live to deserve more and more from the friends of America, and to justify the choice, and merit the approbation, of the GREAT AND GOOD GENERAL WASHINGTON, — a name which will shine with distinguished lustre in the annals of history, — a name, dear to the friends of the liberties of mankind. Mark this: you must be the Annalist and Biographer, as well as the Aid-de-camp, of General Washington; and the Historiographer of the AMERICAN WAR! I take the liberty to insist on this. I hope you take minutes and keep a journal. If you have not hitherto, I pray do it henceforth. I seriously, and with all my little influence, urge this upon you. This may be a new and strange thought to you; but if you survive the present troubles, I aver, few men will be as well qualified to write the history of the present glorious struggle. God only knows how it may terminate. But, however that may be, it will be a most interesting story.

‘I congratulate you on your recovery from a long and dangerous illness. It is my own case: I am just convalescent, after the severest attack I ever had in my life. I hope to write you more at

\* This was a circular letter sent also to the Colonels of the other regiments, from which the guard was taken.

† At an early age, Alexander Hamilton was removed from the island of Nevis, his birth-place, to that of St. Croix, where he resided till, at the age of fifteen, he embarked for this country in 1772. Among the acquaintances and friends whom he then parted with, was Dr. Knox.



large soon, and remain, with the tender of every kind and friendly wish, my dear Sir, your affectionate servant,

‘HUGH KNOX.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 253.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 3 May, 1777.

‘SIR, — I was yesterday honored with your letter of the 29th ultimo, enclosing sundry Resolves. Agreeably to the directions of Congress, I have written to the States of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and urged them to complete and forward their troops destined for Ticonderoga, with all possible expedition. The brigadiers gone there for the present are Fermoy, Poor, Patterson, and Learned. Nixon and Glover were also intended for that post under my first plan, which was, that all the regiments to be raised in those States by the Resolve in September [p. 298] should compose that army. But having, by the advice of my officers, directed the route of eight regiments from the latter to Peekskill,\* to wait till the designs of General Howe were unfolded, these two officers were to follow them. I did not particularize the brigadiers who were to go first, or the regiments; but left the matter to Major-General Heath, who was instructed in general terms to pursue such measures as seemed most likely to promote the service.

‘The Colonels appointed to the New Hampshire regiments I never knew. Those ordered to Ticonderoga from Massachusetts by General Heath, and who, I presume, have marched, were Bailey, Wesson, Jackson, Marshall, Brewer, Bradford, and Francis. What proportions of their regiments have marched, I cannot ascertain; but I am persuaded they were detached as fast as they were raised, and circumstances would admit. \* \* \*

‘I congratulate Congress upon the fortunate arrival of the Amphitrite with military and ordnance stores.† It is an important event. That of the French ship at Boston, and of the sloop from Martinique, added to the capture of the two provision ships, are to be regarded as interesting too. I would here take the liberty to mention, that I think all the military and ordnance stores should be moved without a moment’s delay to Springfield or some interior part of the country. Springfield should be the place, because the laboratory is there; and they will be more convenient to use as exigencies require. \* \* \* Before I quit this subject, I would beg leave to observe also, that the disposal and direction of military stores should be only with one body or with one person. At present this power is exercised through so many channels, that

\* See letter to General Schuyler, p. 489.

† Sent by Mr. Deane in the character of political and commercial agent in France; as were most or all the similar cargoes that arrived from France during that year. See p. 383.

much confusion is introduced; and it cannot be avoided. Nor will it be possible that matters in this line should be conducted with any degree of propriety, unless Congress come into some regulations respecting them. The enclosed extract of a letter from General Heath will prove the expediency. Many other instances might be mentioned, were it necessary.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 65.

Wash. Writ.

It may be readily perceived, that the forepart of this letter was written in reference to the following Resolves of Congress.

*April 29.* 'Resolved, That General Washington be directed to write to the Eastern States, from whence the troops to be employed at Ticonderoga are expected, and to request them, in the name of Congress, to adopt and pursue every means, \* \* \* for completing and forwarding the regiments which he has already ordered for that service; it being the opinion of Congress, that a delay in this matter will be attended with the loss of that important pass:

'That General Washington be directed to send to Congress the names of the general officers ordered to repair to Ticonderoga, and the number and names of the regiments under marching orders for that place.'

COLONEL HAMILTON to WILLIAM DUER, in Congress.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 6 May, 1777.

'SIR, — The bearer of this is Mr. Malmedy, a French gentleman of learning, abilities, and experience. I believe he thinks himself entitled to preferment, and comes to Congress for that purpose. \* \* \* But in this he will, no doubt, be mistaken; as there are many insuperable objections to such an event. Among others, it would tend to raise the expectation of the Frenchmen in general, already too high, to a pitch which it would be impossible to gratify or endure. It might not, however, be amiss to do whatever propriety would warrant, to keep him in good humor; as he is a man of sense and merit. I think policy would justify the advancing him a step higher than his former Continental rank.

'Congress, in the beginning, went upon a very injudicious plan with respect to Frenchmen. To every adventurer that came, without even the shadow of credentials, they gave the rank of field officers. This circumstance, seconding the aspiring disposition natural to those people, carried the expectations of those who had really any pretensions to the character of officers, to a length that exceeds all the bounds of moderation. As it was impossible to pursue this impolitic plan, the Congress have begun to retrench their excessive liberality; and the consequence has been, universal disgust and discontent.'

‘ It would, perhaps, be injurious, as the French are much addicted to national punctilio, to run into the opposite extreme to that first embraced, and, by that mean, create a general clamor and dissatisfaction. Policy suggests the propriety of discriminating a few of the most deserving, and endeavoring to keep them in temper, even by gratifying them beyond what they can reasonably pretend to. This will enable us to shake off the despicable part with safety, and to turn a deaf ear to the exorbitant demands of the many. It will be easily believed in France, that their want of merit occasioned their want of success, from the extraordinary marks of favor that have been conferred on others; whereas, the united voice of complaint from the whole, might make ill impressions in their own country, which it is not our interest should exist.

‘ We are already greatly embarrassed with the Frenchmen among us; and, from the genius of the people, shall continue to be so. It were to be wished that our agents in France, instead of courting them to come out, were instructed to give no encouragement but where they could not help it; that is, where applications were made to them by persons countenanced and supported by great men, whom it would be impolitic to disoblige. Be assured, Sir, we shall never be able to satisfy them; and they can be of no use to us, at least for some time. Their ignorance of our language; of the disposition of the people; the resources and deficiencies of the country; their own habits and tempers;—all these are disqualifications that put it out of their power to be of any real service to us. You will consider what I have said entirely as my own sentiments; and believe me, with great regard, Sir,

Your most obedient servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 254.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

MORRISTOWN, 11 May, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I regret our loss of stores at Danbury, and the misfortunes of our brave men who fell, and of those who were wounded. However, from these latter events we derive this consolation; that the sentiments of the people are still powerfully directed to liberty, and that no impression of the enemy, be it ever so sudden and unexpected, will pass with impunity. \* \* \* That the enemy will harass our coasts, and injure the maritime towns, with their shipping and by sudden debarkations of small parties of men, is not improbable; and is what we cannot prevent, whilst they have the entire command of the water. This we laid our account in, when we first engaged in the contest; but I have no idea that they will penetrate into your State to form the junction you mention, nor is it likely that those who have escaped from them know the General’s design. It is much to be wished that

they would make that their plan of war. I should then expect, most sanguinely, that we should bring the matter to a speedy and glorious conclusion.

‘I should be happy, were it in my power, to station guards of Continental troops at every place subject to the depredations of the enemy; but this cannot be done. If we divide and detach our forces to every part where the enemy may possibly attempt an impression, we shall effect no one good purpose; but, in the end, destroy ourselves and subjugate our country. The enemy have certainly some capital object in view, either Philadelphia or Hudson’s River. Till their designs are unfolded, all the troops from this and the more Southern States must assemble in this quarter, to prevent their possessing the former. Those raised in the Eastern States, except such as were ordered immediately to Ticonderoga, must march to Peekskill, to prevent them from possessing the latter and the important passes through the Highlands. Should they be able to carry those and the fortifications for the defence of the river, we all know the important and fatal consequences that would follow. \* \* For these reasons, and because the battalions which are in service, — from inoculation, the languor which has but too generally prevailed in enlisting, and from other causes, — are extremely weak and deficient, and totally inadequate to check the progress of the enemy, I cannot comply with your request for two regiments to remain in the State at this time. *I heartily wish that Congress would inform me of the dispositions they make of the troops. Their not doing it disconcerts my arrangements, and involves me in difficulties. Till the favor of your letter, I never had the least intimation, that I recollect, that any of the regiments, exacted from the States, were to remain in them.*† \* \*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 412.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 16 May, 1777.

‘SIR, — Your letter of the 15th I had the honor to receive last night, at eleven o’clock. The commission enclosed for Monsieur Armand I shall deliver to him as soon as I see him. \* \* I fear it will be hardly possible to satisfy the views and claims of some of the French gentlemen. The late promotion of Monsieur Malmedy, though highly honorable, and such as should be considered fully if not more than adequate to his pretensions, taken upon any principle, does not come up to his demands. He arrived here yesterday morning, and has been writing to me upon the subject. From the high marks of distinction but too readily

† As an instance of the kind referred to, the one then in question, see the last Resolve, Dec. 10, p. 356.

conferred upon these men in many instances, they seem to have lost sight of what is just and reasonable. It would have been happy for us, particularly for me and for the gentlemen themselves, if a too easy grant of favors had not induced them to contemn all rank in our army under that of field-officers; nor is it in my power to give commands to every appointment. I shall inform Monsieur Armand, and reconcile him to it in the best manner I can, that there is no vacancy for him at present; and I would beg leave to suggest, that, where promotions are made in future from political and honorary motives, it would be well for Congress to explain to the gentlemen, that it may be some time before they can be put in actual command. This might prevent their entertaining suspicions of neglect on my part, which the situation of the army will not allow me to obviate. There is no vacancy for Monsieur Malmedy, of the rank he now holds, unless the merits of many other officers who have served with reputation and much longer here, are to be overlooked to make way for him. Such a measure will neither be practicable, nor prudent to attempt. \* \*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 75.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 421.

SAME TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

MORRISTOWN, 17 May, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — Under the privilege of friendship, I take the liberty to ask you, what Congress expect I am to do with the many foreigners they have at different times promoted to the rank of field-officers, and, by the last Resolve, two to that of Colonels? In making these appointments, it is much to be feared, that all the attending circumstances are not taken into consideration. To oblige the adventurers of a nation which we want to interest in our cause, may be one inducement; and to get rid of their importunity, another. But this is viewing the matter by halves, or on one side only. These men have no attachment nor ties to the country, further than interest binds them; they have no influence, and are ignorant of the language they are to receive and give orders in: consequently great trouble or much confusion must follow. But this is not the worst: they have not the smallest chance to recruit others; and our officers think it exceedingly hard, after they have toiled in this service, and probably have sustained many losses, to have strangers put over them, whose merit, perhaps, is not equal to their own; but whose effrontery will take no denial.

‘The management of this matter, give me leave to add, Sir, is a delicate point; for, although no one will dispute the right of Congress to make appointments, every person will assume the privilege of judging of the propriety of them; and good policy, in my opinion, forbids the disgusting of a whole corps to gratify the pride of an individual; for it is by the zeal and activity of our own

people, that the cause must be supported, and not by a few hungry adventurers. Besides, the error of these appointments is now clear and manifest, and the views of Congress evidently defeated; for, by giving high rank to people of no reputation or service, you have disgusted their own countrymen; or, in other words, raised their expectations to an insatiable pitch. For the man who was a captain in France, finding another who was only a subaltern there, or perhaps nothing, appointed to a majority with us, extends his views instantly to a regiment. In like manner, the field-officer can accept of nothing less than a brigade, and so on; by which means, the man of real rank and merit must be excluded, or perhaps your whole military system disordered. In the mean while I am haunted and teased to death by the importunity of some, and dissatisfaction of others.

‘My ideas in this representation do not extend to artillery officers and engineers. The first of these will be useful, if they do not break in upon the arrangements of the corps already established by order of Congress; the second are absolutely necessary, and not to be had here. But proper precaution should be observed in the choice of them; for we have at present in pay and high rank two Frenchmen, who, in my judgment, know nothing of the duty of engineers. Gentlemen of this profession ought to produce sufficient and authentic testimonials of their skill and knowledge, and not expect that a pompous narrative of services, and loss of papers, — the usual excuse, — can be a proper introduction into our army. The freedom, with which I have delivered my sentiments on this subject, will, I am persuaded, meet your excuse, when I assure you, that I have nothing else in view, than the good of the service. I am, dear Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 423.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 21 May, 1777.

‘SIR, — Enclosed I have the honor to transmit you a general return of the forces in Jersey. It is regimentally digested, and will show the strength of each corps. I should not have sent it so particularly made out, had I not conceived the conveyance by which it goes from hence entirely secure. I have nothing material to add respecting the enemy. I have the honor to be, &c.’

‘P. S. I need not suggest to Congress the necessity of keeping our numbers concealed from the knowledge of the public. Nothing but a good face and false appearances has enabled us hitherto to deceive the enemy respecting our strength.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 77.

Wash. Writ.



## SAME TO GENERAL STEPHEN.

MORRISTOWN, 24 May, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — No pleasure could exceed what I should feel, if it was in my power, to protect every town and every individual in this wide-extended Continent. This, however, is a pleasure that never can be realized; and as our dispersed situation is neither formidable for defence nor offence, it becomes me to place the Continental troops in such a manner as to answer a more valuable purpose, than to give the shadow (for it is no more) of security to particular neighborhoods. Your apprehension of the enemy taking possession of Newark and Elizabethtown, with a view of holding them, does not strike me at all. If any such ideas possessed them, the few men we have there would rather be an inducement. They already have experienced the evil of multiplied posts; as we shall do, if they should be seized with a spirit of enterprise. Such guards as we have from Boundbrook to Newark, inclusively, could give no effectual opposition to the enemy, if they were disposed to move; and the country is too much drained by both armies to afford much support. The other consideration of opening the intercourse, or rather making it more open, with New York, has weight, but is overbalanced by others of a more powerful nature. In a word, if a man cannot act in all respects as he could wish, he must do what appears best, under the circumstances he is in. This I aim at, however short I may fall of the end. \* \* I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 431.

## SAME TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 24 May, 1777.

‘SIR, — I beg leave to inform Congress, that, immediately after the receipt of their Resolve of the 26th of March, recommending the office of Adjutant-General to be filled by the appointment of a person of abilities and unsuspected attachment to our cause, I wrote to Colonel Timothy Pickering of Salem, offering him the post in the first instance, and transmitting at the same time a letter for Colonel William Lee, whom Congress had been pleased to mention, to be delivered to him in case my offer could not be accepted. This conduct, in preference of Colonel Pickering, I was induced to adopt from the high character I had of him, both as a great military genius cultivated by an industrious attention to the study of war, and as a gentleman of liberal education, distinguished zeal, and great method and activity in business. This character of him I had from gentlemen of distinction and merit, and on whose judgment I could rely. When my letter reached Colonel Pickering, at first view he thought his situation in respect to public affairs would not permit him to accept the post. That for Colonel Lee he sent immediately to him, who, in consequence

of it, repaired to Head-Quarters. By Colonel Lee I received a letter from Colonel Pickering, stating more particularly the causes which prevented his accepting the office when it was offered, and assuring me that he would in a little time accommodate his affairs in such a manner as to come into any military post in which he might be serviceable, and thought equal to.

‘Here I am to mark with peculiar satisfaction, in justice to Colonel Lee, who has deservedly acquired the reputation of a good officer, that he expressed a distrust of his abilities to fill the appointment intended for him; and, on hearing that Colonel Pickering would accept it, he not only offered but wished to relinquish his claim to it in favor of him, whom he declared he considered, from an intimate and friendly acquaintance, as a first-rate military character; and that he knew no gentleman better or so well qualified for the post among us. Matters being thus circumstanced, and Colonel Lee pleased with the command he was in, I wrote to Colonel Pickering on his return, who accepted the office, and is daily expected. In this business I beg Congress to be assured, though Colonel Lee was postponed in the first instance, their recommendation had its due weight; and that no motive, other than a regard to the service, induced me to prefer Colonel Pickering. His acknowledged abilities and equal zeal, without derogating from the merits of Colonel Lee, who holds a high place in my esteem, gave him a preference; and I flatter myself the cause will be promoted in his appointment, especially as we shall have two good officers instead of one, who, I am persuaded, will do honor to themselves in the line in which they move.

‘Considering the passes through the Highlands of the utmost importance to secure, I sent Generals Greene and Knox, about a fortnight ago, to see what had been done for their defence, and to consult with the general officers they should meet, upon such further measures as might be deemed necessary for their greater safety. The enclosed copy of their Report will fully convey their sentiments upon the subject; to which I beg leave to refer Congress. I have sent General Putnam to command in that quarter, and have instructed him to use every means in his power for expediting and effecting the works and obstructions mentioned in the Report. \* \* I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 77.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 432.

The following Order contains the recommendation mentioned in this letter.

*March 26.* ‘*Ordered*, That the President acquaint General Washington that Congress expect the office of Adjutant-General to be filled by a speedy appointment of a person of abilities and unsuspected attachment to these United States, and recommend Colonel William Lee to his consideration for this purpose.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MORRISTOWN, 28 May, 1777.

‘SIR,—The enclosed is a copy of a letter received yesterday from General Howe. Congress will perceive, by referring to the copy of his letter of the 21st of April, transmitted in mine of the 26th, that he persevered in his demand for an equal number of prisoners to be returned for those sent out by him; which has been the subject of controversy between us. \* \* \* The dispute, so far as General Lee is concerned, rests at present on their declaring him exchangeable, as other prisoners are, on the principle of equality of rank; to insure which, or his safety, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers are detained. The other objection to returning their prisoners is, that a great proportion of those sent out by them were not fit subjects of exchange when released, and were made so by the severity of their treatment and confinement; and, therefore, a deduction should be made from the list.

‘Good faith seems to require, that we should return as many of theirs at least as we received effectives from them; \* \* \* and perhaps sound policy, that the agreement subsisting for exchanges should continue. \* \*

‘I confess, I am under great difficulty in this business. \* \*

‘Notwithstanding my recommendation, agreeably to what I conceived to be the sense of Congress, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell’s treatment continues to be such as cannot be justified either on the principles of generosity or strict retaliation; as I have authentic information, and I doubt not you will have the same, that General Lee’s situation is far from being rigorous or uncomfortable. Except his not being permitted to go at large on parole, he has reason to be content with every other circumstance of his treatment.

‘I am just moving to Boundbrook, from whence I returned yesterday morning. On Monday morning a body of the enemy advanced near that post. They retreated, on seeing a detachment march to meet them. There was some firing at long shot, but without any great damage. \* \*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 80.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 438.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MIDDLEBROOK, 31 May, 1777.

‘SIR,—Monsieur Ducoudray is just arrived at camp, and proposes to set out to-morrow for Philadelphia. What his views are I am uncertain, having had no conversation with him upon the subject; but I find an idea prevails that there is an agreement between Mr. Deane and him, that he shall have the chief command

of the artillery. How well founded this opinion may be, I cannot determine; but, if it be true, it may involve the most injurious consequences. General Knox, who has deservedly acquired the character of one of the most valuable officers in the service, and who, combating almost innumerable difficulties in the department he fills, has placed the artillery upon a footing that does him the greatest honor, — he, I am persuaded, would consider himself injured by an appointment superseding his command, and would not think himself at liberty to continue in the service. Should such an event take place in the present state of things, there would be too much reason to apprehend a train of ills, such as might convulse and unhinge this important department.

‘Supposing Monsieur Ducoudray to have made such an agreement, the case is of great difficulty, and, in my opinion, is worthy of the consideration of Congress. Yet may not means be still devised to satisfy this gentleman by appointing him to some command not derogatory to his promised rank, and which will be agreeable to him? From the recommendations we have had of him, I am obliged to esteem him of high character, and of great knowledge in what he professes; and, from this consideration and the manner in which he is mentioned to us, it appears that much address and delicacy must be used to conciliate matters. Many reasons, besides those I have noted, might be assigned for continuing General Knox first in command in this department, which, on reflection, will readily occur. I would only observe, without insinuating the most distant shadow of distrust of Monsieur Ducoudray’s honor, candor, or integrity, that, on the general maxims of prudence and policy, it may be questioned with much propriety, whether so important a command as that of the artillery should be vested in any but a native, or one attached by the ties of interest to these States. Congress will be pleased to excuse the freedom I have used upon this occasion, and, I trust, will impute it to the importance of the subject which gave rise to it.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 84.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 444.

SAME TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

MIDDLEBROOK, 1 June, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — By your favor of the 22d ultimo, I perceive my letter of the 17th\* has been expressed in too strong terms. I did not mean by the words, “to get rid of importunity,” to cast the smallest reflection; indeed, the hurry with which I am obliged to write the few private letters I attempt, will not allow me to consider the force and tendency of my words; nor should I have been surprised, if the fact had really been so, if I am to judge of

\* See that letter of the 17th, p. 460.

their, I mean foreigners', applications to Congress, by those to myself; for it is not one nor twenty explanations that will satisfy the cravings of these people's demands.

'You will, before this can reach you, have seen Monsieur Ducoudray. What his real expectations are, and what his agreements with Mr. Deane, I know not; but I fear, if his appointment is equal to what I have been told is his expectation, it will be attended with unhappy consequences. To say nothing of the policy of entrusting a department (on the due execution of which the salvation of the army depends) to a foreigner, who has no other tie to bind him to the interests of this country than honor, I would beg leave to observe, that, by putting Monsieur Ducoudray at the head of the artillery, you will lose a very valuable officer in General Knox, who is a man of great military reading, sound judgment, and clear conceptions. He has conducted the affairs of that department with honor to himself, and advantage to the public; and will resign if any one is put over him.

'My last return of the army will give you our strength, and show the state of the recruiting service, which seems to be at an end. The regiments of Pennsylvania, indeed, appear to be growing worse. \* \* \* If some effectual mode is not devised to fill the regiments, it is impossible, at least very unlikely, that any effectual opposition can be given to the British army, with the troops we have, whose numbers diminish more by desertion, than they increase by enlistments. \* \* \* I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 446.

GENERAL GREENE to ———.

CAMP AT MIDDLEBROOK, 4 June, 1777.

'I have only time to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from you, delivered me by Lieutenant Littlefield. \* \* \* Passion and prejudice have too much influence in Administration, to preserve the best and happiest line of conduct.

'God knows how long this war may last. The want of union and virtue among the Americans may protract it for some time. \* \* \* The State of Pennsylvania is in great confusion. The Quakers are poisoning every body, — foolish people! The Congress and I do not agree in politics: they are introducing a great many foreigners. I think it dangerous to trust so large a part of the American army to the command of strangers. British gold is of a poisonous quality, and the human heart treacherous to the last degree. There are no less than four general officers of the — nation now in the American service. There is a French gentleman sent over by Mr. Deane to have the command of all the artillery in America. If his appointment is confirmed, it will rob us of one of the best, or, at least, as good an officer as we have in the service — General Knox. I tremble for the consequences,

as I fear it will ruin the whole corps ; and it is now upon a very respectable footing, and increasing in perfection daily. Wisdom and prudence sometimes forsake the wisest bodies. I am exceedingly distressed at the state of things in the great *National Council*’

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 97.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MIDDLEBROOK, 5 June, 1777.

‘SIR, — I this morning had the honor of your letter of the 5th, with its enclosures. The Resolution of the 30th of May, respecting the French gentlemen who came passengers in the *Amphitrite*, reached camp before your letter, and has excited much uneasiness in the artillery corps. The enclosed copy of a letter from General Knox will convey their anxiety upon the subject ; which I think it necessary to transmit, as well from duty, as on account of his request. The difficulties upon this occasion arise from the peculiar circumstances of most of the officers composing the artillery regiments at this time. I do not know, for my own part, what operation Congress precisely meant the Resolution should have ; but if the commissions which these gentlemen are to receive should give them rank from the dates of those they had from the King of France, or from their compact with Mr. Deane, there are but few officers now in the artillery who will not be superseded in their command, unless some method is adopted to prevent it. This, I am persuaded, Congress had not in contemplation, because it is opposed to policy and to justice ; and I am led to believe the Resolution was come into for want of due information how matters were circumstanced in this instance.

‘The officers now in the artillery I am obliged to consider of great merit. Experience has proved them to be most warmly attached to the rights of their country ; and their conduct in the line of their profession has been such as does the highest honor to themselves, and the gentleman who immediately commands them. Without derogating in the least from the character of the French officers who are to be commissioned, and whom I wish to receive every countenance they merit, there is strong reason to doubt, laying aside every consideration of policy, whether they have seen as much real service as our own in the course of two campaigns. It would be hard, not to say unjust, that the latter should lose their command, when they have a claim to every mark of favor, and after they have taken great pains to form their companies. The service requires that they should not ; and I am convinced the event would be attended with the most fatal consequences.

‘But what is to be done ? This is a case of difficulty, view it as you will. I am not for rejecting the French gentlemen ; far otherwise. I am for employing them ; and public faith, and the



encouragements given to bring them over, demand that it should be done. After much thought and consideration upon the subject, two modes occur to me, as the only possible ones by which it can be effected, and by which the inconveniences I have mentioned can be remedied. One is, that a new corps of artillery should be formed, and these gentlemen attached to it. This, we have reason to fear, cannot be done, from the difficulties we have experienced in raising men, and from their having no interest or connections with the people. Their situation in such case, if they are men of sentiment and active dispositions, would be irksome and distressing. The other is, that our present officers now under consideration should have their commissions antedated, to give them precedence of rank; and this may be done with the greater propriety, as most of them were intended to hold the posts they now sustain, before the French gentlemen had any claim upon us. It is true they were not commissioned, because the old corps existed under the first arrangement. Further, it is said, and there is no doubt of the fact, that these gentlemen were promoted by brevet, just before their departure from France, merely to give them rank here; antecedent to which, our officers were superior to them in this point; and these brevets only confer local rank confined to the French-American colonies. This latter mode appears the most eligible. If it is adopted, they will be distributed through the corps, as assistant officers. Their want of a knowledge in our language incapacitates them for command in the first instance; and not only so, but to place them at the head of companies, over officers that have been at great trouble, pains, and expense, in raising the men, would be both unmilitary and unjust.

‘I shall now quit the subject; wishing that whatever will best conciliate matters, and advance the public good, may be done; suggesting at the same time with all deference, that, as it is much easier to prevent evils, than to remedy them after they have happened, it will be well, in all cases of foreign and indeed other applications, that the consequences, which granting them will involve, should be maturely weighed and taken in every point of view. In the present case of difficulty, things, I am persuaded, might have been adjusted with the greatest facility, had the Committee of Foreign Applications been fully possessed of all the circumstances respecting the artillery regiments.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 89.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 450.

Below is the Resolution mentioned in this letter as having excited much perplexing doubt and anxiety among the American officers.

IN CONGRESS, *May 30.* ‘*Resolved*, That blank commissions be sent to General Washington, for the French officers lately arrived in the *Amphitrite*, to be filled up agreeable to a list to be forwarded

to him by the Committee; the rank of each class of the said officers to be settled by the date of their commissions from the King of France.'

The preceding letter of the 5th was read in Congress, and referred to the Board of War, on the 6th. The following was the explanation given by Congress in reply:

*June 10.* 'Resolved, That General Washington be informed, that that clause of the Resolution of the 30th May last, "the rank of each class of the said officers to be settled by the date of their commissions from the King of France," intended only their relative rank among one another; but that their commissions in the American army be dated by General Washington on the day when they shall be filled.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MIDDLEBROOK, 13 June, 1777.

'It being evident, so far as we can reason from circumstances and appearances, that General Howe designs Philadelphia to be the first object of his pursuits, or the defeat of this army, and, for one or both of these purposes, is collecting nearly his whole force at Brunswick, — a board of general officers determined yesterday evening, after mature deliberation, that all the Continental troops at Peekskill and its dependences, except one thousand effectives, should be immediately marched to reinforce this army. That number, with the convalescents and such aids of militia as are now and may be assembled in case of emergency, was deemed competent to the defence of those posts, against any attempt that may be made to possess them in the present situation of things.

'I have enclosed a general return, showing our whole strength in Jersey at this time, from which it will appear our circumstances in this respect are by no means so desirable as could be wished. I esteem it my duty to transmit information of this sort from time to time to Congress, and am encouraged the more to do it, from a conviction that they, sensible of the necessity of the most profound secrecy, will not suffer the least intimation of our numbers to transpire.♣

*June 14th, 10 o'clock, A. M.* — 'SIR, — Your letter of yesterday, with its enclosures, I received last night. \* \* \* The enemy are in motion, and a body is advancing from Millstone towards Vanbieter's Bridge. Another division is on the road leading towards Coryell's Ferry. We are packing up, and making every preparation to act as circumstances shall seem to require.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 96, 99.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MIDDLEBROOK, 20 June, 1777.

‘SIR, — When I had the honor of addressing you last, I informed you that the main body of the enemy had marched from Brunswick, and extended their van as far as Somerset Court-House. I am now to acquaint you, that, after encamping between these two posts and beginning a line of redoubts, they changed their ground yesterday morning and in the course of the preceding night, and returned to Brunswick again; burning, as they went, several valuable dwelling-houses. \* \* This sudden and precipitate change in their operations has afforded matter for much speculation. We suppose their original design was to attempt an impression on our right, or to manœuvre us out of our ground; or to advance towards the Delaware. Whether these conjectures were well founded cannot be ascertained; but it is probable, if they had an impression in view, they found it could not be attempted without great loss (as to bringing on an attack, they effectually secured themselves against one by the post they took); or, if passing the Delaware was their object, that, from the temper of the people, the prosecution of it, if not impracticable, would meet with much greater opposition than they expected. For I must observe, and with peculiar satisfaction I do it, that, on the first notice of the enemy’s movements, the militia assembled in the most spirited manner, firmly determined to give them every annoyance in their power, and to afford us every possible aid. This I thought it my duty to mention in justice to their conduct; and I am inclined to believe, that General Howe’s return, thus suddenly made, must have been in consequence of the information he received that the people were flying to arms in every quarter to oppose him. I shall not reason upon this event; but I cannot but consider it as a most fortunate and happy one to us, and the most distressing Mr. Howe has yet experienced; unless he has schemes in contemplation beyond the reach of my conjecture.

‘I should have written to Congress more frequently respecting the enemy after they came from Brunswick, had I not been almost constantly on horseback, and had their designs been clear. But, as they were not, I did not wish to puzzle them with conjectures; more especially as I wrote to General Arnold (with whom I was obliged to correspond, that he might coöperate with me as circumstances should require), to transmit to them copies of my letters.

\* \* I have the honor to be, &c.’

June 21st. ‘SIR, — I was last night honored with yours of yesterday morning, with its enclosures, the contents of which I shall duly attend to.

‘Having written fully yesterday, and nothing new occurring

since, I have only to request that you will forward the papers respecting the Commissary's department, as soon as possible. For want of some certain and fixed line of duty in this instance, the Commissary says it is impossible to conduct matters with any propriety. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 99, 101.

Wash. Writ.

In this letter appears the first allusion to a then recent measure which claims attention, not less in regard to its cause and its effects, than to the particular circumstances of its adoption. Duly to understand the important facts connected with it, there seems occasion to reëxamine a few of the preceding pages.

Of those, the 95th shows the recommendation of Mr. Trumbull for the office of Commissary-General; and the 97th, the consequent Resolution of his appointment. The 214th explains the nature of the difficulties added to his department, immediately or soon after the army from Cambridge and Boston arrived at New York; and, according to the 256th, the same 214th, the 235th and 252d—the last two adverting to the circumstances of the time they were written—as clearly explain, along with the qualifications of Mr. Trumbull, and the nature of those difficulties, the measure and the means requisite to remove them. Those pages, especially the 252d, strongly indicate, moreover, no small apprehension of a design so to modify that department, as to increase, rather than remove, the already existing embarrassments. Such apprehension, however, was at least for the time relieved in the exigency of July, '76, by the passage of the last Resolve, p. 270; and the succeeding events in the campaign of that year, it would seem, afforded little opportunity, if there was inclination, to attempt any change tending to renew it.

But nearly as soon as appearances of danger had so far subsided in the views of Congress, that they deemed it prudent to return from Baltimore to Philadelphia,—little more than two days from the first-recorded Proceedings resumed at the latter city,—on the 14th of March (those Proceedings having been commenced on the 12th), a committee was appointed, upon motion, 'to inquire into the conduct of the Commissaries.' On the 14th of April, that committee brought in their Report; whereupon were passed the Resolves, 'That Commissaries be commissioned by Congress, in different districts;' 'That the committee be directed to prepare and bring in a draught of regulations, in which their duty shall be clearly ascertained.'

By closely and deliberately examining the consequent Resolves below, together with all that may be found relating to the subject in the letters referred to through the above-mentioned pages, an opinion may be formed in respect as well to the occasion kind, and degree of the resulting change itself, as to the perseverance, direction, and power of the influence which produced it.

IN CONGRESS, *June 10, 1777.* '*Resolved*, That, for supplying the army of the United States with provisions, one Commissary-General, and four Deputy Commissaries-General of Purchases,—and one Commissary-General, and three Deputy Commissaries-General of Issues,—be appointed by Congress.

'That the Deputy Commissaries-General have authority to appoint as many Assistant Commissaries to act under them as may from time to time be necessary, and the same to displace at pleasure, making returns thereof to the Commissaries-General respectively; who shall have power to limit their numbers, to displace such as they shall think disqualified for the trust, and direct their respective Deputy Commissaries-General to appoint others in their stead.

'That the present Commissary-General, by himself or his deputies, deliver unto the Commissary-General of Issues, or his deputies or assistants, all and every kind of provisions and other public

stores in the Commissary-General's department, that now are, or at the time when such delivery shall be made, may be, in any of the posts, places, magazines, and store-houses belonging to the United States, taking duplicate receipts for the same.'

After the foregoing letter of the 21st had doubtless been read in Congress, they passed the following.

*June 23.* 'Resolved, That Joseph Trumbull, Esq., and the several persons by him lately employed in the Commissary's Department, be directed to supply the army with provisions, in the mode which they have heretofore practised, until the Commissaries-General, on the new establishment, shall be prepared to enter upon the business.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MIDDLEBROOK, 11 o'clock, P. M., 22 June, 1777.

'SIR, — I have the honor and pleasure to inform you, that the enemy evacuated Brunswick this morning, and retired to Amboy; burning many houses as they went along. \* \* \* From several pieces of information, and from a variety of circumstances, it was evident that a movement was in agitation; and it was the general opinion that it was intended this morning. I therefore detached three brigades under the command of Major-General Greene, to fall upon their rear; and kept the main body of the army paraded upon the heights, to support them if there should be occasion. A party of Colonel Morgan's regiment of light-infantry attacked and drove the Hessian picket about sunrise; and, upon the appearance of General Wayne's brigade and Morgan's regiment (who got first to the ground) opposite Brunswick, the enemy immediately crossed the bridge to the east side of the river, and threw themselves into redoubts which they had before constructed. Our troops advanced briskly upon them; upon which they quitted the redoubts, without making any opposition, and retired by the Amboy road.

'In the pursuit, Colonel Morgan's riflemen exchanged several sharp fires with the enemy, which, it is imagined, did considerable execution. \* \* \* General Greene desires me to make mention of the conduct and bravery of General Wayne and Colonel Morgan, and of their officers and men, upon this occasion; as they constantly advanced upon an enemy far superior to them in numbers, and well secured behind strong redoubts. General Sullivan advanced from Rocky Hill to Brunswick, with his division; but, as he did not receive his order of march till very late at night, he did not arrive till the enemy had been gone some time. \* \* \* I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 102.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 470.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP AT MIDDLEBROOK, 28 June, 1777.

‘SIR, — On Thursday morning General Howe advanced with his whole army in several columns from Amboy, as far as Westfield.

\* \* His design in this sudden movement was, either to bring on a general engagement upon disadvantageous terms, considering matters in any point of view, or to cut off our light parties, and Lord Stirling’s division who was sent down to support them; or to possess himself of the heights and passes in the mountains on our left. The two last seemed to be the first objects of his attention; as his march was rapid against these parties, and indicated a strong disposition to gain those passes.

‘In this situation of affairs, it was thought absolutely necessary that we should move our force from the low grounds, to occupy the heights before them; which was effected. \* \* As

soon as we had gained the passes, I detached a body of light troops, under Brigadier-General Scott, to hang on their flank, and to watch their motions; and have ordered Morgan’s corps of riflemen to join him since. The enemy remained at Westfield till yesterday afternoon; when, about three o’clock, they moved towards Spanktown, with our light troops in their rear and pursuing. The enemy have plundered all before them; and, it is said, burned some houses. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 105.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 474.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

MIDDLEBROOK, 1 July, 1777.

‘SIR, — Yesterday afternoon the enemy totally evacuated Amboy, and encamped opposite to it on Staten Island. General Scott entered directly after; and, posting guards to secure any stores they might have left, he withdrew his brigade, and halted about four miles from thence. This it was expedient to do; it being night when he entered, and his remaining there might have induced the enemy, whose boats were ready, to throw over a superior force in his rear.’

*July 2d.* ‘SIR, — The enclosed copies of General St. Clair’s letters, transmitted yesterday afternoon and last night by General Schuyler, I have thought it my duty to send you. The intelligence they contain is important and interesting; nor are there circumstances wanting, besides these, to induce a belief, or at least to raise a strong presumption, that the enemy have in contemplation a junction of their two armies by way of the Lakes and the North River. \* \* But as the appearance of the enemy on the Lake may be a feint, calculated to amuse and distract (though it may seem like a real attack), to draw this army to



Peekskill and more to the Northward, that General Howe may with more facility turn his arms against Philadelphia, — it has been determined unadvisable for us to move till we have further proofs of his intentions, and that our conduct must be governed by his.

‘ Our situation is truly delicate and embarrassing. Should we march to Peekskill, leaving General Howe on Staten Island, there will be nothing to prevent him passing to South Amboy, and pushing from thence to Philadelphia; or, in short, by any other route; though the marching such of his troops from the point opposite Amboy as were encamped there, and the sailing of the ships from Princess Bay yesterday morning, are circumstances indicating that an embarkation has or will take place. On the other hand, if the North River and the possession of the Highlands are his objects, our remaining here till his views are certainly known may subject us to a risk that we wish to avoid.

‘ Thus, let us examine the matter as we will, difficulties stare us in the face. We shall attempt to consult and do the best we can. \* \* \* As the enemy will adopt every stratagem and device to deceive and distract us, — notwithstanding the present appearance in favor of their making an expedition up the North River, — I doubt not but you will have the most vigilant look-outs kept along Delaware Bay, and proper expresses and signals for communicating the earliest intelligence. I think it would be highly expedient, that some sensible, judicious men should be employed in that business at this time, who would view things as they ought to be, and from whose accounts certain inferences and conclusions may be drawn, so as to form a proper line for our conduct. The most fatal consequences may flow from false information at this period. Things should be examined with all possible certainty. I shall not be surprised to hear of several ships appearing in or off Delaware, though General Howe’s destination should be elsewhere. Their fleet gives them the most signal advantages, and an opportunity of practising a thousand feints.

‘ I must earnestly request that you will send Mr. Stewart, the Issuing Commissary-General, to camp immediately. There is reason to apprehend the army will be in great distress and confusion for want of Issuing-Commissaries in three or four days. Those with Mr. Trumbull declare they will leave him, without they are put on a different footing from what they now are. I need not mention the consequences that will result from such an event, if there are not others here to supply their places.\*

‘ There is one thing more I would add, which is, that there are not more than forty thousand dollars in the military chest, and two months’ pay due to all the army; except two or three regiments

\* Under the new establishment were appointed, June 18, Joseph Trumbull Commissary-General of Purchases, and Charles Stewart Commissary-General of Issues; also the four deputies in the former department, and the three in the latter.

which have just obtained warrants. \* \* I must entreat, that you will forward a supply directly to the Paymaster. Should we be obliged to move before the troops are paid, much uneasiness and murmuring will be the certain attendants, and, I fear, something worse. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 108, 109.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

CAMP, AT MIDDLEBROOK, 2 July, 1777.

'SIR, — I had last night the honor of your letter of the 27th of June. \* \* I am sorry it is not in my power to comply with your request for arms. Notwithstanding the many arrivals, there is scarcely a sufficiency to supply the demands for the Continental troops. What has become of them I am unable to conceive. Every State complains of a deficiency, and great part of their several quotas come into the field very indifferently furnished; and yet the public magazines are nearly exhausted. The importations, from time to time, far exceed the number of Continental troops raised to make use of them. These have not, and could not have been, all put into their hands; and yet there are very few of them now to be found undisposed of. If they are not, many of them, in possession of the militia, it is impossible to imagine where they are; as a very inconsiderable part of them have fallen into the hands of the enemy. The fluctuating state of the army, and the irregular manner in which the militia usually left the camp, rendered it impracticable to withdraw the arms entrusted to them at their coming out, and gave them a fair opportunity of appropriating them to themselves; which, every reason obliges me to believe, they did not fail to improve. It appears to me highly probable, that, upon a careful scrutiny, many individuals will be found in possession of more than their own use requires, and the surplus will fully answer the purpose you have in view.

'Since my last, the enemy, disappointed in their attempt upon our right, have made an experiment upon our left; and, frustrated in that also, have now abandoned the Jerseys, and encamped upon Staten Island. There is a great stir among their shipping; and, in all probability, their next movement will be by water, though it is impossible to decide, with certainty, to what place. But I last night received intelligence from General Schuyler, that General Burgoyne is beginning to operate against Ticonderoga and its dependencies. If it is not merely a diversion, but a serious attack, of which it bears strongly the appearance, \* \* the next step of General Howe's army will be towards Peekskill, and very suddenly, if possible, to get possession of the passes in the Highlands, before this army can have time to form a junction with the troops already there. To guard against contingencies, I have ordered General Parsons's and General Varnum's brigades to

march off with all despatch towards Peekskill; and, when they have arrived at or near that post, a reinforcement of four of the strongest Massachusetts regiments will proceed thence immediately to Albany, on their way to Ticonderoga. I have also urged General Clinton, without loss of time, to call out a respectable body of the New York militia, to join General Putnam. I have the fullest confidence, that you will do every thing you can to second my endeavors, by forwarding as fast as possible the remaining troops of your State, or whatever else may be in your power. Our greatest exertions will be requisite to counteract the enemy in their first attempts, on which their success chiefly depends.

‘I have the honor to be, with great respect, Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 476.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, 7 July, 1777.

‘SIR, — I was this morning honored with yours of the 5th, with sundry Resolves of Congress to which I shall pay due attention.

‘No change has taken place in the situation of the enemy upon Staten Island since I wrote to you on the 5th; but I have this morning received an account from Elizabethtown, which mentions that a person had just come from the island, who informs that small craft are constantly plying between New York and the fleet, laden with officers’ baggage and stores put up in packages, and marked with their names and regiments; and that transports are fitted up with stalls over their main decks for the reception of horses. This looks as if a longer voyage was intended than up the North River.

‘I have given notice to all the Eastern States to be upon their guard, should the fleet put to sea, and steer that way; and I think the works upon and obstructions in the Delaware should be carried on with spirit, and completed as far as possible, lest they should visit that quarter. I think the Southern States should also be advised of the uncertainty of the next operation of the enemy, that they may also be making such preparations as they may judge necessary.’

July 9th. ‘SIR, — The enclosed copy of a letter from the Commissary-General of Provisions, and the information you will receive from Major Hoops, will convince Congress of the distress and confusion prevailing in that department. Without something is done in aid of Mr. Trumbull immediately, this army must be disbanded: if the present difficulties continue, it is impossible it can exist. I entreat Congress to take the matter under their most early consideration, and to make such provision as the exigency and importance of the case demand. I know not but we shall be obliged to move in the course of a few hours;

when, from the situation of things in this line, we shall have *more to dread, than from the enemy.*

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

POMPTON PLAINS, 12 July, 1777.

‘ SIR, — When I had the honor of addressing you last, I hoped the intelligence received respecting our affairs in the Northern Department was not true, or at least that they were not so unfavorable as they were represented. But the enclosed copy of a letter from General Schuyler, which came to hand yesterday evening, confirms it, most unhappily for us, in its fullest latitude. This event, the evacuation of our posts on the Lake, — among the most unfortunate that could have befallen us, — is rendered more interesting by the manner in which it took place. I have no further information upon the subject than what the copy contains, and shall be happy to hear by my next advices, that the main body of the army, of whose situation General Schuyler knew nothing with certainty, have not become prisoners. \* \* \*

‘ I should be extremely happy if our situation would allow me to afford him a large reinforcement of men; but I cannot with any degree of propriety, in the opinion of my general officers, send more to his aid at this time than a number of recruits on the march from Massachusetts, belonging to some of the regiments under his command, who amount to six hundred at least, and are now, I expect, pretty well advanced towards Peekskill. With this augmentation to what he already has, — supposing General St. Clair and his force to have come in, and any number of militia to have turned out, — he will have an army, equal, if not superior, to General Burgoyne’s, according to the only accounts we have obtained. \* \* \* In my last I took the liberty of suggesting the propriety of sending an active officer to animate the militia that may assemble for checking General Burgoyne’s progress, and mentioned General Arnold for that purpose. Being more and more convinced of the important advantages that will result from his presence and conduct, I have thought it my duty to repeat my wishes on the subject, and that he may, without a moment’s loss of time, set out from Philadelphia for that purpose. \* \* \*

‘ Your letter of the 8th was duly received; and, agreeably to your request, I communicated to Generals Greene and Knox the Resolution of Congress respecting them and General Sullivan, the last of whom I have not seen since it came to hand.’

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 115.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 488.

The three letters mentioned in the Resolution here referred to being substantially alike, one of them is deemed sufficient, and that one is inserted before the Resolution it f.

## GENERAL GREENE to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, AT MIDDLEBROOK, 1 July, 1777.

‘SIR, — A report is circulating here at camp, that Monsieur Ducoudray, a French gentleman, is appointed a Major-General in the service of the United States; his rank to commence from the 1st of last August. If the report be true, it will lay me under the necessity of resigning my commission, as his appointment supersedes me in command. I beg you will acquaint me with respect to the truth of the report, and, if true, enclose me a permit to retire. I am, with great respect, your most obedient, humble servant,

‘N. GREENE.’

It appears that the letter of General Sullivan was read in Congress on the 3d, and those of Generals Greene and Knox on the 5th; and that on this day they were some time under debate. On the 7th, Congress passed the Resolution:

‘That the President transmit to General Washington, copies of the letters from Generals Sullivan, Greene, and Knox to Congress, with directions to him to let those officers know, that Congress consider the said letters as an attempt to influence their decisions, an invasion of the liberties of the people, and indicating a want of confidence in the justice of Congress; that it is expected by Congress, the said officers will make proper acknowledgments for an interference of so dangerous a tendency; but, if any of those officers are unwilling to serve their country under the authority of Congress, they shall be at liberty to resign their commissions, and retire.’

To the facts already disclosed respecting the case of Monsieur Ducoudray, may be added others from the Journal of Congress, which at the same time afford some light as to the grounds of that report at camp.

June 16. ‘A memorial from Monsieur Ducoudray was read:

‘Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee of Foreign Applications, who are directed to confer with Monsieur Ducoudray.

June 25. ‘The Committee on Foreign Applications brought in their Report;

‘Ordered, That the same be taken into consideration to-morrow.

June 28. ‘Resolved, That Tuesday next be assigned for taking into consideration the Report of the Committee on Foreign Applications, respecting Monsieur Ducoudray.

July 2. ‘Congress took into consideration the Report on Monsieur Ducoudray’s affairs; whereupon,

‘The Committee on Foreign Applications laid before Congress the following papers,’ — papers showing his agreement with Mr. Deane; — whereupon, the subject of Mr. Ducoudray’s affairs was referred to a committee of the whole Congress. After being some time under consideration on that day, it was postponed; but resumed, and ‘some time’ under consideration, on each of the successive days, 10th, 11th, and 12th; and again on the 15th, on which day it was decided as follows:

‘Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to confer with Monsieur Ducoudray; that they inform him, Congress cannot comply with the agreement he has entered into with Mr. Deane; but that, sensible of the services he has rendered these States, and having a favorable opinion of his merit and abilities, they will cheerfully give him such rank and appointments as shall not be inconsistent with the honor and safety of these States, or interfere with the great duties they owe to their constituents.’

Congress employed him in planning works for the defence of Philadelphia, and granted considerable sums of money ‘for the support of himself and the gentlemen

who came with him from France ;' and also, on the 11th of August, appointed him 'inspector-general of ordnance and military manufactories,' with the rank of Major-General. But all embarrassment from him personally, ended shortly after this appointment ; for, about the middle of September, by accident or design, the unfortunate man was drowned in the river Schuylkill.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

CLOVE, 15 July, 1777.

'DEAR SIR, — I last night received your favor of the 10th instant. Joined to the unfortunate reverse that has taken place in our affairs, I am happy to hear that General St. Clair and his army are not in the hands of the enemy. I really feared they had become prisoners. The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence is an event of chagrin and surprise, not apprehended nor within the compass of my reasoning. \* \* \* This stroke is severe indeed, and has distressed us much. But notwithstanding things at present have a dark and gloomy aspect, I hope a spirited opposition will check the progress of General Burgoyne's army, and that the confidence derived from his success will hurry him into measures that will in their consequences be favorable to us. We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising, and has changed for the better ; so, I trust, it will again. If new difficulties arise, we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times. As the operations of this army are uncertain, depending much upon General Howe's, which still remain to be known, I think it will be expedient that you should send down to New Windsor and Fishkill all the vessels and craft you may not have occasion for at Albany, to be in readiness for transporting a part of our force up the river, in case the situation of affairs should require it, and circumstances will admit. I should suppose his movement will be up the river, to coöperate with Burgoyne, and with a view, if possible, of concentrating their forces. This idea prompted me to advise what I have respecting the vessels, and more particularly, as carrying our troops by water will not only facilitate their arrival, but fit them for more immediate service, than marching by land in cases of emergency. \* \* \* I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 493.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

'VANAULER'S, EIGHT MILES FROM POMPTON PLAINS, }  
14 July, 1777. }

'SIR, — I arrived here this afternoon with the army, after a very fatiguing march, owing to the roads, which have become extremely deep and miry from the late rains. \* \* \*

'By the express who will deliver this, I just now received a letter from General Schuyler, advising, for the first time, that General St. Clair is not in the hands of the enemy. As the express



has a large packet for Congress from General Schuyler, I presume they will be informed of all the intelligence he was possessed of respecting our affairs in his Department, and therefore shall not trouble them with a copy of his letter to myself upon the subject.'

*Camp, near the Clove, July 16th.* 'SIR,—I was yesterday evening honored with yours of the 14th. I have heard nothing from the Northward since my last. I this day received advice from Staten Island, that, on Sunday, seventy sail of the enemy's ships fell down from the watering-place to the Hook; but whether they have since gone out to sea, I have not heard. Till I have more certain information of the state of our affairs to the Northward, and of General Howe's real intentions, I have concluded to halt the army at this place, from whence I can either march forward or return, as circumstances may require. \* \* \*

'I have no doubt but the militia from the western parts of New England will turn out to General Schuyler's assistance, as I hope those of this State and Jersey will to mine, should they be wanted.

'I shall be very happy if the Committee of Congress can arrange the Commissary's department in such a manner as will satisfy the officers concerned in the business, and at the same time serve to supply the army with more regularity than has been done for some time past. I can assure you, the complaints have been many of late, and not without foundation. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 117, 118.

Wash. Writ.

The appointment of that Committee, prompted by the two letters of July 9th (one of them given, p. 476), and other consequences which speedily followed the change in that department, appear in the Proceedings below.

IN CONGRESS, *July 11.* 'A letter of the 9th, from General Washington, at Morristown; one, of the same date, from Joseph Trumbull; \* \* \* were read:

'*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed to proceed immediately to the army under the command of General Washington; that they be authorized and directed to make a diligent inquiry into the state of the army, particularly into the causes of the complaints in the Commissary's department, and to make such provision as the exigency and importance of the case demand; that they report the whole of their proceedings for the consideration of Congress, with as much despatch as possible.

*August 2.* 'A letter, of this day, from Joseph Trumbull, at Philadelphia, was read, desiring that he may have leave to resign his commission of Commissary-General, and informing Congress, that he cannot consider himself as obliged to hold the office he now acts in, longer than the 20th day of this month.

*August 4.* 'A motion was made, "that a committee be appointed to revise the regulations of the Commissary's department, so far as respects the appointment of officers; that they confer with

General Washington on the subject, and report such alterations as they may judge necessary."

'Passed in the negative.

*August 6.* 'On motion, it was resolved as follows:

'Whereas Joseph Trumbull, Esq., having resigned his commission of Commissary-General of purchases under the new regulations, has signified his intentions of discontinuing his service under the former establishment on the 20th day of the present month; and whereas the Commissaries-General of purchases and issues, who are to succeed him in office, may not be prepared with their respective assistants to proceed in the business at the time aforesaid, and a failure of supplies may be attended with the most dangerous consequences:

'*Resolved*, That Mr. Trumbull, with the officers under him, be desired to continue in the business of supplying the army under the former establishment, until the Commissaries-General of purchases and issues shall signify their readiness to proceed therein, under the new regulations, which they are required to do as speedily as possible:

'It was then moved, "That General Washington be authorized, during the present campaign, to remove such officers and make such appointments in the Commissary's department, as he shall judge necessary, reporting their names to Congress; and, if, in carrying into execution the Resolutions aforesaid, any alterations shall appear to him essential to the service, he is further authorized to propose the same to Congress."

'Passed in the negative.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR THE CLOVE, 16 July, 1777. (Second letter.)

'SIR, — I beg leave to congratulate Congress on the captivity of Major-General Prescott and one of his Aids. The particulars of this fortunate event you will find in the enclosed extract of a letter this minute received from General Spencer; which, I presume, are at large in the packet Mr. Greenleaf will deliver. Lieutenant-Colonel Barton, who conducted the enterprise, and the small handful under his command, have great merit. I shall immediately propose to General Howe his exchange for that of Major-General Lee; which, if acceded to, will not only do away one ground of controversy between General Howe and myself, but will release Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers, and procure the enlargement of an equal number of ours in his hands.' \*

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 119.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 495.

\* Colonel Barton, of the Rhode Island militia, captured General Prescott within a few miles of Newport. By a Resolve of Congress, Aug. 7, General Prescott was substituted for Colonel Campbell and the Hessian officers; and the exchanges apparently anticipated, were ultimately effected.

SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, AT THE CLOVE, 18 July, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — As I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you since the 10th instant, I am induced to hope that the enemy have not pursued their success with the rapidity that was to be apprehended, and that General St. Clair will have formed a junction with you before they advance upon you. Immediately upon the receipt of your first letter, concerning the distress you would labor under for want of the assistance of an active officer, well acquainted with the country, I wrote to Congress, and desired them to send up General Arnold, provided the matter before them respecting his rank was settled in such a manner, as determined him to continue in service. Upon my requisition, General Arnold, waiving for the present all dispute about rank, left Philadelphia, and arrived here last evening, and this day proceeds on his journey to join you. \* \* I need not enlarge upon the well-known activity, conduct, and bravery of General Arnold. \* \*

‘I will not condemn, or even pass a censure upon, any officer unheard; but I think it a duty, which General St. Clair owes to his own character, to insist upon an opportunity of giving the reasons for his sudden evacuation of a post, which, but a few days before, he by his own letters thought tenable at least for a while. People at a distance are apt to form wrong conjectures; and, if General St. Clair has good reasons for the step he has taken, I think the sooner he justifies himself the better. \* \*

‘When I had proceeded thus far, yours of the 14th came to hand, enclosing a copy of the council of war, held at Ticonderoga before the evacuation. I shall, as you desire, transmit a copy of it to Congress. \* \* I can give no particular directions for your conduct; but I trust that every proper step will be taken to make a vigorous defence. I am, &c.’

*Eleven miles in the Clove, July 22d.* ‘DEAR SIR, — I am heartily glad you have found two such advantageous spots to take post at; and I hope the progress of the enemy will not be so rapid, as to prevent your throwing up such lines as you may esteem necessary for their defence. Though our affairs, for some days past, have worn a dark and gloomy aspect, I yet look forward to a fortunate and happy change. I trust General Burgoyne’s army will meet sooner or later an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has had will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which, of all others, is most favorable to us; I mean, acting in detachments. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. *Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, supposing it should not exceed four, five, or*

*six hundred men*, it would inspirit the people, and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event, they would lose sight of past misfortunes; and, urged at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms, and afford every aid in their power. Your exertions to bring the people to view things in their proper light, — to impress them with a just sense of the fatal consequences that will result to themselves, their wives, their children, and their country, from their taking a wrong part, and for preventing Toryism, — cannot be too great. General Burgoyne, I have no doubt, will practise every art which his invention can point out, to turn their minds, and seduce them from their allegiance. He should be counteracted as much as possible, as it is of the last importance to keep them firm and steady in their attachments. You have already given your attention to this matter, and I am persuaded you will omit nothing in your power to effect these great and essential points. Stopping the roads, and ordering the cattle to be removed, were certainly right and judicious. If they are well accomplished, the enemy must be greatly retarded and distressed. \* \* \*

‘I could heartily wish harmony and a good understanding to prevail through the whole army, and between the army and the people. The times are critical, big with important events. They demand our most vigorous efforts; and, unless a happy agreement subsists, these will be feeble and ineffectual. The enemies of America have cultivated nothing with so much industry, as to sow division and jealousy amongst us.

‘I cannot give you any certain account of General Howe’s intended operations. His conduct is puzzling and embarrassing beyond measure; so are the informations I get. At one time the ships are standing up towards the North River; in a little while they are going up the Sound; and, in an hour after, they are going out of the Hook. I think, in a day or two, we must know something of his intentions. \* \* \* I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. pp. 498, 503.

#### COLONEL HAMILTON TO A FRIEND.

HEAD-QUARTERS, SMITH’S CLOVE, 22 July, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 18th, from Saratoga, reached me yesterday. Your pronouncing Fort Edward, among the other forts, indefensible, surprises me a little; as it is entirely contrary to the representations of several gentlemen of judgment, who have had an opportunity of seeing and considering its situation; by whom we have been taught to believe that it would be an excellent post, at least for checking and retarding Burgoyne’s progress. I agree with you, that our principal strength, in the quarter you are, will be in the forests and natural strength of the country, and in the want of forage, provisions, carriages, &c., in which the enemy

may easily be thrown, by taking away what there are of those articles which, you observe, have never been in great abundance.

‘I am doubtful whether Burgoyne will attempt to penetrate far; and whether he will not content himself with harassing our back settlements, by parties assisted by the savages; who, it is to be feared, will pretty generally be tempted, by the enemy’s late successes, to confederate in hostilities against us.

‘This doubt arises from some appearances, that indicate a Southern movement of General Howe’s army; which, if it should really happen, will certainly be a barrier against any further impressions of Burgoyne; for it cannot be supposed he would be rash enough to plunge into the bosom of the country, without an expectation of being met by General Howe. Things must prove very adverse to us indeed, should he make such an attempt, and not be ruined by it. I confess, however, that the appearances I allude to, do not carry a full evidence in my mind; because they are opposed by others of a contrary kind; and because I cannot conceive upon what principle of common sense, or military propriety, Howe can be running away from Burgoyne to the Southward.

‘It is much to be wished he may, even though it should give him the possession of Philadelphia; which, by our remoteness from it, may very well happen. In this case, we may not only, if we think proper, retaliate, by aiming a stroke at New York; but we may come upon him with the greatest part of our collective force, to act against that part which is under him. We shall then be certain, that Burgoyne cannot proceed; and that a small force of Continental troops will be sufficient for that partisan war, which he must carry on the rest of the campaign.

‘A small force will also be sufficient to garrison the posts in the Highlands, and prevent any danger there; so that we shall be able to bring nearly the whole of the Continental army against Mr. Howe. The advantages of this are obvious. Should he be satisfied with the splendor of his acquisition, and shut himself up in Philadelphia, we can ruin him by confinement. Should he have a garrison there, and go forward, we can either fall upon that, or his main body, diminished as it will be by such a measure, with our whole force. There will, however, be many disagreeable consequences attending such an event; amongst which, the foremost is the depreciation of our currency; which, from the importance in which Philadelphia is held, cannot fail to ensue.

‘I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 261.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 77.

COLONEL HAMILTON to DOCTOR KNOX.

HEAD-QUARTERS, ———, July, 1777.

‘The consequences of this Northern affair [the evacuation of Ticonderoga] will depend much upon the part that Howe acts. If he were to coöperate with Burgoyne, it would demand our utmost efforts to counteract them. But, if he should go towards the Southward, all or most of the advantages of Burgoyne’s success will be lost. He will either be obliged to content himself with the possession of Ticonderoga, and the dependent fortresses, and with carrying on a partisan war the rest of the campaign; or he must precipitate himself into certain ruin, by attempting to advance into the country with a very incompetent force.

‘Appearances lead us to suppose, that Howe is fool enough to meditate a Southern expedition; for he has now altered his station at Staten Island, \* \* \* and has fallen down to the Hook. Judging it morally certain that there would be a coöperation of the two armies, we thought it expedient to march northerly; and had accordingly reached within fourteen miles of New Windsor, the place where we could cross the North River without danger of interruption. But this new movement of the enemy’s fleet has induced us to return a few miles, and make a disposition for marching southerly. We shall, however, be cautious how we proceed on that course; lest nothing more than a feint is intended, to divert us from the real object.

‘If they go to the Southward in earnest, they must have the capture of Philadelphia in view; for there is no other sufficient inducement. We shall endeavor to get there in time to oppose them; and shall have the principal part of the Continental force, and a large body of spirited militia, — many of them, from their services during the last campaign, pretty well inured to arms, — to make the opposition with. Yet I would not have you to be much surprised, if Philadelphia should fall; for the enemy will doubtless go there with a determination to succeed at all hazard; and we shall not be able to prevent them, without a general action, the expediency of which will depend upon circumstances. If the militia turn out with that zeal we have a right to expect, from their conduct when the enemy made their last experiment in the Jerseys, and were supposed to be going to Philadelphia, we may do it without much inconvenience. If they fall materially short of it, we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to a skirmishing opposition, which we cannot expect will be effectual. It may be asked, — if, to avoid a general engagement, we give up objects of the first importance, — what is to hinder the enemy from carrying every important point, and ruining us? My answer is, that our hopes are not placed in any particular city or spot of ground; but in preserving a good army, furnished with proper necessaries, to take advantage of favorable opportunities, and waste and defeat



the enemy by piecemeal. Every new post they take, requires a new division of their forces, and enables us to strike with our united force against a part of theirs; and such is their present situation, that another Trenton affair will amount to a complete victory on our part; for they are at too low an ebb, to bear another stroke of the kind. Perhaps, before I may have an opportunity of sending this, facts will unfold what I am now endeavoring to anticipate by conjecture.

‘ You will expect some animadversions on the temper and views of the French nation. I presume you are nearly as well acquainted with the assistance they are giving us, as I am; both by their intrigues in foreign courts, and by supplies of every kind of war-like stores and apparatus.

‘ It does not admit of a doubt, that they are interested to wish us success; and their conduct plainly shows, they are willing to give us every aid essential to our preservation. But it is natural they should desire to do it with as much convenience to themselves as they can. I apprehend they are not over-fond of plunging themselves into a war with England, if they can avoid it, and still answer the end they have to pursue; and, indeed, from the evident reluctance shown on the part of the latter, to do any thing that may bring about such an event, it becomes extremely difficult to draw her into it. The conclusion we may make, is, that France will not wish to force England into a war, unless she finds our affairs require it absolutely; and England will not enter into one, till she is compelled to do it.

‘ My best respects to all friends; and I beg you will believe me to be, with unabated regard, dear Sir,

‘ Your most obedient servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 265.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 80.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON to GENERAL LINCOLN.

RAMAPO, 24 July, 1777.

‘ DEAR SIR, — I have just received information that the fleet left the Hook yesterday; and, as I think the Delaware the most probable place of their destination, I shall immediately move the army that way. I desire that you will, agreeably to what I hinted to you, set off immediately; and proceed, as quick as your health will permit, to join the Northern army under the command of General Schuyler. My principal view, in sending you there, is to take the command of the Eastern militia; over whom I am informed you have influence, and who place confidence in you. You will concert such plans with General Schuyler, as shall seem to you most conducive to the public good. \* \* I shall be glad to hear from you a state of Northern affairs, as soon as you arrive there. I wish you health, and a safe journey; and am, with great regard, dear Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. iv. p. 505.

SAME TO GENERAL SCHUYLER.

HEAD-QUARTERS, RAMAPO, 24 July, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — Your two favors of the 21st and 22d instant, with their enclosures, are come to hand. \* \* The information of the prisoners and others, transmitted by you, does not make the numbers of the enemy to exceed the idea first entertained of them; nor do I see any thing in it to induce a belief that their progress will be so rapid, as not to give you time to make proper preparations and receive sufficient accessions of force to enable you to give them a vigorous and successful opposition. \* \*

As they can never think of advancing without securing their rear, by leaving garrisons in the fortresses behind, the force with which they can come against you will be greatly reduced by the detachments necessary for the purpose. And as they have to cut out their road, and remove the impediments you have put in the way, this circumstance, with the incumbrance they must feel in their baggage, will inevitably retard their march a considerable time, and give you leisure and opportunity to prepare a good reception for them. If they continue to act in detachments, you will have it in your power to improve it to very great advantage, by falling vigorously upon some one of them with your whole force; which, if you are fortunate enough to succeed in, will be fatal to them.

‘I have directed General Lincoln to repair to you as speedily as the state of his health, which is not very perfect, will permit him. This gentleman has always supported the character of a judicious, brave, active officer; and as he is exceedingly popular and much respected in the State of Massachusetts, to which he belongs, he will have a degree of influence over the militia, which cannot fail of being very advantageous. I have destined him more particularly to the command of them; and I promise myself it will have a powerful tendency to make them turn out with more cheerfulness, and to inspire them with perseverance to remain in the field, and fortitude and spirit to do their duty while in it. The confidence they have in him will certainly go a great way towards producing these desirable ends. You intimate the propriety of having a body of men stationed somewhere about the Grants.\* The expediency of such a measure appears to me evident; for it would certainly make General Burgoyne very circumspect in his advances, if it did not totally prevent them. It would keep him in continual anxiety for his rear, and oblige him to leave the posts behind him much stronger than he would otherwise do, and would answer many other valuable purposes. General Lincoln could not be more serviceable than in command of this body, and no person could be more proper for it.

‘From the view I have of the matter, I should also think it

\* Then usually called the New Hampshire Grants, now the State of Vermont.

necessary to send General Arnold, or some other sensible, spirited officer, to Fort Schuyler, to take care of that post, keep up the spirits of the inhabitants, and cultivate and improve the favorable disposition of the Indians. This is recommended on the supposition, that any thing formidable should appear in that quarter.

‘I am, dear Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 1.

IN CONGRESS, *July 31, 1777.* ‘Whereas the Marquis de la Fayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his service to the United States without pension or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

‘*Resolved*, That his service be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family and connections, he have the rank and commission of Major-General in the army of the United States.’ \*

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GOVERNOR HENRY.

PHILADELPHIA, 4 August, 1777.

‘SIR, — The great expense and loss of time which has attended the recruiting service in most of the States, and the little advantage derived from it, have induced Congress to recommend to the executive powers of each, to adopt certain new regulations for promoting this important and essential business, and for taking it entirely out of the hands of the officers of the army. The Resolve on this subject, and the regulations recommended, passed on the 31st ultimo;† and will, I presume, be transmitted to you by the President.

‘I will not urge the expediency of carrying this proceeding into immediate execution. I shall only observe, that the necessity is obvious, and that it demands our most active attention. The principal cause of my troubling you at this time is to request, that, after the persons recommended are appointed in your State, you would be pleased to transmit to me their names, their places of residence, and those also designed for the rendezvous of recruits and deserters. As soon as I am advised upon these subjects, I shall recall all the officers who are recruiting, and order them forthwith to join their respective corps. Before I conclude, I would beg leave to mention, that the success of this interesting business, in all its parts, will depend much upon a judicious choice of those

\* At that time Lafayette was some less, and Hamilton little more, than twenty years of age. Hamilton was born on the 11th of January, and Lafayette on the 6th of September, 1757.

† See the Journal of Congress, July 31.

who are to be employed in it; and that, I think, the districts should not be too large and extensive. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 15.

SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 4 August, 1777.

'SIR, — You will perceive by the enclosed copy of a letter from Congress, that they have destined you to the command of the army in the Northern Department, and have directed me to order you immediately to repair to that post. I have therefore to desire you will, in pursuance of their intention, proceed to the place of your destination with all the expedition you can, and take upon you the command of the Northern army accordingly. Wishing you success, and that you may speedily be able to restore the face of affairs in that quarter, I am,

'With great regard, Sir, yours, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 16.

The intentions of Congress respecting the command in the Northern Department, appear somewhat more extensively from the following Resolves than from this letter.

*July 30.* '*Resolved,* That Major-General St. Clair, who commanded at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, be, and he is hereby, directed forthwith to repair to Head-Quarters.

*August 1.* '*Resolved,* That Major-General Schuyler be directed to repair to Head-Quarters.

*August 3.* '*Resolved,* That the commanding officer in the Northern Department have discretionary power to make requisitions on the States aforesaid [New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania], from time to time, for such additional numbers of militia to serve in that Department, as he shall judge necessary for the public service.'

*August 4.* 'Congress took into consideration the letter from General Washington, wherein he wishes to be excused from making the appointment of an officer to command the Northern Army; whereupon,

'*Resolved,* That Congress proceed to the election. The ballots being taken, Major-General Gates was elected by the vote of eleven States.

'*Resolved,* That General Washington be informed of this appointment, and that he be directed to order General Gates to repair, with all possible expedition, to the Northern Department, to relieve Major-General Schuyler.' \*

\* The purpose is, it may be proper to say here, to bring to view in this Number the facts relating to the Northern Department only so far as their connection with the main army seems to require. Some explanation of them will be attempted in the succeeding Number.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the COUNCIL OF SAFETY OF  
NEW YORK.

PHILADELPHIA, 4 August, 1777.

‘GENTLEMEN, — The misfortune at Ticonderoga has given a very disagreeable turn to our affairs, and has thrown a gloom upon the prospect which the campaign, previous to that event, afforded. But I am in great hopes that the ill consequences of it will not continue long to operate, and that the jealousies and alarms, which so sudden and unexpected an event has produced in the minds of the people, both in your State and to the Eastward, will soon subside, and give place to the more rational dictates of self-preservation, and a regard to the common good. In fact, the worst effect of that event is, that it has served to produce those distrusts and apprehensions; for, if the matter were coolly and dispassionately considered, there would be nothing found so formidable in General Burgoyne and the force under him, with all his successes, as to countenance the least degree of despondency; and experience would show, that even the moderate exertions of the States more immediately interested, would be sufficient to check his career, and perhaps convert the advantages he has gained into his ruin. But, while people continue to view what has happened through the medium of suspicion and fear, there is no predicting to what length an enterprising man may push his good fortune. \* \* \* If I do not give so effectual aid as I could wish to the Northern Army, it is not for want of inclination, nor from being too little impressed with the importance of doing it, but because the state of affairs in this quarter will not possibly admit of it. It would be the height of impolicy to weaken ourselves too much here, in order to increase our strength there; and it must certainly be considered more difficult, as well as of greater moment, to control the main army of the enemy, than an inferior and, I may say, dependent one. For it is pretty obvious, that, if General Howe can be kept at bay, and prevented from effecting his principal purposes, the successes of General Burgoyne, whatever they may be, must be partial and temporary.

‘Nothing that I can do shall be wanting to rouse the Eastern States, and excite them to those exertions which the exigency of our affairs so urgently demands. \* \* \* I flatter myself, that the presence of Generals Lincoln and Arnold, in the Northern Department, will have a happy effect upon them. Those gentlemen possess so much of their confidence, particularly the former, than whom there is perhaps no man from the State of Massachusetts, who enjoys more universal esteem and popularity; and, in addition to that, they may both be considered as very valuable officers.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 17.

SAME to JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.

GERMANTOWN, 5 August, 1777.

‘DEAR BROTHER, — Since General Howe removed from the Jerseys, the troops under my command have been more harassed by marching and countermarching, than by any other thing that has happened to them in the course of the campaign. After he had embarked his troops, the presumption that he would operate upon the North River, to form a junction with General Burgoyne, was so strong, that I removed from Middlebrook to Morristown, and from Morristown to the Clove, a narrow passage leading through the Highlands, about eighteen miles from the river. Indeed, upon some pretty strong presumptive evidence, I threw two divisions over the North River. In this situation we lay till about the 24th ultimo, when, receiving certain information that the fleet had actually sailed from Sandy Hook, and upon the concurring sentiment of every one, though I acknowledge my doubts of it were strong, that Philadelphia was the object, we countermarched, and got to Coryell’s Ferry on the Delaware, about thirty-three miles above the city, on the 27th; where I lay until I received information from Congress, that the enemy were actually at the Capes of Delaware. This brought us in great haste to this place for the defence of the city. But, in less than twenty-four hours after our arrival, we got accounts of the disappearance of the fleet on the 31st; since which, nothing having been heard of them, we have remained here in a very irksome state of suspense; some imagining that they are gone to the Southward, whilst a majority, in whose opinion upon this occasion I concur, are satisfied that they are gone to the Eastward. The fatigue, however, and injury which men must sustain by long marches in such extreme heat as we have felt for the last five days, must keep us quiet till we hear something of the destination of the enemy. \* \* \*

‘Our affairs at the Northward have taken a turn not more unfortunate than unexpected. The public papers will convey every information that I can on this subject. \* \* \* It is absolutely necessary, that all the gentlemen in every State should exert themselves to have their quota of troops completed; for, believe me, the whole are most shamefully deficient. \* \* \*

‘My love and best wishes are presented to my sister and the rest of the family; and, with sincerest affection, believe and be assured, I am, &c.’

Ibid. p. 29.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR GERMANTOWN, 9 August, 1777.

‘SIR, — I have been duly honored with your letter of yesterday, and with its enclosures. I shall pay attention to the Resolve transmitted; and as soon as circumstances admit, shall propose to



General Howe an exchange between Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell and the Hessian field-officers,\* and a like number of ours, of equal rank in his hands. \* \* I perceive by the Resolves for recalling Generals Schuyler and St. Clair, that they are directed to repair to Head-Quarters.† I also find that a committee had been resolved on, to digest a mode for inquiring-into the reasons for evacuating Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and into the conduct of the general officers in the Northern Department at the time of the evacuation. As these gentlemen have received the letter upon this subject by this time, and will probably be down in the course of a few days, I shall be glad to be informed what I am to do with them when they arrive. I may then be at a great distance from this, and, in such case, should be at a loss what to say, or how to conduct myself respecting them, without receiving some directions, which I request to be favored with by the earliest opportunity. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 134.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 24.

GENERAL GREENE to ———.

CAMP, CROSS ROADS, 11 August, 1777.

'Your favors of the 12th and 19th of July I have received. I am exceedingly alarmed at the ill state of health you appear to be in.' \* \* However unfortunate things may appear, let us console ourselves with reflecting that the greatest good often springs out of what we consider as the worst of evils. *General Burgoyne's triumphs and little advantages may serve to bait his vanity and lead him on to his total ruin. This is not improbable,* when we consult the temper of the human heart, the history of mankind, and the dispensations of divine Providence upon the rise and fall of men and kingdoms. \* \* The Northern Department has brought disgrace upon the American arms, and a cloud over New England. *But even all these misfortunes may be a necessary prelude to General Burgoyne's final overthrow.* I agree with you that there is something very mysterious in conducting the military operations to the Northward. \* \* We were all led to believe the situation of the place so strong by nature and so improved by art, that the garrison was sufficient to defend itself against any number that might be brought against it. Whatever may be the source of the misfortune, it is not owing to cowardice. I have been with General St. Clair in two actions,‡ and know him to be a man of bravery. \* \* Charity obliges me to suspend my opinion until there is a fair and candid inquiry made into the cause of the evacuation of Ticonderoga, and, if it was necessary to evacuate it, why it had not been done earlier.

\* See Journal, Aug. 7. † See those Resolves, p. 489. ‡ At Trenton and Princeton.

If the stores, and garrison had been saved, the loss of the place would have been inconsiderable.

‘ We have been in and about the city of Philadelphia for near a fortnight past, ignorant of General Howe’s destination. I hope it will not be against New England, but I have my fears. We were marching towards Coryell’s Ferry from the city, expecting the fleet was gone eastwardly, when, by an express from the President of Congress last night, we learned that the fleet are bound westwardly. I wish it may be true. It was said that two hundred sail were seen off the coast, between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays, but I doubt the intelligence; for I cannot persuade myself that General Burgoyne would dare to push with such rapidity towards Albany, if he did not expect support from General Howe.

‘ You lament the ruin of trade, the depreciation of money, and the discontent of the people, as so many sure marks of the downfall of our cause. It is true our trade is greatly injured; but remember, whilst it rains upon us, the sun does not shine upon them. Our trade is perhaps not more injured than theirs; and we must balance accounts in national suffering. If the diminution of their force and resources equal our misfortunes and losses, then we are not sufferers on the great scale of national gain. \* \* \*

The discontent of the people is not greater than is to be expected in every revolution, when robbed of the blessings of peace and plenty, and forced into a long and distressing war to obtain some future advantage that they have but an indistinct conception of. *I have no doubt of a happy issue, although we may experience many calamities in the course of the dispute.*

Life of Greene, vol. i. p. 98.

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO DR. FRANKLIN, in Paris.

VIRGINIA, 13 August, 1777.

‘ HONORABLE SIR,—I forbear to write you news, as, the time of Mr. Shore’s departure being uncertain, it might be old before you receive it; and he can in person possess you of all we have. With respect to the State of Virginia in particular, the people seem to have laid aside the Monarchical, and taken up the Republican government, with as much ease, as would have attended their throwing off an old and putting on a new suit of clothes. Not a single throe has attended this important transformation. A half-dozen aristocratical gentlemen, agonizing under the loss of pre-eminence, have sometimes ventured their sarcasms on our political metamorphosis. They have been thought fitter objects of pity, than of punishment. We are at present in the complete and quiet exercise of a well-organized government, save only that our courts of justice do not open till the fall. I think nothing can bring the security of our Continent and its cause into danger, if we can support the credit of our paper. To do that, I apprehend, one of two

steps must be taken ; — either to procure free trade by alliance with some naval power able to protect it ; or, if we find there is no prospect of that, to shut our ports totally to all the world, and turn our Colonies into manufactories. The former would be most eligible, because most conformable to the habits and wishes of our people. Were the British Court to return to their senses in time to seize the little advantage which still remains within their reach from this quarter, I judge that, on acknowledging our absolute independence and sovereignty, a commercial treaty beneficial to them, and perhaps even a league of mutual offence and defence, might, not seeing the expense or consequences of such a measure, be approved by our people, if nothing, in the meantime, done on your part, should prevent it. But they will continue to grasp at their desperate sovereignty, till every benefit, short of that, is for ever out of their reach. I wish my domestic situation had rendered it possible for me to join you in the very honorable charge confided to you. Residence in a polite court, society of literati of the first order, a just cause, and an approving God, will add length to a life for which all men pray, and none more than

‘ Your most obedient and humble servant.’

Jeff. Writ. vol. i. p. 153.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to GOVERNOR CLINTON, New York.

CAMP, CROSS ROADS, 16 August, 1777.

‘ DEAR SIR, — I see with the most sensible pleasure the exertions of your State, dismembered as it is, and under every discouragement and disadvantage. I lament, that any causes are sufficiently powerful to prevent that effectual aid from your Eastern neighbors, which the interest of the public cause, and the immediate safety of your particular State, so pressingly demand at this time. But, though it is dilatory in coming, I cannot but hope it will still come before it is too late. I imagine one cause, and not the least material, of their delay, is an apprehension of General Howe’s army. It were to be wished, that his designs were once reduced to certainty. This I should be in hopes would serve to remove that inactivity and indecision which I believe proceed in a great measure from suspense and uncertainty. I am, however, advised, that a body of New Hampshire militia, under General Stark, had joined General Lincoln at Bennington ; and that another of Massachusetts militia was partly arrived, and the rest arriving at the same place. A tolerable body of men once collected there would make General Burgoyne anxious for his rear ; oblige him to advance circumspectly, and to leave such strong posts behind, as must make his main body very weak, and extremely capable of being repulsed by the force we shall have in front. I should not be very uneasy for the issue, if I could once see our Northern army recovered from their present dejection, and restored to a tolerable degree of confidence and animation.

‘ In addition to the two regiments which are gone from Peekskill, I am forwarding as fast as possible, to join the Northern army, Colonel Morgan’s corps of riflemen, amounting to about five hundred. These are all chosen men, selected from the army at large, well acquainted with the use of rifles, and with that mode of fighting which is necessary to make them a good counterpoise to the Indians; and they have distinguished themselves on a variety of occasions, since the formation of the corps, in skirmishes with the enemy. I expect the most eminent services from them; and I shall be mistaken if their presence does not go far towards producing a general desertion among the savages. I should think it would be well, even before their arrival, to begin to circulate these ideas, with proper embellishments, throughout the country and in the army; and to take pains to communicate them to the enemy.

• • I am of opinion, with the Council of Safety, that your presence to the Northward might have a very happy influence; and, if it were compatible with the many other calls there are and will be upon you, I could wish to see you with the Northern army at the head of the militia of your State. • •

‘ An enemy can always act with more vigor and effect, when they have nothing to apprehend for their flanks and rear, than when they have. • • The necessity of never losing sight of the means of a secure retreat, which ought to be the first object of an officer’s care, must be exceedingly embarrassing, where there is a force in such a position as to endanger it. If a respectable body of men were to be stationed on the Grants, it would undoubtedly have the effects intimated above, and would render it not a little difficult for General Burgoyne to keep the necessary communication open; and they would frequently afford opportunities of intercepting his convoys. • • These reasons make it clearly my opinion, that a sufficient body of militia should always be reserved in a situation proper to answer those purposes. If there should be more collected than is requisite for this use, the surplusage may with propriety be added to the main body of the army. I am not, however, so fully acquainted with every circumstance that ought to be taken into consideration, as to pretend to do any thing more than advise in the matter. Let those on the spot determine and act as appears to them most prudent.

‘ I am, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 29.

SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

HEAD-QUARTERS, BUCKS COUNTY, 20 August, 1777.

‘ SIR, — By a letter from General Schuyler of the 13th instant, it appears that you had not reached Stillwater at that time, since which I have not had any accounts from you, but suppose you arrived there soon after that date. From the various representa-

tions made to me of the disadvantage the army lay under, particularly the militia, from an apprehension of the Indian mode of fighting, I have despatched Colonel Morgan with his corps of riflemen to your assistance, and presume they will be with you in eight days from this date. This corps I have great dependence on, and have no doubt but they will be exceedingly useful; as a check given to the savages, and keeping them within proper bounds, will prevent General Burgoyne from getting intelligence as formerly, and animate your other troops from a sense of their being more on an equality with the enemy. Colonel Cortlandt's and Colonel Livingston's regiments are also on their way from Peekskill to join you. They must, of course, be with you in a very few days. With these reinforcements, besides the militia under General Lincoln, which by this time must be considerable, I am in hopes you will find yourself at least equal to stop the progress of Mr. Burgoyne, and, by cutting off his supplies of provisions, &c., to render his situation very ineligible.

'Since the enemy's fleet was seen off Sinepuxent, on the 8th instant, we have no accounts from them which can be depended on. \* \* \* General Schuyler's sending a reinforcement up to Fort Schuyler, I think, was absolutely necessary. And I am of opinion, that particular attention should be paid to the inroads leading to that quarter; as a successful stroke of the enemy there might be a means of encouraging the whole of the Six Nations to unite against us. I am, Sir, &c.'

Wilkinson's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 227.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 37.

SAME to DR. FRANKLIN, in Paris.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 17 August, 1777.

'SIR, — I have been honored with your favor of the 2d of April, by Monsieur de Cenis, written in behalf of that gentleman on the credit of Monsieur Turgot's recommendation. I should have been happy, had it been in my power, in deference to your recommendation founded upon that of so respectable a character as Monsieur Turgot, to afford Monsieur de Cenis the encouragement to which his zeal and trouble, in coming to America to offer his services, give him a claim; but such is the situation of things in our army at this time, that I am necessarily deprived of that satisfaction. Our troops, being already formed and fully officered, and the number of foreign gentlemen already commissioned, and continually arriving with fresh applications, throw such obstacles in the way of any future appointments, that every new arrival is only a new source of embarrassment to Congress and myself, and of disappointment and chagrin to the gentlemen who come over. Had there been only a few to provide for, we might have found employment for them in a way advantageous to the service, and honorable to themselves; but, as they have come over in such crowds, we either

must not employ them, or we must do it at the expense of one half of the officers of the army; which, you must be sensible, would be attended with the most ruinous effects, and could not fail to occasion a general discontent. It is impossible for these gentlemen to raise men for themselves; and it would be equally impolitic and unjust to displace others, who have been at all the trouble and at considerable expense in raising corps, in order to give them the command. Even where vacancies happen, there are always those who have a right of succession by seniority, and who are as tenacious of this right as of the places they actually hold; and in this they are justified by the common principle and practice of all armies, and by Resolutions of Congress. \* \* Besides this difficulty, the error we at first fell into, of prodigally bestowing rank upon foreigners without examining properly their pretensions, having led us to confer high rank on those who had none, or of a very inferior degree in their own country, it now happens that those who have really good pretensions, who are men of character, abilities, and rank, will not be contented unless they are introduced into some of the highest stations of the army; in which it needs no arguments to convince you that it is impossible to gratify them. Hence their dissatisfaction, and the difficulty of employing them, are increased. \* \* From these considerations it would be both prudent and just to discourage their coming over, by candidly opening the difficulties they have to encounter; and if, after that, they will persist in it, they can only blame themselves. I am sensible, Sir, that it is a delicate and perplexing task to refuse applications of persons patronized, as I suppose often happens, by some of the first characters in the kingdom where you are, and whose favor it is of importance to conciliate; but I beg leave to suggest, whether it would not be better to do that, than by compliance to expose them to those mortifications which they must unavoidably experience, and which they are too apt to impute to other causes than the true ones, and may represent under very disadvantageous colors. Permit me also to observe to you, that even where you do not promise any thing but simply give a line of recommendation, they draw as strong an assurance of success from that, as from a positive engagement; and estimate the hardship of a disappointment nearly the same in the one case as in the other.

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 32.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NESHAMING CAMP, 18 August, 1777.

'SIR, — I last night had the honor of your favor of the 17th, with its enclosure. You will perceive by my letter of yesterday, transmitted by favor of the Marquis Lafayette, that I had been so happy as to anticipate the views of Congress, by ordering Colonel Morgan to march with his corps to the Northern army.'



*Camp, Bucks County, August 20th.* 'SIR, — I do myself the honor to forward you a packet, which just came to my hands from General Schuyler. In his letter to me, he communicates an agreeable account of the face of affairs at Fort Schuyler.\* I therefore do myself the pleasure of enclosing you an extract.

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 149.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, CAMP AT CROSS-ROADS, 22 August, 1777.

'SIR, — I am honored with your favor containing the intelligence of the enemy's arrival in Chesapeake Bay, and the Resolution of Congress thereupon. I have, in consequence of this account, sent orders to General Nash immediately to embark his brigade and Colonel Proctor's corps of artillery, if vessels can be procured for the purpose, and to proceed to Chester. \* \* I have also directed General Sullivan to join this army with his division as speedily as possible, and I have issued orders for all the troops here to be in motion to-morrow morning very early, with intention to march them towards Philadelphia, and onwards.

'I am happy to find Congress have ordered the removal of the stores from Lancaster and York to places of greater safety; which is, without doubt, a very proper and necessary measure. With much respect and esteem, I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient servant.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 154.

*August 23d.* 'SIR, — I beg leave to inform you that the army marched early this morning, and will encamp, I expect, this evening, within five or six miles of Philadelphia. To-morrow morning it will move again; and I think to march it through the city, but without halting. I am induced to do this, from the opinion of several of my officers and many friends in Philadelphia, that it may have some influence on the minds of the disaffected there, and those who are dupes to their artifices and opinions. The march will be down Front and up Chesnut street, and, I presume, about seven o'clock. \* \* I would take the liberty to mention, that I think the several works for the defence of the city should be carried on with the usual industry, and that no pains should be omitted to complete them. I would also advise, that the same look-outs for intelligence should be continued at the Capes, and the earliest information communicated of any thing material; for, though the fleet is in Chesapeake Bay, the enemy may push in a number of vessels with troops, and make an effort to effect some

\* The repulse of the British at that post, and the victory over them at Bennington, had then just occurred. Some of the circumstances connected with those important events will appear in the next Number.

stroke against Philadelphia by surprise. Such an event does not seem probable while they have a larger show of force in a neighboring State; but it would be prudent to guard against it.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

‘P. S. I think some directions should be given General Armstrong respecting the militia.’ \*

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 154.

Wash. Writ.

JOHN ADAMS, in Congress, to MRS. ADAMS.

PHILADELPHIA, 24 August, 1777.

‘MY DEAR FRIEND, — We had, last evening, a thunder-gust very sharp and violent, attended with a plentiful rain. \* \*

‘This morning was fair; but now it is overcast, and rains very hard, which will spoil our show, and wet the army.

‘*Twelve o'clock.* The rain ceased, and the army marched through the town between seven and ten o'clock. The wagons went another road. Four regiments of light-horse, Bland's, Baylor's, Sheldon's, and Moylan's. Four grand divisions of the army, and the artillery with the matrosses. They marched twelve deep, and yet took up above two hours in passing by. General Washington and the other general officers, with their Aids, on horseback. The Colonels and other field officers on horseback. We have now an army well appointed between us and General Howe, and this army will be immediately joined by ten thousand militia; so that I feel as secure here as if I was at Braintree, but not so happy. My happiness is nowhere to be found but there.

‘The army, upon an accurate inspection of it, I find to be extremely well armed, pretty well clothed, and tolerably disciplined. Gill and Town, by the motto to their newspapers, will bring discipline into vogue in time. There is such a mixture of the sublime and the beautiful together with the useful in military discipline, that I wonder every officer we have is not charmed with it. Much remains to be done.’ \* \*

Letters of J. Adams, vol. i. p. 253.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, WILMINGTON, 29 August, 1777.

‘SIR, — On my return to this place last evening from White Clay Creek, I was honored with yours of the 27th, with sundry Resolves of Congress, to which I shall pay due attention.

‘The enemy advanced a part of their army yesterday to Gray's Hill about two miles on this side of Elk; whether with intent to take post there or to cover while they remove what stores they found in the town, I cannot yet determine. \* \*

‘Our light parties yesterday took between thirty and forty prison-

\* General Armstrong commanded the Pennsylvania militia.

ers. Twelve deserters from the navy and eight from the army have already come in; but they are able to give us very little intelligence. They generally agree that their troops are healthy, but that their horses suffered very much by the voyage.'

*August 30th.* 'SIR, — Since I had the honor of addressing you yesterday, nothing of importance has occurred, and the enemy remain as they then were. I was reconnoitering the country and different roads all yesterday, and am now setting out on the same business again. \* \*

'*Ten o'clock.* This minute twenty-four British prisoners arrived, taken yesterday by Captain Lee of the light-horse.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 158.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 49.

SAME, by his Secretary, to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

NEWPORT, 7 September, 1777.

'SIR, — His Excellency being out reconnoitering, and busily engaged in the affairs of the army, I have the honor to acknowledge his receipt of your letter of the 6th, with the Resolutions enclosed, which came to hand yesterday afternoon. \* \*

'By deserters and other intelligence, his Excellency was informed last night that the enemy's whole force left Elk yesterday, and advanced on the road towards Christiana. The deserters added that they had disencumbered themselves of all their tents and baggage, and had sent them back and reëmbarked them. All their ships, except two or three which are ships of war, are said to have fallen down the Bay, below the mouth of Sassafras. We have had no information to-day of any further movements; and I believe their main body lies about Iron Hill.

'I have the honor to be, &c.

R. H. HARRISON.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 163.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CHAD'S FORD, 10 September, 1777.

'SIR, — Yesterday evening I received the honor of your letter of the 9th, with its several enclosures. \* \*

'In respect to the subject of Monsieur Ducoudray's letter, I would beg leave to observe, however eligible the measure might otherwise be which he recommends, an attempt to carry it into execution at this time would answer no valuable purpose, as the work in all probability could not be more than marked out, when it would be wanted. I would also add that I do not conceive any great advantages could be derived from it, supposing it could be completed; as we are certain the enemy will never attack lines which they can avoid. If they were obliged to approach Philadelphia by a particular route, in such case, no exertions should be spared to erect works, and the adoption of the plan would be highly expedient. \* \*

‘By light-horsemen this instant come in, the enemy are in motion, and appear to be advancing towards us. His Excellency is giving the necessary orders, and getting the troops under arms; which prevents him from signing this himself, as was intended at first.  
I have the honor to be, &c.

‘R. H. HARRISON.’

‘*One o’clock.* It is said the enemy have halted.’  
Ibid. p. 164.

*September 10th*, second letter. ‘SIR, — Your favor of this morning came to hand about two o’clock. His Excellency was then out, and still is. I have nothing material to inform you of respecting the enemy. By the last advices from our reconnoitering parties, they had halted in a low ground strongly flanked by two hills, about a mile below Welch’s Tavern. \* \* Some interesting event may take place to-morrow, as they are within a convenient distance to attack, if they have any such intention.

‘I have the honor to be, &c. R. H. HARRISON.’

Ibid. p. 165.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CHESTER, 11 September, 1777, *twelve o’clock at night*.

‘SIR, — I am sorry to inform you, that, in this day’s engagement,\* we have been obliged to leave the enemy masters of the field. Unfortunately, the intelligence received, of the enemy’s advancing up the Brandywine and crossing at a ford about six miles above us, was uncertain and contradictory, notwithstanding all my pains to get the best. This prevented me from making a disposition adequate to the force with which the enemy attacked us on our right; in consequence of which, the troops first engaged were obliged to retire before they could be reinforced. In the midst of the attack on the right, that body of the enemy which lay on the other side of Chad’s Ford, crossed it, and attacked the division there under the command of General Wayne, and the light troops under General Maxwell, who, after a severe conflict, also retired. The militia under the command of General Armstrong, being posted at a ford about two miles below Chad’s, had no opportunity of engaging.

‘But, though we fought under many disadvantages, and were, from the causes above mentioned, obliged to retire, yet our loss of men is not, I am persuaded, very considerable; I believe, much less than the enemy’s. We have also lost seven or eight pieces of cannon, according to the best information I can at present obtain. The baggage, having been previously moved off, is all secure, saving the men’s blankets, which being at their backs, many of them doubtless are lost.

\* The battle of Brandywine.

‘ I have directed all the troops to assemble behind Chester, where they are now arranging for the night. Notwithstanding the misfortune of the day, I am happy to find the troops in good spirits ; and I hope another time we shall compensate for the losses now sustained.

‘ The Marquis de Lafayette was wounded in the leg, and General Woodford in the hand. Divers other officers were wounded, and some slain ; but the numbers of either cannot now be ascertained.

I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 167.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 57

#### GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO MADAM LAFAYETTE.

PHILADELPHIA, 12 September, 1777.

‘ I write you a line, my dearest love, by some French officers, my friends, who embarked with me, but not having received any appointment in the American army, are returning to France. I must begin by telling you that I am perfectly well, because I must end by telling you that we fought seriously last night, and that we were not the strongest on the field of battle. Our Americans, after having stood their ground for some time, ended at length by being routed. Whilst endeavoring to rally them, the English honored me with a musket ball, which slightly wounded me in the leg ; but it is a trifle, my dearest love : the ball touched neither bone nor nerve, and I have escaped with the obligation of lying on my back for some time, which puts me much out of humor. I hope that you will feel no anxiety : this event ought, on the contrary, rather to reassure you, since I am incapacitated from appearing on the field for some time. I have resolved to take great care of myself : be convinced of this, my love. This affair will, I fear, be attended with bad consequences for America. We will endeavor, if possible, to repair the evil. You must have received many letters from me, unless the English be equally ill-disposed towards my epistles as towards my legs. I have not yet received one letter, and I am most impatient to hear from you. Adieu : I am forbidden to write longer. For several days I have not had time to sleep. Our retreat, and my journey hither, took up the whole of last night. I am perfectly well taken care of in this place. Tell all my friends that I am in good health. My tender respects to Madame d’Ayen. A thousand compliments to the viscountess and my sisters. The officers will soon set out. They will see you ; — what pleasure ! Good night, my dearest life.’

Lafayette’s Memoirs, vol. i. p. 101.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, GERMANTOWN, 13 September, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I have been honored with your favor of this date. I heartily wish the works on the Delaware were completed ; but

I think, and in this opinion my officers concur, that the service will be injured if any part of the Continental troops were now to be employed about them. If we should be able to oppose General Howe with success in the field, the works will be unnecessary; if not, and he should force us from hence, he will certainly possess himself of them. \* \* A part of the militia under General Armstrong will be posted along the Schuylkill, to throw up redoubts at the different fords, which will be occasionally occupied while I move to the other side with the main body of the army. This disposition appears to be most eligible, from a consideration of all circumstances, and better than if any part of our present force was to be employed at the forts. If further reinforcements of the militia should come in, they perhaps may be more properly assigned to that business, than any we now have.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 168.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 59.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

BUCK TAVERN, *three o'clock, P. M.*, 15 September, 1777.

'SIR,—Your favor of yesterday, with its several enclosures, came to hand last night. Though I would willingly pay every attention to the Resolutions of Congress, yet, in the late instance respecting the recall of General Sullivan, I must beg leave to defer giving any order about it, till I hear further from that honorable body. Our situation at this time is critical and delicate; and nothing should be done to add to its embarrassments. We are now most probably on the point of another action; and to derange the army, by withdrawing so many general officers from it, may and must be attended with many disagreeable if not ruinous consequences. Such a proceeding at another time might not produce any bad effects; but how can the army be possibly conducted with a prospect of success, if the general officers are taken off in the moment of battle? Congress may rely upon it, such a measure will not promote, but injure, the service.

'It is not my wish to prevent or to delay a proper inquiry into General Sullivan's conduct a single instant, when the circumstances of the army will admit; but now they prohibit it, and, I think, the suspension in his command also. The recall of General St. Clair obliged me to part with General Lincoln, whom I could but ill spare; so that the whole charge of his division is now upon General Wayne, there being no other brigadier in it than himself. The Maryland troops, if General Sullivan is taken away, will not have one general officer; General Smallwood being at the head of the militia coming from that State, and General Deborre suspended. Added to this, Colonel Gist, who commands one regiment of them, is now absent from it by order. In a word, Sir, whether the charges alleged against General Sullivan are true or false, and whether his conduct has been exceptionable or not, I am satisfied



the Resolution for his recall at this time was unhappily adopted; and, if carried into execution, will not fail to add new difficulties to our present distresses; and I am obliged to observe, in justice to my own character, that I cannot be answerable for the consequences which may arise from a want of officers to assist me.

‘It gives me great pleasure to find General Gates is on so respectable a footing; and I hope our affairs in that quarter, in the course of a little time, will be in as prosperous a train as we could reasonably wish.

‘The main body of the enemy, from the best intelligence I have been able to get, lies near Dilworthtown, not far from the field of action. \* \* We are moving up this road to get be-

tween the enemy and Swedes’ Ford, and to prevent them from turning our right flank; which they seem to have a violent inclination to effect, by all their movements. I would beg leave to recommend in the most earnest manner, that some board or committee be appointed, or some mode adopted, for obtaining supplies of blankets for the troops. Many are now without them; and, the season becoming cold, they will be injured in their health, and unfitted for service, unless they are immediately provided with them. \* \* I would also observe, that I think, in point

of prudence and sound policy, every species of provisions should be removed from the city, except such as will be necessary to supply the present demands of this army. \* \*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 170.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 60.

It may be stated in explanation of the immediate causes of General Sullivan’s recall, that in August he had engaged in an enterprise of some importance against the British forces on Staten Island. The plan of the enterprise was judicious, and the execution, in its early stages, successful; but, from unforeseen obstacles, it ended unfortunately. The following Resolve of Congress was a consequence.

*September 1.* ‘Resolved, That General Washington be directed to appoint a Court of Inquiry on the late expedition by General Sullivan against the British forces on Staten Island.’

The extraordinary circumstances of the time — the British having then begun to advance from the Head of Elk towards Philadelphia, — and the absence of an indispensable witness, caused the inquiry to be delayed till it was General Sullivan’s misfortune to command in a part of the battle of Brandywine, where the conflict was most severe and disastrous. The Resolve remonstrated against, in the preceding letter, soon followed.

*September 14.* ‘Resolved, That General Sullivan be recalled from the army until the inquiry, heretofore ordered into his conduct, be duly made.’ \*

\* See the close of letter, Oct. 13, and the Resolve, Oct. 20, p. 514.

COLONEL HAMILTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

*Nine o'clock at night, 18 September, 1777.*

'SIR, — I did myself the honor to write you a hasty line this evening, giving it as my opinion, that the city was no longer a place of safety for you. I write you again, lest that letter should not get to hand. The enemy are on the road to Swedes' Ford, the main army about four miles from it. They sent a party this evening to Daviser's Ferry, which fired upon me and some others in crossing it, killed one man, wounded another, and disabled my horse.

'They came on so suddenly, that one boat was left adrift on the other side, which will of course fall into their hands; and, by the help of that, they will get possession of another, which was abandoned by those who had the direction of it, and left afloat, in spite of every thing that I could do to the contrary. These two boats will convey fifty men across at a time; so that in a few hours they may throw over a large party, perhaps sufficient to overmatch the militia who may be between them and the city. This renders the situation of Congress extremely precarious, if they are not on their guard; my apprehensions for them are great, though they may not be realized.

'The most cogent reasons oblige me to join the army this night, or I should have waited upon you myself. I am in hopes our army will be up with the enemy before they pass Schuylkill: if they are, something serious will ensue. I have the honor to be,

'With much respect, Sir, your most obedient servant.'

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 268.

In the Journals, Sept. 18, after the customary entry at the close of business, 'Adjourned to ten o'clock to-morrow,' the following was subjoined.

'During the adjournment, the President received a letter from Colonel Hamilton, one of General Washington's Aids, which intimated the necessity of removing the Congress immediately from Philadelphia. Whereupon, the members left the city, and, agreeably to the Resolve of the 14th, repaired to Lancaster.\*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, 19 September, 1777.

'SIR, — I am much obliged to Congress for the late instance of their confidence, expressed in their Resolution of the 17th, and shall be happy if my conduct in discharging the objects they had in view should be such as to meet their approbation. I am now repassing the Schuylkill at Parker's Ford, with the main body of

\* It is probably remembered that, according to their Resolve of Dec. 12, p. 359, Congress removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore. They continued at the latter city, from Dec. 20 to Feb. 27, when they adjourned, 'to meet at the State House in Philadelphia.' Here they resumed business, March 12, as mentioned, p. 471.

the army, which will be over in an hour or two, though it is deep and rapid. General Wayne, with the division under his command, is on the rear of the enemy, and will be joined to-morrow or next day, I expect, by General Smallwood and Colonel Gist with their corps. \* \*

‘When I left Germantown with the army, I hoped I should have an opportunity of attacking them, either in front or on their flank, with a prospect of success; but unhappily a variety of causes concurred to prevent it. Our march, in the first place, was greatly impeded through want of provisions, which delayed us so long that the enemy were apprised of our motions, and gained the grounds near the White Horse Tavern, with part of their army turning our right flank; whilst another part, composing the main body, were more advanced towards our left. We should have disappointed them in their design by getting on their left; but the heavy rain, which fell on Tuesday evening and in the course of that night, totally unfitted our guns for service, and nearly the whole of the ammunition with which the army had been completed a day or two before, being forty rounds a man. \* \*

On these accounts, particularly the latter, matters have not been conducted as I intended and wished; and the enemy had an opportunity of making their advances without being attacked. I yet hope, from the present state of the river, that I shall be down in time to give them a meeting; and, if unfortunately they should gain Philadelphia, that it will not be without loss.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 65.

The Resolution alluded to in the beginning of this letter was the following, which was passed by Congress with reference to their contemplated removal, and to the great and increasing wants of the army.

*September 17.* ‘*Resolved*, That General Washington be authorized and directed to suspend all officers who shall misbehave, and to fill up all vacancies in the American army, under the rank of brigadiers, until the pleasure of Congress shall be communicated; to take, wherever he may be, all such provisions and other articles as may be necessary for the comfortable subsistence of the army under his command, paying or giving certificates for the same; to remove and secure, for the benefit of the owners, all goods and effects which may be serviceable to the enemy; provided, that the powers hereby vested shall be exercised only in such parts of these States as may be within the circumference of seventy miles of the Head-Quarters of the American army, and shall continue in force for the space of sixty days, unless sooner revoked by Congress.’

It was under this authority that General Washington gave the following order, to do that which Congress had on the 16th recommended to be done, but which was declined, by the President and Council of Pennsylvania.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to COLONEL HAMILTON.

CAMP, 22 September, 1777.

‘SIR, — The distressed situation of the army for want of blankets, and many necessary articles of clothing, is truly deplorable; and must inevitably be destructive to it, unless speedy remedy be applied. Without a better supply than they at present have, it will be impossible for the men to support the fatigues of the campaign in the further progress of the approaching inclement season. This you well know to be a melancholy truth. It is equally the dictate of common sense and the opinion of the physicians of the army, as well as of every officer in it. No supply can be drawn from the public magazines. We have, therefore, no resource but the private stock of individuals. I feel, and I lament, the absolute necessity of requiring the inhabitants to contribute to those wants which we have no other means of satisfying, and which, if not removed, would involve the ruin of the army, and perhaps the ruin of America. Painful as it is to me to order, and as it will be to you to execute, the measure, — I am compelled to desire you immediately to proceed to Philadelphia, and there procure from the inhabitants contributions of blankets and clothing, and materials to answer the purposes of both, in proportion to the ability of each. This you will do with as much delicacy and discretion as the nature of the business demands; and, I trust, the necessity will justify the proceeding in the eyes of every person well affected to the American cause, and that all good citizens will cheerfully afford their assistance to soldiers whose sufferings they are bound to commiserate, and who are eminently exposed to danger and distress, in defence of every thing they ought to hold dear.

‘As there is also a number of horses in Philadelphia, both of public and private property, which would be a valuable acquisition to the enemy, should the city by any accident fall into their hands, you are hereby authorized and commanded to remove them thence into the country to some place of greater security, and more remote from the operations of the enemy. You will stand in need of assistance from others to execute this commission with despatch and propriety, and you are therefore empowered to employ such persons as you shall think proper to aid you therein.

‘I am, Sir, &amp;c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 67.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR POTTSBORO, 23 September, 1777.

‘SIR, — I have not had the honor of addressing you since your adjournment to Lancaster; and I sincerely wish that my first letter was upon a more agreeable subject. The enemy, by a variety of perplexing manœuvres through a country from which I could not

derive the least intelligence (being to a man disaffected), contrived to pass the Schuylkill last night at the Flatland and other fords, in the neighborhood of it. They marched immediately towards Philadelphia, and I imagine their advanced parties will be near that city to-night. They had so far got the start, before I received certain intelligence that any considerable number had crossed, that I found it in vain to think of overtaking their rear, with troops harassed as ours had been with constant marching since the battle of Brandywine; and therefore concluded, by the advice of all the general officers, to march from this place to-morrow morning towards Philadelphia, and on the way endeavor to form a junction with the Continental troops under General McDougall, from Peekskill, and the Jersey militia under General Dickinson, both of whom are, I hope, on this side of the Delaware. I am also obliged to wait for General Wayne and General Smallwood, who were left upon the other side of the Schuylkill, in hopes of falling upon the enemy's rear; but they have eluded them as well as us. \* \* The strongest reason against being able to make a forced march is a want of shoes. Messrs. Carroll, Chase, and Penn,\* who were some days with the army, can inform Congress in how deplorable a situation the troops are, for want of that necessary article. At least one thousand men are barefooted, and have performed the marches in that condition. I was told of a great number of shoes in the hands of private people in Philadelphia, and sent down to secure them; but I doubt the approach of the enemy will prevent it.

'I have planned a method of throwing a garrison into Fort Mifflin. If it succeeds, and they, with the assistance of the ships and galleys, should keep the obstructions in the river, General Howe's situation in Philadelphia will not be the most agreeable; for, if his supplies can be stopped by water, it may be easily done by land. To do both shall be my utmost endeavor; and I am not yet without hope, that the acquisition of Philadelphia may, instead of his good fortune, prove his ruin. General St. Clair, who has been constantly with the army for some time past, can give you many pieces of information which may have escaped me, and therefore I refer you to him for many particulars.

'If there are any shoes and blankets to be had in Lancaster, or that part of the country, I earnestly entreat you to have them taken up for the use of the army.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 273.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 69.

SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

CAMP, NEAR POTTSBORO, 24 September, 1777.

'SIR, — This army has not been able to oppose General Howe's with the success that was wished, and needs a reinforcement. I

\* Members of Congress.

therefore request, if you have been so fortunate as to oblige General Burgoyne to retreat to Ticonderoga, or if you have not, and circumstances will admit, that you will order Colonel Morgan to join me again with his corps. I sent him up when I thought you materially wanted him; and, if his services can be dispensed with now, you will direct his immediate return. You will perceive, I do not mention this by way of command, but leave you to determine upon it according to your situation. If they come, they should proceed by water from Albany, as low down as Peekskill. In such case you will give Colonel Morgan the necessary orders to join me with despatch.\*

I am, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 74.

IN CONGRESS, LANCASTER, *September 27, 1777.* 'A letter, of the 15th, from General Gates, at the Heights above Behman's; \* \* \* and one, of the 23d, from General Washington, at Pottsgrove, were read:

'*Resolved*, That the Board of War be directed to coöperate with General Washington, in devising and carrying into execution, effectual measures for supplying the army with fire-arms, shoes, blankets, stockings, provisions, and other necessities; and that, in executing this business, these collections be confined, as much as circumstances will admit, to persons of disaffected and equivocal characters.

'*Resolved*, That the Treasury Board direct the Treasurer, with all his papers, forms, &c., to repair to the town of York, in Pennsylvania.

'Adjourned to Yorktown, there to meet on Tuesday next, at 10 o'clock.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, TWENTY MILES FROM PHILADELPHIA, 3 October, 1777.

'SIR, — Yesterday afternoon I had the honor to receive your favors of the 30th ultimo, with their enclosures. I was much obliged by the accounts from the Northern army, though in general they had reached me before; and I flatter myself we shall soon hear that they have been succeeded by other fortunate and interesting events; as the two armies, by General Gates's letter, were encamped near each other. I shall pay due attention to the Resolution you refer me to; and no exertions on my part shall be wanting to collect what necessities I can for the army.† This, I am persuaded, will be equally attended to by the honorable Board of War; and I hope, by care and industry, many supplies may be obtained to relieve our distresses, which, in the articles of shoes,

\* Relative to sending Colonel Morgan's corps to General Gates, see pp. 495, 496.

† Referring to the above Resolution, Sept. 27.



stockings, and blankets, are extremely great. \* \* Congress may rest assured, all the means in my power shall be employed to put our affairs in a more agreeable train, and to accomplish the end they so earnestly wish.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 176.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 76.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR PENNIBECKER'S MILL, 5 October, 1777.

‘ SIR, — Having received intelligence through two intercepted letters, that General Howe had detached a part of his force for the purpose of reducing Billingsport and the forts on the Delaware, I communicated the accounts to my general officers, who were unanimously of opinion, that a favorable opportunity offered to make an attack upon the troops which were at and near Germantown. It was accordingly agreed that it should take place yesterday morning, and the following dispositions were made.

‘ The divisions of Sullivan and Wayne, flanked by Conway's brigade, were to enter the town by the way of Chesnut Hill; while General Armstrong with the Pennsylvania militia should fall down the Manatawny road by Vandearing's Mill, and get upon the enemy's left and rear. The divisions of Greene and Stephen, flanked by McDougall's brigade, were to enter, by taking a circuit by way of the Lime Kiln road, at the Market House, and to attack their right wing; and the militia of Maryland and Jersey, under Generals Smallwood and Formans, were to march by the old York road, and fall upon the rear of their right. Lord Stirling, with Nash's and Maxwell's brigades, was to form a *corps de reserve*.

‘ We marched about seven o'clock the preceding evening; and General Sullivan's advanced party, drawn from Conway's brigade, attacked their picket, at Mount Airy, or Mr. Allen's house, about sunrise the next morning, which presently gave way; and his main body, consisting of the right wing, following soon, engaged the light infantry and other troops encamped near the picket, which they forced from their ground. Leaving their baggage, they retreated a considerable distance, having previously thrown a party into Mr. Chew's house, who were in a situation not to be easily forced; and had it in their power, from the windows, to give us no small annoyance, and in a great measure to obstruct our advance.

‘ The attack from our left column, under General Greene, began about three quarters of an hour after that from the right, and was for some time equally successful. But I cannot enter upon the particulars of what happened in that quarter, as I am not yet informed of them with sufficient certainty and precision. The morning was extremely foggy; which prevented our improving the advantages we had gained, so well as we should otherwise have done. This circumstance, by concealing from us the true

situation of the enemy, obliged us to act with more caution and less expedition than we could have wished, and gave the enemy time to recover from the effects of our first impression; and, what was still more unfortunate, it served to keep our different parties in ignorance of each other's movements, and hinder their acting in concert. It also occasioned them to mistake one another for the enemy; which, I believe, more than any thing else, contributed to the misfortune that ensued. In the midst of the most promising appearances, when every thing gave the most flattering hopes of victory, the troops began suddenly to retreat, and entirely left the field, in spite of every effort that could be made to rally them.

' Upon the whole, it may be said the day was rather unfortunate than injurious. \* \* \* The enemy are nothing the better by the event; and our troops, who are not in the least dispirited by it, have gained what all young troops gain by being in actions. We have had, however, several valuable officers killed and wounded, particularly the latter. General Nash is among the wounded, and his life is despaired of. As soon as it is possible to obtain a return of our loss, I will transmit it. In justice to General Sullivan and the whole right wing of the army, whose conduct I had an opportunity of observing, as they acted immediately under my eye, I have the pleasure to inform you, that both officers and men behaved with a degree of gallantry that did them the highest honor. I have the honor to be, &c.' \*

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 177.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 78.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR PENNIBECKER'S MILL, 7 October, 1777.

' SIR, — Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 5th, I have obtained a return of our loss in the action on Saturday, by which it appears to be much more considerable than I at first apprehended.

\* \* \* The copy of the return enclosed will show the amount as it now stands; but I hope many of those who are missing will yet come in. \* \* \*

My intention is to encamp the army at some suitable place, to rest and refresh the men, and recover them from the still remaining effects of that disorder naturally attendant on a retreat. We shall here wait for the reinforcements coming on, and shall then act according to circumstances. \* \* \*

' I beg leave to mention to Congress, that there is a great deficiency of general officers in this army. When the detachment coming from Peekskill joins us, we shall have thirteen brigades. These require as many brigadiers, and six major-generals. Instead of these, we shall have only four major-generals and eleven brigadiers; and the deficiency will be still increased by the death of

\* The battle of Germantown.

General Nash,\* which, from every appearance, is momentarily to be expected. General Woodford's absence, occasioned by his wound,† adds to our embarrassments, though it will be but for a time. \*

\* Want of leisure prevents my being more particular at this time; but I shall take the liberty, in a day or two, to point out the troops that are in want of general officers, with my observations on the subject.

‘I cannot, however, omit this opportunity of recommending General McDougall to their notice. This gentleman, from the time of his appointment as brigadier, — from his abilities, military knowledge, and approved bravery, — has every claim to promotion. If I mistake not, he was passed over in the last appointments of major-generals, and younger officers preferred before him; but his disinterested attachment to the service prevented his acting in the manner that is customary in like circumstances. This, I think, gives him a peculiar title to esteem, and concurs with the opinion I have of his value as an officer, to make me wish it may appear advisable to Congress to promote him to one of the vacancies.†

‘It would be well if the intended inquiry into the conduct of General St. Clair could be brought to a speedy issue; and, if he is acquitted to the satisfaction of Congress, that, as his general character as an officer is good, he may be again restored to the service.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 179.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 82.

#### SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 13 October, 1777.

‘SIR, — Since I had the honor of addressing you on the 11th instant,§ nothing material has happened between our army and General Howe's. \* \*

‘It gives me pain to repeat so often the wants of the army; and nothing would induce me to it but the most urgent necessity. Every mode hitherto adopted for supplying them has proved inadequate, notwithstanding my best endeavors to make the most of the means which have been in my power. The enclosed return will show how great [is] our deficiency in the most essential arti-

\* General Nash of North Carolina. He was mortally wounded in the battle of Germantown

† In the battle of Brandywine.

‡ General McDougall was promoted accordingly, Oct. 20; also Gen. R. Howe.

§ The General had written on the 11th, — ‘Our distress for want of shoes and stockings is amazingly great, particularly for want of the former. On this account we have a great many men who cannot do duty, and several detained at the hospitals for no other cause. I must request Congress to continue their exertions to relieve us, and to direct every supply of these and other necessities to be forwarded as soon as they possibly can, after they are collected. It will be proper to send them on as fast as they can be procured, without waiting to make up a considerable quantity to be brought at one time.’

cles. What new expedient Congress can devise for more effectually answering these demands, I know not, persuaded as I am that their closest attention has not been wanting to a matter of so great importance; but, circumstanced as we are, I am under an absolute necessity of troubling them, that, if any new source can be opened for alleviating our distresses, it may be embraced as speedily as possible. For it is impossible that any army, so unprovided, can long subsist, or act with that vigor which is requisite to ensure success.

‘ The return now enclosed is for troops present in camp; besides which, there are numbers in the several hospitals, totally destitute of the necessaries they require to fit them for the field; and, on this account alone, are prevented from joining their corps.\* The recruits coming in are likewise in the same melancholy predicament. \* \*

‘ There is one thing more which I cannot omit mentioning to Congress, and which, in my opinion, has a claim to their most serious attention; I mean the general defective state of the regiments which compose our armies. Congress will find, from a view of the returns transmitted from time to time, that *they do not amount to half of their just complement.*† What can be done to remedy this, I know not; but it is certain, every idea of voluntary enlistments seems to be at an end. And it is equally certain, that the mode of draughting has been carried on with such want of energy in some States, and so much disregarded in others, that but a small accession of force has been derived from it. These facts are sufficiently interesting of themselves. But there are others to be added. I am told that Virginia, in her regulations for draughting, extended her plan only to the nine regiments that were first raised.‡ In what policy this was founded, I cannot determine; but the other six § are to receive no reinforcements from that source. Nor do matters stop here. The engagements of the first nine regiments, I am informed, were temporary; and, according to the officers’ accounts, the longest period to which any of the men are bound to serve is next April. Many are not obliged so long; and there are some who claim a discharge at this time. *I do not mention these things through choice, but from a principle of duty;* to the end that Congress may devise some timely and effectual provision for the whole, if such shall be in their power. It is unnecessary to

\* On the receipt of the above letter, Oct. 16, Congress ordered a copy of it to be sent to the several States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; requesting them severally to send to the General, with the utmost despatch, as many as possible of the articles mentioned in the return.

† Meaning the number voted, Sept. 16, p. 298.

‡ See pp. 199, 210, 219.

§ The six, besides the nine first raised, included in the fifteen regiments voted in September. See note, p. 313.

enlarge upon the subject; and I will only observe, that the consequences of calling the militia into the field in the course of the war, have been so severely and ruinously felt, that I trust our views will never be turned to them but in cases of the greatest extremity.

‘In pursuance of the Resolution of Congress, a Court of Inquiry has sat upon General Sullivan. They met on the 10th, and continued the examination till the 12th; when they came to the enclosed opinion. The depositions and papers which were before the Court were many and prolix. They are not transmitted; but they may be obtained from the Court, if wanted. Besides the depository proofs which they had of wounded and dead officers, they had many gentlemen before them in person.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 186.

Wash. Writ.

This letter was received in Congress, and, as regarded the opinion of the Court of Inquiry, was referred to the Board of War. In four days after, Congress passed the following Resolution.

*October 20, 1777.* ‘*Resolved*, That the result of the Court of Inquiry into the expedition of Staten Island, so honorable to the character of General Sullivan, is highly pleasing to Congress; and that the opinion of the said Court be published in justification of the injured character of that officer.’ \*

SAME TO RICHARD HENRY LEE, in Congress.

MATUCHEN HILL, 17 October, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 5th instant, as also that of the 11th, by Baron de Kalb, are both at hand. It is not in my power at present to answer your query respecting the appointment of this gentleman. But, Sir, if there is any thing in a report, that Congress have appointed, or as others say are about to appoint, Brigadier Conway a Major-General in this army, it will be as unfortunate a measure as ever was adopted. I may add, and I think with truth, that it will give a fatal blow to the existence of the army. Upon so interesting a subject, I must speak plainly. The duty I owe my country, the ardent desire I have to promote its true interests, and justice to individuals, require this of me. General Conway’s merit, then, as an officer, and his importance in this army, exist more in his own imagination, than in reality. For it is a maxim with him, to leave no service of his own untold, nor to want any thing which is to be obtained by importunity.

‘But, as I do not mean to detract from him any merit he possesses, and only wish to have the matter taken upon its true ground, after allowing him every thing that his warmest friends would contend for, I would ask, why the youngest brigadier in the ser-

\* See pp. 503, 504.

vice (for I believe he is so) should be put over the heads of all the eldest, and thereby take rank of and command gentlemen who but yesterday were his seniors; — gentlemen, who, I will be bold to say, in behalf of some of them at least, are of sound judgment and unquestionable bravery? If there was a degree of conspicuous merit in General Conway, unpossessed by any of his seniors, the confusion, which might be occasioned by it, would stand warranted upon the principles of sound policy; for I readily agree, that this is no time for trifling. But, at the same time that I cannot subscribe to the fact, this truth I am very well assured of (though I have not directly nor indirectly exchanged a word with any one of the brigadiers on the subject, nor am I certain that any one has heard of the appointment), that they will not serve under him. I leave you to guess, therefore, at the situation this army would be in at so important a crisis, if this event should take place. These gentlemen have feelings as officers; and, though they do not dispute the authority of Congress to make appointments, they will judge of the propriety of acting under them.

‘In a word, the service is so difficult, and every necessary so expensive, that almost all our officers are tired out. Do not, therefore, afford them good pretexts for retiring. No day passes over my head, without application for leave to resign. Within the last six days, I am certain, twenty commissions at least have been tendered to me. I must, therefore, conjure you to conjure Congress to consider this matter well, and not, by a real act of injustice, compel some good officers to leave the service, and thereby incur a train of evils unforeseen and irremediable. *To sum up the whole, I have been a slave to the service. I have undergone more than most men are aware of, to harmonize so many discordant parts; but it will be impossible for me to be of any further service, if such insuperable difficulties are thrown in my way.* You may believe me, my good Sir, that I have no earthly views, but the public good, in what I have said. I have no prejudice against General Conway, nor desire to serve any other brigadier, further than I think the cause will be benefited by it; to bring which to a speedy and happy conclusion, is the most fervent wish of my soul.

‘With respect to the wants of the militia, in the articles of clothing, you must be well convinced, that it is not in my power to supply them in the smallest degree; when near one half of our own men are rendered unfit for service for want of these things. I can add no more at present, than that I am, dear Sir, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 97.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR WHITEMARSH, 21 October, 1777.

‘SIR, — I last night had the honor to receive your letter of the 17th instant, with its several enclosures.



'I heartily wish the States may feel the importance of filling their battalions, and may, in consequence of the recommendation of Congress, adopt such measures as will prove effectual for the purpose.\* I cannot but think that heretofore there has been a want of attention in this instance, and that the subject, though interesting to the last degree, has been viewed with too much indifference. \* \* \*

'As to the recruiting officers, I must observe, that, notwithstanding the Resolution of Congress of the 31st of July, and my circular letter on the subject of it to many of the States, I have not received an account that any officers have been appointed, except in Connecticut and Jersey.\*

'On Sunday, the enemy evacuated Germantown, and withdrew themselves within their lines near the city. They seem determined to reduce the forts, if possible; and, for this purpose, have thrown several parties over on Province Island.'

*October 24th.* 'It gives me great concern to inform Congress, that, after all my exertions, we are still in a distressed situation for want of blankets and shoes. At this time no inconsiderable part of our force are incapable of acting, through the deficiency of the latter; and I fear, without we can be relieved, it will be the case with two thirds of the army in the course of a few days.

'I am and have been waiting with the most anxious impatience for a confirmation of General Burgoyne's surrender. I have received no further intelligence respecting it (except vague report) than the first account which came to hand so long ago as Saturday morning [18th].† If Congress have had authentic advices about it, I wish to be favored with them. \* \* \*

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 191, 193.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to COLONEL HAMILTON.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 30 October, 1777.

'DEAR SIR, — It having been judged expedient by the members of a council of war held yesterday, that one of the gentlemen of my family should be sent to General Gates, in order to lay before him the state of this army and the situation of the enemy, and to point out to him the many happy consequences that will accrue from an

\* Alluding to the Resolutions of Congress, Oct. 17, — 'That it be earnestly recommended to the said States, to use their utmost endeavors for immediately completing their several quotas, and to address their inhabitants on the advantages that will result therefrom;' — 'That duplicates of the Resolution of Congress of the 31st of July last, be sent to the respective States, and that they be desired,' &c. See p. 488.

† Just as he was closing a letter which he wrote to his brother, Oct. 18, General Washington received that 'account' from Governor Clinton of New York. He added a postscript in which he said to his brother, — 'I most devoutly congratulate my country, and every well-wisher to the cause, on this signal stroke of Providence.'

immediate reinforcement being sent from the Northern army, I have thought proper to appoint you to that duty, and desire that you will immediately set out for Albany; at which place, or in the neighborhood, I imagine you will find General Gates.

‘ You are so fully acquainted with the two principal points on which you are sent, namely, the state of our army and the situation of the enemy, that I shall not enlarge on these heads. What you are chiefly to attend to, is to point out in the clearest manner to General Gates the absolute necessity that there is for his detaching a very considerable part of the army, at present under his command, to the reinforcement of this; — *a measure that will in all probability reduce General Howe to the same situation in which General Burgoyne now is, should he attempt to remain in Philadelphia, without being able to remove the obstructions in the Delaware, and open a free communication with his shipping.*

‘ The force, which the members of the council of war judged it safe and expedient to draw down at present, is the three New Hampshire and fifteen Massachusetts regiments, with Lee’s and Jackson’s of the sixteen additional regiments. But it is more than probable, that General Gates may have destined part of these troops to the reduction of Ticonderoga; should the enemy not have evacuated it, or to the garrisoning of it, if they should. In that case, the reinforcement will vary according to circumstances; but, if possible, let it be made up to the same number out of the other corps. If, upon your meeting with General Gates, you should find that he intends, in consequence of his success, to employ the troops under his command upon some expedition by the prosecution of which the common cause will be more benefited than by their being sent down to reinforce this army, it is not my wish to give any interruption to the plan. But, if he should have nothing more in contemplation than those particular objects which I have mentioned to you, and which it is unnecessary to commit to paper, in that case you are to inform him that it is my desire, that the reinforcements before mentioned, or such part of them as can be safely spared, be immediately put in march to join this army.

‘ I have understood that General Gates has already detached Nixon’s and Glover’s brigades to join General Putnam; and General Dickinson informs me, that, by intelligence which he thinks may be depended upon, *Sir Henry Clinton has come down the river with his whole force.* If this be a fact, you are to desire General Putnam to send the two brigades forward with the greatest expedition, as *there can be no occasion for them there.* I expect you will meet Colonel Morgan’s corps, upon their way down. If you do, let them know how essential their services are to us, and desire the Colonel, or commanding officer, to hasten his march as much as is consistent with the health of the men after their late

fatigues. Let me hear from you when you reach the North River, and upon your arrival at Albany. I wish you a pleasant journey, and am, dear Sir, &c.

‘P. S. I ordered the detachment belonging to General McDougall’s division to come forward. If you meet them, direct those belonging to Greene’s, Angell’s, Chandler’s, and Duryee’s regiments not to cross Delaware, but to proceed to Red Bank.’

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 95.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 121.

#### SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR WHITEMARSH, 30 October, 1777.

‘SIR, — By this opportunity I do myself the pleasure to congratulate you on the signal success of the army under your command, in compelling General Burgoyne and his whole force to surrender themselves prisoners of war, — an event that does the highest honor to the American arms, and which, I hope, will be attended with the most extensive and happy consequences. At the same time, I cannot but regret that a matter of such magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only, or through the channel of letters, not bearing that authenticity which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact.

‘Our affairs having happily terminated at the Northward, I have, by the advice of my general officers, sent Colonel Hamilton, one of my Aids, to lay before you a full state of our situation, and that of the enemy in this quarter. He is well informed upon the subject, and will deliver my sentiments upon the plan of operations that is become necessary to be pursued. I think it improper to enter into a particular detail, not being well advised how matters are circumstanced on the North River;\* and fearing that, by some accident, my letter might miscarry. From Colonel Hamilton you will have a clear and comprehensive view of things, and I persuade myself you will do all in your power to facilitate the objects I have in contemplation. I am, Sir, your obedient servant.’

Wilkinson’s Memoirs, vol. i. p. 369.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 124.

#### SAME TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR WHITEMARSH, 1 November, 1777.

‘SIR, — After the action of the 4th ultimo at Germantown, I hoped we should have been in a situation to attack the enemy again on those grounds, and with more success than in the former

\* An allusion to the expedition of Sir Henry Clinton up the North River, — an expedition in which Forts Montgomery and Clinton were taken, and some villages destroyed. But, four days before this date, the British evacuated the forts; and immediately Sir Henry returned with his whole force to New York. Undoubtedly, therefore, the intelligence named in the preceding letter to Colonel Hamilton was true.

instance ; but this I was not able to effect. \* \* *Every exertion was directed to obtain supplies ; but, notwithstanding they were inadequate, too scanty, and insufficient to attempt any thing on a large and general scale, before the enemy withdrew themselves. With what we had, in case an experiment had been made, fortune might have decided in our favor for the present ; but we should not have been afterwards in a situation to maintain the advantage we might have gained ; and, if a repulse had taken place, and the enemy pursued, we might, for want of a reserve, have been exposed to the most imminent danger of being ruined. The distress of the soldiers for want of shoes was also a powerful obstacle to the measure.*

‘ I could wish that our circumstances were now such as to authorize a general attack for dislodging them from the city ; but I think they are not. This also is the opinion of my general officers, upon a full and comprehensive view of matters ; as Congress will perceive by the enclosed copy of the minutes of council on the 29th ultimo, which I have taken the liberty to transmit, and lay before them. \* \* I have sent Colonel Hamilton, one of my Aids, to General Gates, to give him a just representation of things, and to explain to him the expediency of our receiving the reinforcements which have been determined necessary, if they will not interfere with and frustrate any important plans he may have formed. *Indeed, I cannot conceive that there is any object now remaining, that demands our attention and most vigorous efforts so much, as the destruction of the army in this quarter. Should we be able to effect this, we shall have little to fear in future.* \* \*

‘ The enclosed return will give Congress a general view of the strength of this army when it was made, and a particular one of the forces of each State which compose it. By this they will perceive how greatly deficient the whole are in furnishing their just quotas. The militia from Maryland and Virginia are no longer to be counted on. All the former, except about two hundred, are already gone ; and a few days, I expect, will produce the departure of the whole or a chief part of the latter, from the importunate applications which some of them have made. Besides this diminution, I am apprehensive we shall have several men added to the sick list, by reason of the late excessive rain and want of clothes. \* \* \*

‘ I took the liberty, some short time ago, to mention to Congress the situation of the nine first-raised Virginia regiments,\* and the term for which they stand engaged. \* \* I thought it advisable to consult the officers commanding them, upon the mode which should appear to them best calculated to reënlist them. They accordingly met, and reported their sentiments in writing ; a

\* See p. 513.

copy of which I have enclosed. I do not know that expedients more promising of success than those they have pointed out can be adopted. Congress will be pleased to give the matter their earliest attention, and to favor me with their opinion by the first opportunity, whether the indulgence and allowance they have proposed may be granted;—and, if any additional bounty may be given, what it shall be. The high sums paid for substitutes and draughts of late, even in the militia service, will make this necessary; for the soldiers, being well apprised of that fact, will not be induced to engage again during the war or for three years, for the usual premium.

‘I would also lay before Congress a remonstrance by the subaltern officers of the Virginia line, founded on a reform I thought necessary to take place in the regiments from that State. These in their establishment were made to consist of ten companies,—two more than were assigned to those of the States in general. This, and the great disproportion between the officers and men, induced me to reduce them to a level with the rest belonging to the Continent, in order to prevent a considerable unnecessary expense.

\* \* I have made a short state of facts, and wish Congress to determine upon them and the remonstrance as they shall think proper.’

*November 3d.* ‘Agreeably to my expectation, the Virginia militia are gone; so that we have none now in aid of the Continental troops, but those of this State mentioned in the return, and a few from Maryland. I do not know what can or will be done to obtain further reinforcements of them; but it appears to me, taking matters in any point of light, that further aids should come from Virginia and Maryland. For, should we be able to accommodate the Continental forces with clothes, so as to carry on a winter campaign, their assistance will be material, either to maintain a blockade, or in any decisive stroke we may attempt. And, if they cannot be provided, and we should be obliged to retire into quarters, their service will be still more necessary, to assist in covering the country against incursions for forage and provisions. \* \*

A time for their continuance should be fixed, or they will always be uneasy and pushing off; and the longer circumstances will admit it to be, the better; for, after the period recurs for which they come, it will be impossible to retain them a moment. \* \*

‘Mr. Thompson’s letter of the 21st ultimo, with its enclosures, came to hand yesterday. I join Congress most sincerely in congratulations on our important success in the surrender of General Burgoyne at the head of his forces, and am happy they have received a confirmation of the event from General Gates.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 195.

Wash. Writ.

In view of the extremely critical state of affairs, and of the vastly momentous object of effort at that juncture, as seen through the descriptions of them in the preceding letters, it is presumed that a portion of the correspondence, showing some of the important incidents of that mission to General Gates, will be no less acceptable, than it is indicative of particular influences already noticed repeatedly, and which will still, for some time, become more and more apparent.

COLONEL HAMILTON TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

FISHKILL, November 2, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — I lodged last night in the neighborhood of New Windsor. This morning early, I met Colonel Morgan with his corps, about a mile from it, in march for head-quarters. I told him the necessity of making all the despatch he could, so as not to fatigue his men too much, which he has promised to do. I understood from Colonel Morgan, that all the Northern army were marching down on both sides the river, and would probably be tomorrow at New Windsor and this place; and that General Putnam had held a council for the general disposition of them, in which it was resolved to send you four thousand men, and to keep the rest on this side the river. I came here in expectation that matters were in such a train as to enable me to accomplish my errand without going any further, unless it should be to hasten the troops that were on their march; but, on my arrival, I learned from Mr. Hughes, an Aid-de-Camp to General Gates, that the following disposition of the Northern army had taken place.

‘General Patterson’s, Glover’s, and Nixon’s brigades, and Colonel Warner’s Mountain Boys, to remain in and about Albany, — barracks building for them. General Poor’s brigade, marching down this side of the river to join General Putnam, will be here probably to-morrow. General Learned’s brigade, Morgan’s corps, Warner’s brigade of Massachusetts militia, and some regiments of New York militia, on their march on the west side of the river.

‘I have directed General Putnam, in your name, to send forward, with all despatch, to join you, the two Continental brigades, and Warner’s militia brigade: this last is to serve till the latter end of this month. Your instructions did not comprehend any militia; but, as there are certain accounts here that most of the troops from New York are gone to reinforce General Howe, and as so large a proportion of Continental troops have been detained at Albany, I concluded you would not disapprove of a measure calculated to strengthen you, though but for a small time, and have ventured to adopt it on that presumption.

‘Being informed by General Putnam, that General Wynds, with seven hundred Jersey militia, was at King’s Ferry, with intention to cross to Peekskill, I prevailed upon him to relinquish that idea, and send off an immediate order for them to march towards Red Bank. It is possible, however, unless your Excellency supports



this order by an application from yourself, he may march his men home, instead of marching them to the place he has been directed to repair to.

‘Neither Lee’s, Jackson’s regiments, nor the detachments belonging to General McDougall’s division, have yet marched. I have urged their being sent; and an order has been despatched for their instantly proceeding. Colonel Hughes is pressing some fresh horses for me. The moment they are ready, I shall recross the river, in order to fall in with the troops on the other side, and make all the haste I can to Albany, to get the three brigades there sent forward.

‘Will your Excellency permit me to observe, that I have some doubts, under present circumstances and appearances, of the propriety of leaving the regiments proposed to be left in this quarter? But if my doubts on this subject were stronger than they are, I am forbid, by the sense of council, from interfering in the matter.

‘General Poor’s brigade is just arrived here; they will proceed to join you with all expedition. So strongly am I impressed with the importance of endeavoring to crush Mr. Howe, that I am apt to think it would be advisable to draw off all the Continental troops. Had this been determined on, General Warner’s sixteen hundred militia might have been left here.

‘I have the honor to be, with the warmest esteem and respect,  
 ‘Your Excellency’s most obedient servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 273.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 97.

#### SAME TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

ALBANY, — November, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — I arrived here yesterday at noon, and waited upon General Gates immediately, on the business of my mission; but was sorry to find his ideas did not correspond with yours, for drawing off the number of troops you directed. I used every argument in my power to convince him of the propriety of the measure; but he was inflexible in the opinion, that two brigades, at least, of Continental troops, should remain in and near this place. His reasons were, that the intelligence of Sir Henry Clinton’s having gone to join Howe, was not sufficiently authenticated to put it out of doubt; that there was, therefore, a possibility of his returning up the river, which might expose the finest arsenal in America (as he calls the one here) to destruction, should this place be left so bare of troops as I proposed; and that the want of conveniences, and the difficulty of the roads, would make it impossible to remove artillery and stores for a considerable time; that the New England States would be left open to the depredations and ravages of the enemy; that it would put it out of his power to enterprise any thing against Ticonderoga, which he thinks might be done in the winter and which he considers it of importance to undertake.

‘The force of these reasons did by no means strike me, and I did every thing in my power to show they were unsubstantial; but all I could effect was to have one brigade despatched, in addition to those already marched. I found myself infinitely embarrassed, and was at a loss how to act. I felt the importance of strengthening you as much as possible; but, on the other hand, I found insuperable inconveniences, in acting diametrically opposite to the opinion of a gentleman whose successes have raised him to the highest importance. General Gates has won the entire confidence of the Eastern States. If disposed to do it, by addressing himself to the prejudices of the people, he would find no difficulty to render a measure odious, which it might be said, with plausibility enough to be believed, was calculated to expose them to unnecessary dangers, notwithstanding their exertions, during the campaign, had given them the fullest title to repose and security. General Gates has influence and interest *elsewhere*: he might use it, if he pleased, to discredit the measure there also. On the whole, it appeared to me dangerous to insist on sending more troops from hence, while General Gates appeared so warmly opposed to it. Should any accident or inconvenience happen in consequence of it, there would be too fair a pretext for censure; and many people are too well disposed to lay hold of it. At any rate, it might be considered as using him ill, to take a step so contrary to his judgment, in a case of this nature. These considerations, and others which I shall be more explicit in when I have the pleasure of seeing you, determined me not to insist upon sending either of the other brigades remaining here. I am afraid what I have done may not meet with your approbation, as not being, perhaps, fully warranted by your instructions; but I ventured to do what I thought right, hoping that, at least, the goodness of my intention will excuse the error of my judgment.

‘I was induced to this relaxation the more readily, as I had directed to be sent on two thousand militia which were not expected by you, and a thousand Continental troops out of those proposed to be left with General Putnam, which I have written to him, since I found how matters were circumstanced here, to forward to you with all despatch. \* \* \* \*

‘Vessels are preparing to carry the brigade to New Windsor, which will embark this evening. I shall, this afternoon, set out on my return to camp, and on my way shall endeavor to hasten the troops forward. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 276.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 100.

SAME TO GENERAL GATES.

ALBANY, 5 November, 1777.

‘SIR,—By inquiry, I have learned that General Patterson’s brigade, which is the one you propose to send, is by far the weak-

est of the three now here, and does not consist of more than about six hundred, rank and file, fit for duty. It is true, that there is a militia regiment with it of about two hundred; but the time of service for which this regiment is engaged is so near expiring, that it would be past by the time the men could arrive at their destination.

‘ Under these circumstances, I cannot consider it either as compatible with the good of the service, or my instructions from his Excellency General Washington, to consent that that brigade be selected from the three to go to him; but I am under the necessity of desiring, by virtue of my orders from him, that one of the others be substituted instead of this, either General Nixon’s or General Glover’s, and that you will be pleased to give immediate orders for its embarkation.

‘ Knowing that General Washington wished me to pay the greatest deference to your judgment, I ventured so far to deviate from the instructions he gave me, as to consent, in compliance with your opinion, that two brigades should remain here instead of one. At the same time, permit me to observe, that I am not myself sensible of the expediency of keeping more than one, with the detached regiments in the neighborhood of this place; and that my ideas coincide with those gentlemen whom I have consulted on the occasion, whose judgment I have much more reliance upon than on my own, and who must be supposed to have a thorough knowledge of all the circumstances. Their opinion is, that one brigade and the regiments before mentioned would amply answer the purposes of this post. When I preferred your opinion to other considerations, I did not imagine you would pitch upon a brigade little more than half as large as the others; and, finding this to be the case, I indispensably owe it to my duty to desire, in his Excellency’s name, that another may go instead of the one intended, and without loss of time. As it may be conducive to despatch to send Glover’s brigade, if agreeable to you, you will give orders accordingly. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 281.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 103.

#### SAME TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

NEW WINDSOR, 10 November, 1777.

‘ DEAR SIR, — I arrived here last night from Albany. Having given General Gates a little time to recollect himself, I renewed my remonstrance on the necessity and propriety of sending you more than one brigade of the three he had detained with him; and finally prevailed upon him to give orders for Glover’s, in addition to Patterson’s brigade, to march this way.

‘ As it was thought conducive to expedition to send the troops by water, as far as it could be done, I procured all the vessels that could be had at Albany, fit for the purpose; but could not get

more than sufficient to take Patterson's brigade. It was embarked the seventh instant; but the wind has been contrary: they must probably be here to-day. General Glover's brigade marched at the same time, on the east side of the river, the roads being much better than on this side. I am this moment informed, that one sloop, with a part of Patterson's, has arrived, and that the others are in sight. They will immediately proceed by water to King's Ferry, and thence take the shortest route.

'I am pained beyond expression to inform your Excellency, that, on my arrival here, I find every thing has been neglected and deranged by General Putnam; and that the two brigades, Poor's and Learned's, still remain here and on the other side of the river at Fishkill. Colonel Warner's militia, I am told, have been drawn to Peekskill, to aid in an expedition against New York, which, it seems, is at this time the hobby-horse with General Putnam. Not the least attention has been paid to my order, in your name, for a detachment of one thousand men from the troops hitherto stationed at this post. Every thing is sacrificed to the whim of taking New York.

'The two brigades of Poor and Learned, it appears, would not march for want of money and necessaries; several of the regiments having received no pay for six or eight months past. There has been a high mutiny among the former on this account, in which a captain killed a man, and was himself shot by his comrade. These difficulties, for want of proper management, have stopped the troops from proceeding. Governor Clinton has been the only man who has done any thing towards removing them, but, for want of General Putnam's coöperation, has not been able to effect it. He has only been able to prevail with Learned's brigade to agree to march to Goshen; in hopes, by getting them once on the go, to induce them to continue their march. On coming here, I immediately sent for Colonel Baily, who now commands Learned's brigade, and persuaded him to engage to carry the brigade on to Head-Quarters as fast as possible. This he expects to effect by means of five or six thousand dollars, which Governor Clinton was kind enough to borrow for me, and which Colonel Baily thinks will keep the men in good humor till they join you. They marched this morning towards Goshen.

'I shall, as soon as possible, see General Poor, and do every thing in my power to get him along; and hope I shall be able to succeed.

'The plan I before laid having been totally deranged, a new one has become necessary. It is now too late to send Warner's militia: by the time they reached you, their term of service would be out. The motive for sending them, which was to give you a speedy reinforcement, has, by the past delay, been superseded.

'By Governor Clinton's advice, I have sent an order, in the most

emphatical terms, to General Putnam, immediately to despatch all the Continental troops under him to your assistance, and to detain the militia instead of them.

‘ My opinion is, that the only present use for troops in this quarter is to protect the country from the depredations of little plundering parties, and for carrying on the works necessary for the defence of the river. Nothing more ought to be thought of. ’Tis only wasting time, and misapplying men, to employ them in a suicidal parade against New York; for in this it will undoubtedly terminate. New York is no object, if it could be taken; and to take it, would require more men than could be spared from more substantial purposes. *Governor Clinton’s ideas coincide with mine.* He thinks that there is no need of more Continental troops here, than a few to give a spur to the militia in working upon the fortifications.

‘ In pursuance of this, I have given the directions before mentioned. \* \* \*

‘ If your Excellency agrees with me in opinion, it will be well to send instant directions to General Putnam, to pursue the object I have mentioned; for I doubt whether he will attend to any thing I shall say, notwithstanding it comes in the shape of a positive order. I fear, unless you interpose, the works here will go on so feebly, for want of men, that they will not be completed in time; whereas, it appears to me of the greatest importance they should be pushed with the utmost vigor. Governor Clinton will do every thing in his power. \* \* \* Believe me, Sir, nobody can be more impressed with the importance of forwarding the reinforcements coming to you, with all speed, nor could anybody have endeavored to promote it more than I have done; but the *ignorance* of some, and the *design* of others, have been almost insuperable obstacles. I am very unwell; but I shall not spare myself to get things immediately in a proper train; and for that purpose intend, unless I receive other orders from you, to continue with the troops in the progress of their march. As soon as I get General Poor’s brigade in march, I shall proceed to General Putnam’s at Peekskill. I have the honor to be, &c.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 283.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 104.

SAME TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

NEW WINDSOR, 12 November, 1777.

‘ DEAR SIR, — I have been detained here these two days by a fever, and violent rheumatic pains throughout my body. This has prevented my being active, in person, for promoting the purposes of my errand; but I have taken every other method in my power, in which Governor Clinton has obligingly given me all the aid he could. \* \* \*

‘ Parsons’s brigade will join you, I hope, in five or six days from this; Learned’s brigade may do the same; Poor’s will, I am per-

suaded, make all the haste they can for the future; and Glover's may be expected at Fishkill to-night, whence they will be pushed forward as fast as I can have any influence to make them go. But I am sorry to say, the disposition for marching, in the officers and men in general, does not keep pace with my wishes, or the exigency of the occasion. They have unfortunately imbibed an idea that they have done their part of the business of the campaign, and are now entitled to repose. This, and the want of pay, make them averse to a long march at this advanced season.\*

'The enemy appear to have stripped New York very bare. The people there, that is, the Tories, are in a great fright. This adds to my anxiety, that the reinforcements from this quarter to you are not in greater forwardness and more considerable.

'I have written to General Gates, informing him of the accounts of the situation of New York with respect to troops, and the probability of the force gone to Howe being greater than was at first expected; to try if this will not *extort* from him a further reinforcement. I do n't, however, expect much from him, as he pretends to have in view an expedition against Ticonderoga, to be undertaken in the winter; and he knows that, under the sanction of this idea, calculated to catch the Eastern people, he may, without censure, retain the troops. And, as I shall be under the necessity of speaking plainly to your Excellency, when I have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall not hesitate to say, I doubt whether you would have had a man from the Northern army, if the whole could have been kept at Albany with any decency. Perhaps you will think me blameable in not having exercised the powers you gave me, and given a positive order. Perhaps I have been so; but, deliberately weighing all circumstances, I did not, and do not, think it advisable to do it. I have the honor to be, &c.'

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 267.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 107.

#### GENERAL WASHINGTON TO COLONEL HAMILTON.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 15 November, 1777.

'DEAR SIR, — I have duly received your several favors, from the time you left me to that of the 12th instant. I approve entirely of all the steps you have taken; and have only to wish, that the exertions of those you have had to deal with, had kept pace with your zeal and good intentions. I hope your health will, before this, have permitted you to push on the rear of the whole reinforcement beyond New Windsor. Some of the enemy's ships have arrived in the Delaware; but how many have troops on board, I cannot exactly ascertain. The enemy have lately damaged Fort Mifflin considerably; but our people keep possession, and seem determined to do so to the last extremity.\* Our loss in men has

\* See letter to Congress, Nov. 17, p. 532.



been but small. Captain Treat is unfortunately among the killed. I wish you a safe return ; and am, dear Sir,

‘ Your most obedient servant.’

Hamilton Papers, vol. i. p. 293.

Life of Hamilton, vol. i. p. 112.

SAME TO HENRY LAURENS, PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.\*

CAMP, AT WHITEMARSH, 10 November, 1777.

‘ SIR, — I have been duly honored with your favors of the 4th and 5th instant, with their several enclosures. \* \* \*

‘ As to the disposition of part of the Northern army, my letter of the first, continued to the third, contains my ideas upon the subject, and those of my general officers. I shall be sorry if the measures I have taken on this head should interfere with or materially vary from any plans Congress might have had in view.

*Their proceedings of the 5th*, I presume, were founded on a supposition that the enemy were still up the North River, and garrisoning the forts they had taken. This not being the case, and all accounts agreeing that reinforcements to General Howe are coming from York, I hope the aids I have required will be considered expedient and proper. *Independent of the latter consideration, I think our exertions and force should be directed to effect General Howe's destruction, if it is possible.*

‘ Among the various difficulties attending the army, the adjustment of rank is not the least. This — owing to the several modes, the several principles, that have prevailed in granting commissions — is involved in great perplexity. The officers in the Pennsylvania troops are in much confusion about it. In many instances, those who were junior in rank, from local and other circumstances, have obtained commissions older in date than those which were granted afterwards to officers, their superiors before. This, with many other irregularities, has been and is the cause of great uneasiness.

\* \* I was, therefore, induced to order a board of officers to take the matter under consideration. The result respecting the field-officers of this State, I now enclose, and wish Congress to adopt the regulation which the Board have made, and transmit to me, by the earliest opportunity, commissions dated according to their arrangement. \* \* Their attention to this business, I trust, will be immediate: the disputes and jealousies with the officers require it. \* \* \*

‘ I would beg leave to mention, that we are in great distress for want of money. This will be more and more urgent every day; and it is probable there will be a good deal of pay due to the troops coming to reinforce us. General Putnam writes pressingly for a supply, and says he is in a most disagreeable situation for

\* John Hancock, the successor of Peyton Randolph, was President of Congress from May 24, 1775, till his resignation of that office, Oct. 31, 1777. The next day, Nov. 1, Henry Laurens of South Carolina was chosen to succeed him.

want of it. I must request the attention of Congress to this subject.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 203.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 139.

The significant Proceedings of the 5th, referred to in this letter, together with some which were preliminary, are given immediately below.

IN CONGRESS, *November 3, 1777.* 'A motion being made, for directing the future operations of General Gates :

'*Ordered*, That it be referred to a committee of three.

*Four o'clock, P. M.* 'The committee to whom was referred the motion for directing the future operations of the army under the command of Major-General Gates, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration ; and after debate,

'*Resolved*, That it be recommitted.

*November 5.* 'The committee to whom was recommitted the Report for directing the future operations of the army under the command of General Gates, brought in their Report, which was taken into consideration ; and thereupon,

'*Resolved*, That General Washington be informed that it is the earnest wish of Congress to regain the possession of the forts and passes of Hudson's River, and to secure the communication thereof ; and, for that purpose, that General Gates should remain in command in that quarter ; and that General Putnam be called upon to join the main army with such a detachment from the army under the command of General Gates, as General Washington may think can be spared, *not exceeding* the number of twenty-five hundred men, including Colonel Morgan's corps :

'That a copy of the foregoing Resolution be sent to General Gates, and that he be directed to make a proper disposition of the army under his command for reducing, forthwith, the posts of the enemy on Hudson's River ;\* and that he order such of the Continental troops and militia, in the service of the United States, as are posted on or near the said river, to join him for the service aforementioned :

'That General Gates be empowered to apply to the respective States of Massachusetts-Bay, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, for such a number of their militia as he shall judge necessary to maintain the posts which he shall order to be taken on the said river, to the end that his army may be in readiness to pursue such operations as Congress shall direct ; and that the said militia be enlisted to serve until the 15th of March next, unless sooner discharged by Congress or the Commander-in-Chief :

\* It has been seen, p. 518, that the British had evacuated the forts taken on Hudson's River, and returned to New York, ten days before the passage of these Resolutions. Is it probable that Congress were then wholly unapprised of that fact, — a fact which, it seems, p. 517, General Washington was informed of on the 30th of October ?

‘ That General Washington be directed to order one or more able engineers to Hudson’s River, to attend the army under the command of General Gates :

‘ That General Gates be empowered to order such a number of galleys, gun-boats, fire-crafts, chains, cassoons, and chevaux-de-frise to be provided, and such fortifications to be erected, for obstructing and keeping possession of the North River, as he shall judge necessary :

‘ That the Governor and Council of the State of New York be furnished with a copy of these Resolutions, and requested to appoint a committee of three active, judicious persons, to assist General Gates in obtaining such artificers and materials for accomplishing these purposes as he shall direct; and the said committee are empowered to apply to the several States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, for their assistance, who are requested to afford the same by furnishing the said committee with such artificers and materials as they, by direction of General Gates, shall apply for; and the said States are respectively requested to furnish such a number of men as General Gates shall require, to accomplish the important and salutary purpose of maintaining the communication between the Northern and Southern States, by keeping possession of Hudson’s River :

‘ That General Gates be authorized and directed to apply to the State of New York, and the States eastward of the North River, for such aids as he shall judge necessary for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence, if not reduced by General Stark, at such time as he shall deem best adapted for that expedition; and that the said States be requested to supply General Gates with such a number of their militia as he shall judge necessary for the purposes intended :

‘ That General Gates be directed to take effectual care that the fortifications which shall be erected on Hudson’s River be not too extensive, and that each be completed with a well, magazines, barracks, bomb-casements, &c., sufficient for a determined defence :

‘ That if General Washington, *after consulting with General Gates and Governor Clinton*, shall be of opinion, that a reinforcement exceeding the number above mentioned can be detached to the main army, consistent with the attainment of the objects specified in the preceding Resolutions, in such case he be directed to order such further reinforcements to the main army as may be thought conducive to the general welfare, any thing in the preceding Resolutions to the contrary notwithstanding.

‘ In debating the last Resolution, it was moved after “ directed ” to insert “ *with their concurrence.* ” ’

This proposed amendment, it appears, could not be sustained; but the Resolutions, as they stand, were passed by a very large majority.

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

CAMP, NEAR WHITEMARSH, 11 November, 1777.

‘SIR, — The condition of this army for want of clothes and blankets, and the little prospect we have of obtaining relief, according to the information I have received from the Board of War, occasion me to trouble you at this time. The mode of seizing and forcing supplies from the inhabitants,\* I fear, would prove very inadequate to the demands; while it would certainly embitter the minds of the people, and excite perhaps a hurtful jealousy against the army. I have had officers out for the purpose of purchasing and making voluntary collections of necessaries, and in a few instances more coercive measures have been exercised. But all these have proved of little avail: our distresses still continue, and are becoming greater. I would, therefore, humbly submit it to the consideration of Congress, whether it may not be expedient for them to address the several legislative and executive powers of the States on this subject as early as possible, and in the most urgent terms. \* \* \* The Assemblies in many States, I believe, are now sitting; and, I have no doubt, upon a requisition by Congress, but they will give attention to the measure.

‘Enclosed you will receive a copy of a letter from General Putnam, which came to hand to-day. You will find his and Governor Clinton’s opinion respecting the fortifications necessary to be made for the security of the North River.† \* \* We are told, through various channels, that Sir Henry Clinton is coming round with all the force that can be possibly spared from New York; and it is said that those on Staten Island are withdrawn.

‘P. S. By advices just received, thirty-eight transports have arrived in Delaware with troops. They were as high up as Reedy Island yesterday. I suppose they are from New York.

‘Notwithstanding the measures I have ventured to recommend on the subject of clothing, I shall pursue every means in my power that can contribute to procure a supply.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 206.

Wash. Writ.

SAME to GOVERNOR HENRY, of Virginia.

WHITEMARSH, 13 November, 1777.

‘DEAR SIR, — I shall beg leave to refer you to a letter of mine, which accompanies this, and of the same date, for a general account of our situation and wants. The design of this is only to inform you, and with great truth I can do it, strange as it may seem, that the army which I have had under my immediate command has

\* In compliance with the Resolve, Sept. 17, p. 506.

† Respecting Governor Clinton’s opinion on the subject, see p. 526.\*

not, at any one time since General Howe's landing at the Head of Elk, been equal in point of numbers to his. In ascertaining this, I do not confine myself to Continental troops, but comprehend militia.

\* \* I was left to fight two battles, in order if possible to save Philadelphia, with less numbers than composed the army of my antagonist; whilst the world has given us at least double. This impression, though mortifying in some points of view, I have been obliged to encourage, because, next to being strong, it is best to be thought so by the enemy; and to this cause principally I think is to be attributed the slow movements of General Howe.

'How different the case in the Northern Department! There the States of New York and New England, resolving to crush Burgoyne, continued pouring in their troops till the surrender of that army. \* \* Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring States, we might, before this time, have had General Howe nearly in the situation of General Burgoyne; with this difference, that the former would never have been out of reach of his ships, whilst the latter increased his danger every step he took, having but one retreat in case of a disaster, and that blocked up by a respectable force.

'My own difficulties, in the course of the campaign, have been not a little increased by the extra aid of Continental troops which the gloomy prospect of our affairs, immediately after the reduction of Ticonderoga, induced me to spare from this army. But it is to be hoped, that all will yet end well. If the cause is advanced, *indifferent is it to me where or in what quarter it happens.* The winter season, with the aid of our neighbors, may possibly bring some important event to pass.

'I am, sincerely and respectfully, dear Sir, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 145.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

WHITEMARSH, 17 November, 1777.

'SIR, — I am sorry to inform you, that Fort Mifflin was evacuated the night before last, after a defence which does credit to the American arms, and will ever reflect the highest honor upon the officers and men of the garrison. The works were entirely beat down, every piece of cannon dismounted, and one of the enemy's ships so near, that the crew threw grenades into the fort, and killed men upon the platforms, from her tops, before they quitted the island. This ship had been cut down for the purpose, and so constructed that she made but a small draft of water, and by these means warped in between Fort Mifflin and Province Island. \* \*

'Nothing in the course of this campaign has taken up so much of the attention and consideration of myself and all the general officers, as the possibility of giving a further relief to Fort Mifflin, than

what we had already afforded. \* \* The only remaining and practical mode of giving relief to the fort was by dislodging the enemy from Province Island, from whence they kept up an incessant fire. But this, from the situation of the ground, was not to be attempted with any degree of safety to the attacking party, unless the whole or a considerable part of the army should be removed to the west side of the Schuylkill to support and cover it.

\* \* There were many and very forcible reasons against a total remove to the west side of the Schuylkill. \* \* We should finally have thrown the army into such a situation, that we must inevitably have drawn on a general engagement before our reinforcements arrived; which, considering our disparity of numbers, would probably have ended with the most disagreeable consequences.

‘It was therefore determined, a few days ago, *to wait the arrival of the reinforcement from the Northward*, before any alteration could safely be made in the disposition of the army; and I was not without hopes, that the fort would have held out till that time. \*

‘As the keeping possession of Red Bank, and thereby still preventing the enemy from weighing the chevaux-de-frise before the frost obliges their ships to quit the river, has become a matter of the greatest importance, I have determined to send down General St. Clair, General Knox, and Baron de Kalb, to take a view of the ground, and to endeavor to form a judgment of the most probable means of securing it. \* \*

‘I am informed that it is matter of amazement, and that reflections have been thrown out against this army, for not being more active and enterprising than, in the opinion of some, they ought to have [they have?] been. If the charge is just, the best way to account for it will be to refer you to the returns of our strength, and those which I can produce of the enemy, and to the enclosed abstract of the clothing now actually wanting for the army; and then I think the wonder will be, how they keep the field at all in tents at this season of the year. What stock the clothier-general has to supply this demand, or what are his prospects, he himself will inform you, as I have directed him to go to Yorktown to lay these matters before Congress. There are, besides, most of those in the hospitals more bare than those in the field; many remain there for want of clothes only.

‘Several general officers, unable to procure clothing in the common line, have employed agents to purchase up what could be found in different parts of the country. General Wayne, among others, has employed Mr. Zantzinger of Lancaster, who has purchased to the amount of four thousand five hundred pounds, for which he desires a draft upon the Treasury Board. Enclosed you have a copy of his letter. \* \*

‘I am anxiously waiting the arrival of the troops from the North-



ward, who ought, from the time they have had my orders, to have been here before this. Colonel Hamilton, one of my Aids, is up the North River, doing all he can to push them forward; but he writes me word, that he finds many unaccountable delays thrown in his way. However, I am in hopes that many days will not elapse before a brigade or two at least will arrive. *The want of these troops has embarrassed all my measures exceedingly.*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 208.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 151.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 23 November, 1777.

‘I am sorry to inform Congress, that the enemy are now in possession of all the water defences. Fort Mifflin and that at Red Bank mutually depended on each other for support; and the reduction of the former made the tenure of the latter extremely precarious, if not impracticable. After the loss of Fort Mifflin, it was found Red Bank could derive no advantages from the galleys and armed vessels. \* \* \*

Under these circumstances, the garrison was obliged to evacuate it on the night of the 20th instant, on the approach of Lord Cornwallis, who had crossed the river from Chester, with a detachment supposed to be about two thousand men, and formed a junction with the troops lately arrived from New York, and those that had been landed before at Billingsport. \* \* \*

Upon the first information I had of Lord Cornwallis’s movement, I detached General Huntington’s brigade to join General Varnum, and as soon as possible, General Greene with his division; hoping that these,—with General Glover’s brigade which was on the march through Jersey, and which I directed to file off to the left for the same purpose,—and with such militia as could be collected, would be able to defeat the enemy’s design. \* \* \*

General Greene is still in Jersey; and when Glover’s brigade joins him, if an attack can be made on Lord Cornwallis with a prospect of success, I am persuaded it will be done. About a hundred and seventy of Morgan’s corps are also gone to reinforce him.

‘Generals Poor and Patterson with their brigades, and Colonel Baily with Learned’s, are now in camp. The last arrived on Friday evening; the other two, in the course of yesterday. \* \* \* But I find many of them are very deficient in the articles of shoes, stockings, breeches, and blankets. Besides these, about three hundred and fifty men, detachments from Lee’s, Jackson’s, and Henley’s regiments, have joined me. \* \* \*

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 213.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 166.

Above may be perceived the time when the long-needed and long-desired reinforcement arrived from the Northward.

*November 26.* 'I must take the liberty to request the decision of Congress on the case of the nine first-raised Virginia regiments,\* as early as circumstances will permit. If the plan proposed for reënlisting them is judged expedient, one capital inducement, to that end, suggested by the officers, will cease, if it is longer delayed. \* \* I should also be happy in their determination respecting the Marquis de la Fayette. He is more and more solicitous to be in actual service, and is pressing in his applications for a command. \* \* I am convinced he possesses a large share of that military ardor which generally characterizes the nobility of his country. He went to Jersey with General Greene, and I find he has not been inactive there. This you will perceive by the following extract from a letter just received from General Greene.

'“The Marquis, with about four hundred militia and the rifle corps, attacked the enemy's picket last evening, killed about twenty, wounded many more, and took about twenty prisoners. The Marquis is charmed with the spirited behavior of the militia and rifle corps; they drove the enemy about half a mile, and kept the ground until dark. The enemy's picket consisted of about three hundred, and were reinforced during the skirmish. The Marquis is determined to be in the way of danger.”'

*November 27th.* 'The enemy have got up several of their ships to the city. It is likely they have found a passage through the chevaux-de-frise; or they may have removed them.†

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Lond. ed. vol. ii. pp. 216, 217.

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. pp. 170, 173.

SAME to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD QUARTERS, WHITEMARSH, 1 December, 1777.

'SIR,—On Saturday I had the honor to receive your favor of the 26th ultimo, with its enclosures. The Resolve of the 25th I have published in orders, agreeably to direction, and shall be happy if Congress can fall upon measures to render the situation of the officers and soldiery more eligible than what it now is. At present it is truly distressing; and, unless some means can be devised to support them more comfortably, we shall have to apprehend the most alarming consequences. The officers, or at least a large proportion of them, as well as the men, are in a most disagreeable condition as to clothing, and without any certain prospect of relief; and, what is still more painful,—if perchance they have an oppor-

\* In reference to those regiments, see pp. 513, 519.

† In a letter to his brother, Nov. 26, General Washington wrote:—'Had the reinforcement from the Northward arrived but ten days sooner, it would, I think, have put it in my power to save Fort Mifflin, which defended the chevaux-de-frise; and consequently have rendered Philadelphia a very ineligible situation for them this winter.'

tunity of purchasing, which is seldom the case, — they have the mortification to find themselves totally incompetent to it, from the depreciation of our money, and the exorbitant prices demanded for all articles in this way. This is the source of great uneasiness, of indifference to the service, and of repeated, I may say daily, applications to leave it; and these, too, by as good officers as are in the American line.

‘In respect to promotions for merit and intrepidity, I would beg leave to observe, that, though these are proper considerations to found them upon, yet they should be made with the greatest caution and attention, and only in cases of the most eminent and distinguished services. Every promotion or rise out of the common course cannot fail to excite uneasiness in a greater or less degree; and nothing will reconcile them to the army at large, and particularly the officers more immediately affected by them, but where the causes are known and acknowledged. This I mention from my wishes to promote the public interest, from my knowing that harmony is essential to this end, and from no other motives whatever. \* \* \* Lord Cornwallis, and the detachment under his command, returned from Jersey on Thursday. \* \* \* General Greene has also joined me with all the troops that were with him, except Huntington’s brigade, which will be in to-day.’

Lond. ed. vol. ii. p. 218.

Wash. Writ.

This letter was written obviously with particular reference to the Resolve of the 25th, given below.

IN CONGRESS, *November 25.* ‘The Board of War brought in a Report; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, That General Washington be directed to publish in general orders, that Congress will speedily take into consideration the merits of such officers as have distinguished themselves by their intrepidity, and their attention to the health and discipline of their men; and adopt such regulations as shall tend to introduce order and good discipline into the army, and to render the situation of the officers and soldiers, with respect to clothing and other necessities, more eligible than it has hitherto been.’

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEAR THE GULF, 15 December, 1777.

‘Congress seem to have taken for granted a fact, that is really not so. All the forage for the army has been constantly drawn from Bucks and Philadelphia counties, and those parts most contiguous to the city; insomuch that it was nearly exhausted, and entirely so in the country below our camp. From these, too, were obtained all the supplies of flour that circumstances would admit of. The millers, in most instances, were unwilling to grind, either from their disaffection or from motives of fear. This made the

supplies less than they otherwise might have been ; and the quantity which was drawn from thence was little, besides what the guards placed at the mills compelled them to manufacture. As to stock, I do not know that much was had from thence ; nor do I know that any considerable supply could have been had.

‘ I confess I have felt myself greatly embarrassed with respect to a vigorous exercise of military power. An ill-placed humanity, perhaps, and a reluctance to give distress, may have restrained me too far ; but these were not all. I have been well aware of the prevalent jealousy of military power, and that this has been considered as an evil, much to be apprehended, even by the best and most sensible among us. Under this idea, I have been cautious, and wished to avoid as much as possible any act that might increase it. However, Congress may be assured, that no exertions of mine, as far as circumstances will admit, shall be wanting to provide our own troops with supplies on the one hand, and to prevent the enemy from getting them on the other. At the same time they must be apprised, that many obstacles have arisen to render the former more precarious and difficult than they usually were, *from a change in the Commissary's department, at a very critical and interesting period.*\* I should be happy, if the civil authority in the several States, through the recommendations of Congress, or their own mere will, seeing the necessity of supporting the army, would always adopt the most spirited measures, suited to the end. The people at large are governed much by custom. To acts of legislation or civil authority they have ever been taught to yield a willing obedience, without reasoning about their propriety : on those of military power, whether immediate or derived originally from another source, they have ever looked with a jealous and suspicious eye.

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 187.

After reading the following Resolves, the above letter specially relating to them will probably need no further explanation.

*December 10.* ‘ *Resolved*, That General Washington be informed, that Congress have observed with deep concern that the principal supplies for the army under his command have, since the loss of Philadelphia, been drawn from distant quarters, whereby great expense has accrued to the public, the army has been irregularly and scantily supplied, and the established magazines greatly reduced ; while large quantities of stock, provision, and forage, are still remaining in the counties of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, which, by the fortune of war, may be soon subjected to the power of the enemy :

‘ That Congress, firmly persuaded of General Washington's zeal

\* In regard to that change in the Commissary's department, and its consequences, see pp. 471, 472, 474, 476, 480, 481, 506.

and attachment to the interest of these States, can only impute his forbearance in exercising the powers vested in him by Congress, by their Resolution of the 17th of September, and the 14th of November,\* to a delicacy in exerting military authority on the citizens of these States; a delicacy which, though highly laudable in general, may, on critical exigencies, prove destructive to the army and prejudicial to the general liberties of America:

‘ That General Washington be directed to order every kind of stock and provisions in the country above mentioned, which may be beneficial to the army or serviceable to the enemy, to be taken from all persons without distinction, leaving such quantities only as he shall judge necessary for the maintenance of their families; the stock and provisions so taken to be removed to places of security under the care of proper persons to be appointed for that purpose:

‘ That General Washington be directed to cause all provisions, stock, forage, wagons and teams, which may be at any time in the route of the enemy, and which cannot be seasonably removed, to be destroyed.’

GENERAL LAFAYETTE to the DUKE D’AYEN, in France.

CAMP, GULF, PENNSYLVANIA, 16 December, 1777.

‘ The loss of Philadelphia is far from being so important as it is conceived to be in Europe. If the differences of circumstances, of countries, and of proportion between the two armies, were not duly considered, the success of General Gates would appear surprising when compared to the events that have occurred with us; — taking into account the superiority of General Washington over General Gates. Our General is a man formed, in truth, for this Revolution, which could not have been accomplished without him. I see him more intimately than any other man, and I see that he is worthy of the adoration of his country. His tender friendship for me, and his complete confidence in me relating to all military and political subjects, great as well as small, enable me to judge of *all the interests he has to conciliate, and all the difficulties he has to conquer*. I admire each day more fully the excellence of his character and the kindness of his heart. Some foreigners are displeased at not having been employed, although it did not depend on him to employ them. Others, whose ambitious projects he would not serve, — and some intriguing, jealous men, have endeavored to injure his reputation; but his name will be revered in every age, by all true lovers of liberty and humanity.

\* \* \* There are many interesting things that I cannot write, but will one day relate to you; on which I entreat you to

\* See the Resolve, Sept. 17, p. 506. That of Nov. 14 seems to have been intended only to extend the operation of the former beyond the sixty days ‘ to the first of March, unless sooner revoked by Congress.’

suspend your judgment, and which will redouble your esteem for him.

'America is most impatiently expecting us to declare for her; and France will one day, I hope, determine to humble the pride of England. \* \* We are not, I confess, so strong as I expected; but we are strong enough to fight. We shall do so, I trust, with some degree of success; and, with the assistance of France, we shall gain, with costs, the cause that I cherish, because it is the cause of justice, — because it honors humanity, — because it is important to my country, — and because my American friends and myself are deeply engaged in it. \* \*

'As to the army, I have had the happiness of obtaining the friendship of every individual: not one opportunity is lost of giving me proofs of it. I passed the whole summer without accepting a division, which, you know, had been my previous intention; I passed all that time at General Washington's house, where I felt as if I were with a friend of twenty years' standing. Since my return from Jersey, he has desired me to choose amongst the several brigades the division which may please me best; but I have chosen one entirely composed of Virginians. It is weak in point of numbers at present; just in proportion, however, to the weakness of the whole army, and almost in a state of nakedness. But I am promised cloth, of which I shall make clothes, and recruits, of which soldiers must be made, about the same period; but, unfortunately, the last is the most difficult task, even for more skilful men than me. The task I am performing here, if I had acquired sufficient experience to perform it well, would improve exceedingly my future knowledge. \* \*

'I read, I study, I examine, I listen, I reflect; and the result of all is, the endeavor at forming an opinion, into which I infuse as much common sense as possible. I will not talk much, for fear of saying foolish things; I will still less risk acting much, for fear of doing foolish things; for I am not disposed to abuse the confidence which the Americans have kindly placed in me. Such is the plan of conduct which I have followed until now, and which I shall continue to follow; but when some ideas occur to me, which I believe may become useful when properly rectified, I hasten to impart them to a *great judge*, who is good enough to say he is pleased with them. On the other hand, when my heart tells me that a favorable opportunity offers, I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of participating in the peril; but I do not think that the vanity of success ought to make us risk the safety of an army, or of any portion of it, which may not be formed or calculated for the offensive.'



The Resolves below, received with the 'favor of the 20th' from Congress, it is thought proper to insert before the General's two letters of the 22d and 23d in answer to them, and to some other Resolves which precede them.

In order the better to understand these Resolves and letters, it should be previously known that, Nov. 28, Congress appointed a committee of three, 'forthwith to repair to the army, and, in a private confidential consultation with General Washington, to consider of the best and most practicable means for carrying on a winter's campaign with vigor and success, — an object which Congress have much at heart;' and it should be known also, that the Legislature of Pennsylvania had presented in Congress a Remonstrance against the army's going into winter quarters.

*December 19.* 'Congress resumed the consideration of the Report from the Committee sent to confer with General Washington, and the Remonstrance from the Council and General Assembly of Pennsylvania; and, thereupon,

'*Resolved*, That a copy of the Remonstrance be transmitted by express to General Washington, and that he be desired to inform Congress whether he has come to a fixed resolution to canton the army; and, if he has, what line of cantonment he has proposed; in particular, what measures are agreed on for the protection of that part of Pennsylvania which lies on the easterly side of Schuylkill, and of the State of New Jersey:

'That General Washington be farther informed, that, in the opinion of Congress, the State of New Jersey demands, in a peculiar degree, the protection of the armies of the United States, so far as the same can possibly be extended, consistent with the safety of the army and the general welfare; as that State lies open to attacks from so many quarters, and the struggles which have been made by the brave and virtuous inhabitants of that State, in defence of the common cause, cannot fail of exposing them to the particular resentment of a merciless enemy.'

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD-QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, 22 December, 1777.

'It is with infinite pain and concern, that I transmit to Congress the enclosed copies of sundry letters respecting the *state of the Commissary's* department. In these, matters are not exaggerated. I do not know from what cause this alarming deficiency, or rather total failure of supplies, arises; but, unless more vigorous exertions and better regulations take place in that line immediately, this army must dissolve. I have done all in my power, by remonstrating, by writing, by ordering the Commissaries on this head, from time to time; but without any good effect, or obtaining more than a present scanty relief. *Owing to this, the march of the army has been delayed, upon more than one interesting occasion in the course of the present campaign;* and, had a body of the enemy crossed the Schuylkill this morning, as I had reason to expect from the intelligence I received at four o'clock last night, the divisions

which I ordered to be in readiness to march and meet them could not have moved. It is unnecessary for me to add more upon the subject. I refer Congress to the copies, by one of which they will perceive how very unfavorable also our prospect is of having any considerable supplies of salt provisions for the ensuing year.

‘I would also take the liberty of reminding Congress of the necessity of filling, as soon as possible, the offices of Quartermaster and Adjutant-General. These posts are of infinite importance; and, without appointments to them, it will be impossible to conduct the affairs of the army. The first office is now suffering much for want of a head to direct the great business of it; and the latter will be in the same predicament in the course of a few days, by the departure of Colonel Pickering, who, since his appointment to the Board of War, has been waiting only for a successor.\*

‘*Three o’clock, P. M.* Just as I was about to conclude my letter, your favor of the 20th came to hand. It would give me infinite pleasure to afford protection to every individual and to every spot of ground in the whole of the United States. Nothing is more my wish; but this is not possible with our present force.

\* \* If that system of conduct is pursued by an army, which is most likely to give the most extensive security, it is all that can be done or expected from it.

‘I assure you, Sir, no circumstance in the course of the present contest, or in my whole life, has employed more of my reflection or consideration, than in what manner to effect this, and to dispose of the army during the winter. Viewing the subject in any point of light, there was a choice of difficulties. If keeping the field was thought of, — the naked condition of the troops and the feelings of humanity opposed the measure; if returning to the towns in the interior parts of the State, which consistently with the preservation of the troops, from their necessitous circumstances, might have been justifiable, — the measure was found inexpedient, because it would have exposed and left uncovered a large extent of country; if cantoning the troops in several places, divided and distant from each other, — then there was a probability of their being out off, and but little prospect of their giving security to any part. Under these embarrassments, I determined to take post near this place, as the best calculated, in my judgment, to secure the army, to protect our stores, and cover the country; and for this purpose we are beginning to hut, and shall endeavor to accomplish it as expeditiously as possible.

‘I have also, from a desire of preventing the enemy from an intercourse with the Delaware State, and from making incursions

\* In a letter dated Oct. 8, General Mifflin, who had held the office of Quartermaster-General, expressed a desire to resign it. Congress accepted his resignation, Nov. 7; and immediately after, they elected him and Colonel Pickering members of the Board of War.

there, detached General Smallwood with the Maryland forces to take post at Wilmington, which I had strong reason to believe the enemy intended. This, however, I cannot but consider as hazardous, and shall be happy if it does not turn out so. I have it also in contemplation to throw a bridge over the Schuylkill, near this place, as soon as it is practicable; by means of which I hope we shall be able in a great measure, with the aid of the militia, to check the excursions of the enemy's parties on the other side.

'As to Jersey, I am sensible of her sufferings and exertions in the present contest, and there is no State to which I would more willingly extend protection; but, as I have observed, it is not in my power to give it, in that degree which seems to be wished and expected. I cannot divide the army (not superior, when collected, from sickness and other causes equally painful, to the enemy's force) into detachments, contrary to every military principle, and to our own experience of the dangers that would attend it. If this is done, I cannot be answerable for consequences. My feelings lead strongly to universal relief, but I have not the power to afford it; nevertheless, it has been and is still my intention, as soon as I have formed and secured this camp, to detach a small force to aid and countenance their militia. This is all, it appears to me, that can be done; and I hope the apprehensions in that quarter, for the greater part, will prove rather imaginary than well grounded, though I confess there are strong reasons to conclude, that the enemy will not be remiss in their acts of violence and injury there, or any where else.'

'I have the honor to be, &c.'

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 102.

If any doubt exist, as to the justness of the strong representations by the Commander-in-Chief concerning the extreme want of supplies, and the degree of suffering from that source, the following extracts of letters from two of his officers, Dec. 22, may contribute towards relieving such doubt.

*From General Huntington.* — 'I received an order to hold my brigade in readiness to march. Fighting will be far preferable to starving. My brigade are out of provisions, nor can the Commissary obtain any meat. I am exceedingly unhappy in being the bearer of complaints to Head-Quarters. I have used every argument my imagination can invent to make the soldiers easy; but I despair of being able to do it much longer.'

*From General Varnum.* — 'According to the saying of Solomon, hunger will break through a stone wall. It is therefore a very pleasing circumstance to the division under my command, that there is a probability of their marching. Three days successively we have been destitute of bread. Two days we have been entirely without meat. The men must be supplied, or they cannot be commanded. The complaints are too urgent to pass unno-

ticed. It is with pain that I mention this distress. I know it will make your Excellency unhappy; but, if you expect the exertion of virtuous principles, while your troops are deprived of the necessities of life, your final disappointment will be great in proportion to the patience which now astonishes every man of human feeling.'

Ibid. p. 193. *Note.*

GENERAL WASHINGTON to the PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

VALLEY FORGE, 23 December, 1777.

'SIR, — Full as I was in my representation of the matters in the Commissary's department yesterday, fresh and more powerful reasons oblige me to add, that I am now convinced beyond a doubt, that, unless some great and capital change suddenly takes place in that line, this army must inevitably be reduced to one or other of these three things: starve, — dissolve, — or disperse in order to obtain subsistence in the best manner they can. *Rest assured, Sir, this is not an exaggerated picture; and that I have abundant reason to suppose what I say.*

'Yesterday afternoon, receiving information that the enemy in force had left the city, and were advancing towards Derby with the apparent design to forage, and draw subsistence from that part of the country, I ordered the troops to be in readiness, that I might give every opposition in my power; when, behold, to my great mortification, I was not only informed, but convinced, that the men were unable to stir on account of provision, and that a dangerous mutiny, begun the night before, and which with difficulty was suppressed by the spirited exertions of some of the officers, was still much to be apprehended for want of this article. This brought forth the only Commissary in the purchasing line in this camp; and, with him, this melancholy and alarming truth: that he had not a single hoof of any kind to slaughter, and not more than twenty-five barrels of flour! From hence form an opinion of our situation, when I add, that he could not tell when to expect any.

'All I could do, under these circumstances, was to send out a few light parties to watch and harass the enemy; whilst other parties were instantly detached different ways, to collect, if possible, as much provision as would satisfy the present pressing wants of the soldiery. But will this answer? No, Sir; three or four days of bad weather would prove our destruction. What, then, is to become of the army this winter? And if we are so often without provisions now, what is to become of us in the spring, when our force will be collected, with the aid perhaps of militia to take advantage of an early campaign, before the enemy can be reinforced? These are considerations of great magnitude, meriting the closest attention; and they will, when my own reputation is so intimately connected with the event and to be affected by it, justify my saying, that the present Commissaries are by no means equal to the exe-

cution of the office, or that the disaffection of the people is past all belief. The misfortune, however, does in my opinion proceed from both causes; and, *though I have been tender heretofore of giving my opinion, or lodging complaints, as the change in that department took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted;\** yet, finding that the inactivity of the army, whether for want of provisions, clothes, or other essentials, is charged to my account not only by the common vulgar but *by those in power*, it is time to speak plain in exculpation of myself. *With truth, then, I can declare, that no man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army.*

‘Since the month of July, we have had no assistance from the Quartermaster-General; and to want of assistance from this department the Commissary-General charges great part of his deficiency. To this I am to add, that, notwithstanding it is a standing order, and often repeated, that the troops shall always have two days’ provisions by them, that they might be ready at any sudden call; yet an opportunity has scarcely ever offered, of taking an advantage of the enemy, that has not been either totally obstructed, or greatly impeded, on this account. And this, the great and crying evil, is not all. The soap, vinegar, and other articles allowed by Congress, we see none of; nor have we seen them, I believe, since the battle of Brandywine. *The first, indeed, we have now little occasion for; few men having more than one shirt, many only the moiety of one, and some none at all.* In addition to which, as a proof of the little benefit received from a clothier-general, and as a further proof of the inability of an army, under the circumstances of this, to perform the common duties of soldiers (besides a number of men confined to hospitals for want of shoes, and others in farmers’ houses on the same account), we have, by a field-return this day made, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men now in camp unfit for duty; because they are barefoot and otherwise naked. By the same return it appears, that our whole strength in Continental troops, including the Eastern brigades which have joined us since the surrender of General Burgoyne, exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp fit for duty; notwithstanding which, and that since the 4th instant, our numbers fit for duty, from the hardships and exposures they have undergone, particularly on account of blankets (numbers having been obliged, and still are, to sit up all night by fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a natural and common way), have decreased near two thousand men.

‘We find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter-quarters or not (for I am sure no reso-

\* Concerning that change, see again pp. 537, 540, and others referred to in the note to the former page.

lution of mine would warrant the Remonstrance),\* reprobating the measure as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I have described ours to be, which are by no means exaggerated, to confine a superior one, in all respects well appointed and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste the States of Pennsylvania and Jersey. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eye is, that these very gentlemen — who were well apprised of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration, who thought their own soldiers worse clad than others, and who advised me near a month ago to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a Resolve of Congress for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days agreeably to a decree of the State (not one article of which, by-the-by, is yet come to hand) — should think a winter's campaign, and the covering of these States from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen, that it is a *much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets.* However, *although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them; and, from my soul, I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve or prevent.*

‘ It is for these reasons, therefore, that I have dwelt upon the subject. And it adds not a little to my other difficulties and distress, to find, *that much more is expected of me than is possible to be performed; and that, upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true state of the army from public view, and thereby expose myself to detraction and calumny.* The honorable Committee of Congress went from camp fully possessed of my sentiments respecting the establishment of this army, the necessity of auditors of accounts, the appointment of officers, and new arrangements. I have no need, therefore, to be prolix upon these subjects; but I refer to the Committee. I shall add a word or two to show, — first, the necessity of some better provision for binding the officers by the tie of interest to the service, — as no day nor scarce an hour passes, without the offer of a resigned commission; otherwise, I much doubt the practicability of holding the army together much longer; and in this I shall probably be thought the more sincere, when I freely declare, that I do not myself expect to derive the smallest benefit from any establishment that Congress may adopt, otherwise

\* The Remonstrance from Pennsylvania. See p. 540.



than as a member of the community at large, in the good which I am persuaded will result from the measure, by making better officers and better troops; — and, secondly, to point out the necessity of making the appointments and arrangements without loss of time. We have not more than three months, in which to prepare a great deal of business. If we let these slip or waste, *we shall be laboring under the same difficulties* all next campaign, as we have been this, *to rectify mistakes and bring things to order.*

‘Military arrangement, and movements in consequence, like the mechanism of a clock, will be imperfect and disordered by the want of a part. In a very sensible degree have I experienced this, in the course of the last summer, several brigades having no brigadiers appointed to them till late, and some none at all; by which means it follows, that an additional weight is thrown upon the shoulders of the Commander-in-Chief, to withdraw his attention from the great line of his duty.\* The gentlemen of the Committee,† when they were at camp, talked of an expedient for adjusting these matters, which I highly approved and wish to see adopted; namely, that two or three members of the Board of War, or a Committee of Congress, should repair immediately to camp, where the best aid can be had; and, with the commanding officer, or a committee of his appointment, prepare and digest the most perfect plan that can be devised, for correcting all abuses and making new arrangements; considering what is to be done with the weak and debilitated regiments, if the States to which they belong will not draft men to fill them; for, as to enlisting soldiers, it seems to me to be totally out of the question, — together with many other things that would occur in the course of such a conference; and, after digesting matters in the best manner they can, to submit the whole to the ultimate determination of Congress.

‘If this measure is approved, I would earnestly advise the immediate execution of it, and that the Commissary-General of Purchases, whom I rarely see, may be directed to form magazines without a moment’s delay in the neighborhood of this camp, in order to secure provision for us in case of bad weather. The Quartermaster-General ought also to be busy in his department. In short, there is as much to be done in preparing for a campaign, as in the active part of it. Every thing depends upon the preparation that is made in the several departments; and the success or misfortunes of the next campaign will more than probably originate with our activity or supineness during this winter.

‘I have the honor to be, &c.’

Wash. Writ.

Sparks, vol. v. p. 197.

\* Respecting the want of general officers, see p. 443, and others there referred to.

† The Committee appointed Nov. 28, as shown p. 540.

As the letter to R. H. Lee, p. 514, the one here following, and the Proceedings of Congress below, all relate to the same subject,—the remarkable promotion of General Conway,—it is recommended to peruse and compare them in immediate connection; at the same time regarding their language with discrimination correspondent to the deep interest and feeling manifested in the former letter, and in those two from Lafayette, pp. 548, 550.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO GENERAL CONWAY.

HEAD-QUARTERS, 30 December, 1777.

‘SIR,—I am favored with your letter of yesterday, in which you propose, in order to lose no time, to begin with the instruction of the troops. You will observe, by the Resolution of Congress relative to your appointment, that the Board of War is to furnish a set of instructions, according to which the troops are to be manœuvred. As you have made no mention of having received them, I suppose they are not come to you: when they do, I shall issue any orders which may be judged necessary, to have them carried into immediate execution. \* \* \* I am, &c.’

Ibid. p. 203.

The following Proceedings explain that appointment for ‘the instruction of the troops.’

IN CONGRESS, *October 24, 1777.* ‘A letter of the 19th, from Brigadier-General Conway, was read:

‘*Ordered*, That it be referred to the Board of War.

*December 13.* ‘The Board of War, to whom were referred the *letters* from Brigadier-General Conway, brought in a Report, which was taken into consideration; whereupon,

‘*Resolved*, As the opinion of this Congress, that it is essential to the promotion of discipline in the American army, and to the reformation of the various abuses which prevail in the different departments, that an appointment be made of Inspectors-General, agreeable to the practice of the best disciplined European armies:

‘*Resolved*, That this appointment be conferred on experienced and vigilant general officers, who are acquainted with whatever relates to the general economy, manœuvres and discipline of a well-regulated army.

‘*Resolved*, That the duties of these officers be as follows:

‘To review, from time to time, the troops, and to see that every officer and soldier be instructed in the exercise and manœuvres which may be established by the Board of War; that the rules of discipline be strictly observed, and that the officers command their soldiers properly, and do them justice.’

‘*Resolved*, That the Inspectors-General, respectively, shall make this review minutely man by man, attending to the complaints and representations of both soldier and officer, and transmitting to Congress what petitions and grievances he shall think worthy of notice.

‘*Resolved*, That these reviews, when closed, be transmitted to

Congress by the Inspector-General making the review, who is to furnish the Major of the respective regiments with a copy of the same, and to keep another for his own government and assistance in proceeding to the next review.

*'Resolved,* That it be referred to the Commissioners of the War-Office to report such further regulations for this office, as they shall deem calculated to extend its utility, and to promote the end of its institution.

*'Resolved,* That two Inspectors-General be now appointed :

*'Congress* proceeded to the election ; and, the ballots being taken,

*'Brigadier T. Conway* was elected.

*'Resolved,* That the election of the other Inspector be postponed to Monday next.

*'Resolved,* That another Major-General be appointed in the army of the United States :

*'The ballots* being taken, Brigadier T. Conway was elected.'

#### GENERAL LAFAYETTE TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

CAMP, 30 December, 1777.

*'MY DEAR GENERAL,* — I went yesterday morning to Headquarters with an intention of speaking to your Excellency ; but you were too busy ; and I shall lay down in this letter what I wished to say.

*'I do n't* need to tell you that I am sorry for all that has happened for some time past. It is a necessary dependence of my most tender and respectful friendship for you ; which affection is as true and candid as the other sentiments of my heart, and much stronger than so new an acquaintance seems to admit. But another reason to be concerned in the present circumstances, is my ardent, and perhaps enthusiastic, wishes for the happiness and liberty of this country. I see plainly that America can defend herself, if proper measures are taken ; and now I begin to fear, lest she should be lost by herself and her own sons.

*'When* I was in Europe, I thought that here almost every man was a lover of liberty, and would rather die free than live a slave.

\* \* At that time, I believed that all good Americans were united together ; that the confidence of Congress in you was unbounded. Then I entertained the certitude that America would be independent, in case she should not lose you. Take away, for an instant, that modest diffidence of yourself, which (pardon my freedom), my dear General, is sometimes too great ; and I wish you could know, as well as myself, what difference there is between you and any other man. You would see very plainly, that, if you were lost for America, there is nobody who could keep the army and the Revolution for six months. There are open dissensions in Congress, parties who hate one another as much as the

common enemy ; — stupid men, who, without knowing a single word about war, undertake to judge you, to make ridiculous comparisons. They are infatuated with Gates, without thinking of the different circumstances ; and believe that attacking is the only thing necessary to conquer. Those ideas are entertained in their minds by some jealous men ; and, perhaps, secret friends to the British government, who want to push you, in a moment of ill-humor, to some rash enterprise upon the lines, or against a much stronger army. I should not take the liberty of mentioning these particulars to you, if I did not receive a letter about this matter from a young, good-natured gentleman at York, whom Conway has ruined by his cunning, bad advice ; but who entertains the greatest respect for you.

‘ I have been surprised at first to see the few establishments of this Board of War ; to see the difference made between Northern and Southern departments ; to see Resolves from Congress about military operations ; but the promotion of Conway is beyond all my expectations. I should be glad to have new Major-Generals : because, as I know, you take some interest in my happiness and reputation, it is perhaps an occasion for your Excellency to give me more agreeable commands in some interesting instances. On the other hand, General Conway says he is entirely a man to be disposed of by me. He calls himself my soldier ; and the reason of such behavior to me is, that he wishes to be well spoken of at the French Court, and his protector, the Marquis de Castries, is an intimate acquaintance of mine ; but since the letter of Lord Stirling,\* I inquired into his character : I found that he was an ambitious and dangerous man. He has done all in his power, by cunning manœuvres, to take off my confidence and affection for you. His desire was to engage me to leave this country. Now I see all the general officers of the army against Congress. Such disputes, if known by the enemy, would be attended with the worst consequences. I am very sorry whenever I perceive troubles raised among the defenders of the same cause ; but my concern is much greater when I find officers coming from France, — officers of some character in my country, — to whom any fault of that kind may be imputed. \* \* \* I must pay to General Portail, and some French officers, who came to speak me, the justice to say, that I found them as I could wish upon this occasion ; for it has made a great noise among many in the army. I wish, indeed, those matters could be soon pacified. I wish your Excellency could let them know how necessary you are to them, and engage them at the same time to keep peace, and simulate love among themselves, till the moment when those little disputes shall not be attended with

\* This was an allusion to a matter of some consequence, as will appear in the next Number.

such inconveniences. It would be, too, a great pity that slavery, dishonor, ruin, and unhappiness of a whole world, should issue from some trifling differences between a few men.

‘ You will find, perhaps, this letter very useless, and even inopportune ; but I was desirous of having a pretty long conversation with you upon the present circumstances, to explain you what I think of this matter. As a proper opportunity for it did not occur, I took the liberty of laying down some of my ideas in this letter ; because it is for my satisfaction to be convinced that you, my dear General, who have been indulgent enough to permit me to look on you as upon a friend, should know the confession of my sentiments in a matter which I consider as a very important one. I have the warmest love for my country, and for every good Frenchman ; their success fills my heart with joy. But, Sir, besides Conway is an Irishman, I want countrymen who deserve, in every point, to do honor to their country. That gentleman had engaged me, by entertaining my head with ideas of glory and shining projects ; and I must confess, to my shame, that it is a too certain way of deceiving me. I wished to join to the few theories about war I can have, and the few dispositions nature gave perhaps to me, the experience of thirty campaigns ; in hope that I should be able to be the more useful in the present circumstances.

‘ My desire of deserving your satisfaction is stronger than ever ; and everywhere you will employ me, you can be certain of my trying every exertion in my power to succeed. I am now fixed to your fate ; and I shall follow it and sustain it, as well by my sword as by all means in my power. You will pardon my importunity in favor of the sentiment which dictated it. Youth and friendship make me, perhaps, too warm ; but I feel the greatest concern at all that has happened for some time since.

‘ With the most tender and profound respect,

‘ I have the honor to be, &c.’

*December 31st.* ‘ Every assurance and proof of your affection fills my heart with joy, because that sentiment of yours is extremely dear and precious to me. A tender and respectful attachment for you, and an invariable frankness, will be found in my mind as you know me better ; but, after those merits, I must tell you, that very few others are to be found. I never wished so heartily to be entrusted by nature with an immensity of talents, as on this occasion. I could be then of some use to your glory and happiness, as well as my own. \* \* In your preaching moderation to the Brigadiers upon such an occasion, I am not surprised to recognize your virtuous character. As I hope my warm interest is known to your Excellency, I dare entertain the idea, that you will be so indulgent

as to let me know every thing concerning you, whenever you will not be under the law of secrecy, or particular circumstances.

‘With the most tender and affectionate friendship, — with the most profound respect, I have the honor to be, &c.’

Lafayette’s Mem. and Cor. vol. i. pp. 134, 141.

The PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS to the GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY.

—, 27 January, 1778.

‘DEAR SIR, — I have but a moment at present for acknowledging, and returning thanks for, the honor received in your Excellency’s favor of the 8th. \* \* \*

‘If I were to indulge a querulous vein, I should detain your Excellency by a long detail of disorder and distractions in all our public affairs, superadded to the baneful effects of avarice and speculation; — among them, and not the least, the appearance, it would be warrantable to say raging, of a dangerous party spirit. But I forbear, and will still trust that the States will be awakened from their present lethargy, and again think it necessary to be represented in Congress by men of ability and in sufficient numbers. A most shameful deficiency in this branch is the greatest evil, and is indeed the source of almost all our evils. \* \*

Hence thousands, I may say millions, have been wasted, and are wasting every day. Hence our American foxes, holding unaccounted millions, have gained time enough to learn, and impudence enough to say, the powers of Congress fall short of compulsive means for bringing them to a reckoning. Besides, *we want genius for striking out new matter, for correcting errors and repressing dangerous appearances, by measures wise, silent, and effectual.* Your Excellency is too well acquainted with the disorders of our domestic concerns. I am sorry to assure you, all our foreign wear the aspect of mere chance-medley. Hence naked soldiers, death, replete hospitals, desertions, and evacuated regiments. Hence, too, in my judgment, we are very lightly esteemed abroad, and probably are held up this very instant at auction. \*

\* Is it not, from these considerations, incumbent upon every man of influence throughout our Union to exert his powers at this crisis; to exhort each State to fill up its representation in Congress, with the best, that is, the most sensible, vigilant, and faithful citizens? At present it seems as if every such man had bought his yoke of oxen, and prayed to be excused. A little longer trifling will fix a galling yoke upon themselves. There is but one thing, I think, can prevent it. Our antagonist is as idle, as profligate, as ourselves; and keeps pace with us in profusion, mismanagement, and family discord.

‘Some of us, however, should remember the fate of the quarrelling curs, and guard against a similar decision, disgraceful and fatal. \* \* \* Perseverance in our present track will oblige



us to run in debt more and more abroad; and there are among us some who discover an amazing avidity to do so. \* \*

Our agents in the West Indies, without money and even over head and ears in debt. If Congress were full, or even two thirds full, might we not expect some men in the group who would look into these important matters? \* \* As I have already intimated, it seems as if every man, fit for these great purposes, had married a wife, and stayed to prove her. Sir, I see and lament, — but I can do nothing more than a kind of negative good. I do no harm, and think myself very happy when I can countermine an intended evil. If there be not speedily a resurrection of able men, and of that virtue which I thought had been genuine in 1775, we are gone; — we shall undo ourselves. \* \*

‘I am, with very sincere regard, &c.

‘HENRY LAURENS.’

Memoir of the Life of Wm. Livingston, p. 253.

If the state of public affairs and of the source from which they mainly flowed, was truly as described by President Laurens, — if the Congress over whom he presided at the close of '77 might justly be contrasted with that universally-approved Congress of '74 and '75, over whom Peyton Randolph and John Hancock successively presided, — then, even within that period so nearly decisive of the all-important contest and of this country's hopes, there did indeed take place a change; a great change, — itself becoming the cause of other, and these again of yet other changes, till the various, wide-spreading, distracting, and distressing consequences of the whole succession, demanded, and has ever since demanded, a faithful, impartial, persevering, and effectual investigation and exposure of the real originating cause and authors of far the most calamitous portion of them.

In the present stage of this work, when much remains still to be presented in relation to the years '75, '76, and '77, it is thought inexpedient to add more than a general index, arranged according to the order in which the subjects occur, and in which, to be understood, the first four ought to be sufficiently examined. If this is observed in respect to them, and if the extracts in the preface, together with the remarks and references contained in this volume, are at the same time duly regarded, the order in which the other subjects are attended to, is a matter of less consequence.

An endeavor will be made to supply, in the succeeding volumes, every great deficiency which may be noticed in this, that the whole may contain all the necessary parts.

END OF VOL. I.

All in the Land

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\* It is important to notice, that the influences designated by the fourth title in the arrangement of the index, in respect either to delay or principle of decision, extended to all and each of the subordinate departments indicated by the eleven titles which follow it.





